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INDIA AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS

BY SIR EDWARD CHARLES BENTHALL, K.T.

SO FAR as I can see from the opinions expressed by the leaders of opinion up and down the country, India has unequivocally aligned herself in recent



SIR EDWARD BENTHALL, K.T.

years against the policy of the totalitarian States. Public opinion has from time to time declared itself against the aggression of Italy in Abyssinia, of Japan in China, and of Germany on the Continent, with no uncertain voice, and public opinion is undoubtedly right.

The corollary is that India must be on the side of those nations who are opposed

to the policy of the totalitarian States. But while certain sections of Indian opinion have declared themselves forcibly on this alignment, others, notably the Congress, have allowed the local problems with which they are to a certain extent in controversy with Great Britain, to withhold what I believe to be the deep-seated desire for the ultimate success of the policy and ideals of the democratic States.

I appreciate the overwhelming importance which Indian politicians attach to the problems of the internal government of India, but far-seeing leaders appreciate that without a prolonged period of peace it will be extremely difficult to weld India into a united and prosperous nation. The tasks on the home front are colossal and can hardly be accomplished if the country is to be involved in the defence of its own frontiers. This fact is so obvious that Indian patriots must surely be content that the British fleet should keep the shores of India free and should prevent any possibility of events, such as have recently happened in China occurring during the period when India is building up her nationhood.

What are the prospects of India receiving this grace? To a large extent it depends upon the attitude of the Governments of

the totalitarian States. It also depends upon the strength and diplomacy of the other great powers and, above all, those of Great Britain.

During the recent crisis, Germany gambled on the unwillingness of Great Britain and France to fight in any circumstances. The leaders of the State knew how passionately Great Britain desired peace, while much of the culture of the totalitarian States, not unnaturally perhaps in view of past history, has been built upon glorification of war. By the mobilisation of the British fleet and French army, Germany was forced to accept peaceful methods of settling the Czechoslovakia question. Hitler climbed down from his "last word".

The history of the struggle of the German nation to solidify itself and to extend its power over the face of the earth is a long one and has been particularly intense during the last 70 years. During the Boer War, at Kiau-chau, in Samoa, the Cameroons, South-West Africa and Tanganyika, German leaders were prepared to attempt to secure a footing by threats and by bluff so long as they could succeed, trading on the pacific intentions of Great Britain and the other powers. History proved that they could do so once and again until finally they overstepped the mark. At that moment, Great Britain turned and there was consternation in Berlin in 1914, just as there was similar consternation in Berlin in 1938 when it again became apparent that Great Britain would allow

things to go no further. The world knows that the British want peace and will go to almost any extreme to secure it. They will even risk being thought afraid if the cause for which they are expected to fight is not a good one, so the retention of 8½ million hostile Germans within Czechoslovakia was not a good cause, not only on historical grounds, but because it was not strategically possible to save Czechoslovakia whose people would have been butchered to make a German holiday.

Two of the greatest gains which have been secured out of the events culminating at Munich are, that the German leaders now know that there are limits beyond which they cannot go, and the German people also know, and they are just as anxious for peace as the British. All the intensive thunderings of Goebbels failed to work up a war spirit in Germany against Czechoslovakia, and they will find it still harder if our statesmen follow the policy adopted by Mr. Chamberlain of giving the utmost consideration to the Germans' just demands, while showing the nation's determination to stand fast for the principles of international law and the rights of all nations, great or small.

It is my opinion that India will be ready to take her share in her own defence and in support of the ideals for which she stands. Only in this way can she go forward as a nation and carry her head high, playing her part in the vindication of democratic ideas in one of the most vital periods of the world's history.



FEDERATION AND INDIAN STATES

BY MR. S. SATYAMURTI, M.L.A.

E, in the Indian Legislative Assembly, asked the Honourable the Leader of the House several questions on the progress of the negotiations between the



MR. S. SATYAMURTI

Government of India and the Indian States. The Honourable Sir Nripendra Sircar, the Leader of the House, who has returned stronger and healthier from Europe, is as uncommunicative as ever, and he has not forgotten his "astrofoger". Especially on the question of the negotiations between the Indian States and the Governor-General and on the question of Federation, he is unable to give any answer. I rather sympathise with him; for I believe that he knows nothing. I believe that so far as the negotiations for an Indian Federation with the Indian States are concerned, they are being conducted by the Governor-General personally through the Political Department, and that the Government of India has ceased to function in this matter. That is why they are unable to give any information, although they say in order

to save their faces that they are unwilling to give the information in their possession.

But there can be no doubt about two or three things. Neither the Finance Department of the Government of India, nor the Political Department of the Government of India, is very enthusiastic about this Federation. Of course, His Excellency Lord Linlithgow, who is due to retire in April or May 1941, is naturally anxious that, before he leaves the shores of India, he should inaugurate this Federation. His predecessor Lord Willingdon himself hoped that he might inaugurate the Federation in his time. Perhaps, Lord Linlithgow might consider that he is not unduly optimistic when he hopes, five years later, to achieve the ambition which Lord Willingdon failed to achieve. Of course, I am not suggesting it is a personal ambition in the case of Lord Linlithgow at all. He believes that Federation is the best political solution for India.

But his trouble is that the Government of India Act provides that a prescribed number of States, having 51 seats in the Council of State and comprising half the population of the Indian States, must agree to the Federation before they can approach His Majesty's Government to recommend to Parliament, for them to recommend in their turn to His Majesty the King to issue the proclamation, inaugurating Federation. These two conditions taken together mean that most of the larger States, if not all of them, and a few of the minor States should agree; or that all the minor States should agree and a few of the major States to join the federation. Left to themselves,

these Indian States might have made up their minds more easily to join the Federation. But certain events have happened which have made their position somewhat difficult. In answer to a speech made by the Dewan of Travancore, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, pointing out certain difficulties in the way of Indian States granting responsible Government on account of their relations with the paramount power, Earl Winterton, on behalf of the Secretary of State for India and His Majesty's Government, stated in Parliament that the paramount power would not stand in the way of Indian States granting responsible Government. Since then, the position has become very difficult. The movement for responsible Government in Indian States has gathered strength. The Indian States to-day are not so situated that they can resist this demand so long as it is more or less universal among the people and so long as it remains non-violent, except with the help of the British or the Indian troops to be sent by the Government of India to help these Rulers in putting down this movement. That is the position to which the Government of India may not agree, whatever the inclinations of some of the political officers here may be. But the Indian Rulers do not know exactly what the position of the paramount power is. Hence they are hesitating.

Without seeming to be presumptuous, one may tell the Indian Rulers that, when they find even the mighty British Empire has to yield to the pressure of the Indian National Congress, the Indian Rulers will not be wise in resisting the popular movements for responsible government. One grants and recognises that the personality of the Rulers in most of the States is still a vital factor and that the people of the States do love their Rulers. But that cannot be over-emphasized for the simple reason that the Rulers themselves do not govern. They have their Dewans or other Advisers in whom they have absolute confidence. But the demand for responsible government means says that these Advisers should command not only the confidence of the Rulers, but also the confidence of

the people of the States concerned. The logicality and the reasonableness of the demand cannot be resisted. To the Rulers themselves, one may say with all respect that the position of constitutional monarchs in their States cannot be unacceptable to them especially as their Suzerain and Lord, the King-Emperor of England, himself a constitutional monarch and has to abide by the verdict and the opinion of his constitutional Advisers. It is to be hoped, therefore, that the Rulers and the more statesmanlike among Indian Rulers and their Advisers will see the signs of the times and will associate the people of the States in the administration of their States in the only possible manner, that is of making them responsible for the administration of the State. I do not believe myself that the leaders of the Indian States' people will grudge to accept the constitution which has been given by the Government of India Act 1935 to the Provinces. In that constitution, there are ample safeguards for safety and tranquillity for minorities and for the services, and in the case of the States, additional safeguards may be provided for the Ruler's dynastic rights, for his Civil List, and for other necessary things, and the Ruler will take the place of the Governor in respect of the reserve power and safeguards. I particularly hope that the South Indian States, which have always been more progressive and more enlightened than other States, and which are to-day ruled by enlightened Mahars and statesmanlike Advisers, will set the pace and will agree to have responsible Government subject to necessary safeguards, and will also agree to send their representatives to the federal legislature by means of election, direct or indirect. That way lies peace and contentment and security for the whole of geographical India, that part known as British India, and the other part known as Indian India. The Indian National Congress is no enemy of the Indian Princes. It claims to be the friend of the Indian Princes. It only wants to act the part of a true friend who tells his friend what is good for him and not what he thinks the friend would like to have said to him.

TEN YEARS OF AVIATION IN INDIA

BY

MR. MOHANLAL P. GANDHI

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THE mileage covered by civil air routes in India at present is well over eight thousand miles. Every week twenty-five aeroplanes carry to and from fifteen tons of mail, nearly five million letters. All first class mail from United Kingdom and other European countries as well as now reaching India within five days of its dispatch by air mail. Politicians, personalities, and business men to whom time is an all-important factor are using aeroplane frequently and come to the exclusion of all other modes of travel, when long trips are to be undertaken. India has become as air-minded as any other country in the world. Yet the growth of civil aviation in India is of very recent origin. Ten years ago, an aeroplane was much more than a novelty. It was a curiosity whose flight drew an inevitable crowd. Ten years ago, there was no air mail letter in India, there was hardly any Indian who was trained as a pilot and a few daring youths who applied themselves to the new craft received an ovation worthy of heroes on their return to their homeland. If there were any privately owned planes at that time, they were unknown, and possibly could not have been flown for want of pilots, landing grounds and lack of other facilities. There was no Aero Club in India to train students as pilots. In a word, ten years ago civil aviation had yet to make a beginning in this country and within this amazingly short space of time it has made such tremendous strides that already people are discussing of unemployment

among Indian aviators and philosophising over the high expenses that one has to incur in order to qualify as a professional pilot.

Aviation may well be said to have made a beginning in India exactly ten years ago when a survey plane of the Imperial Airways landed at Karachi to arrange preliminaries for the inauguration of their Empire Air route in the East. The extension of this limb of the Empire Air route from Cairo to Karachi was the first stage in establishing the Croydon to Australia direct air connection. The Imperial Airways had, in fact, intended to start this extension of the Eastern arm of their service two years earlier. All arrangements for it were ready in October 1926, but the service was held up at the Persian frontier for months. The Imperial Airways had understood that Persia which was a party to the Air Convention was willing to let them fly through their territory along the coast on the Persian Gulf. But Persia was evidently not satisfied with the proposed route. Negotiations dragged on for a long while and in the meantime, the Imperial Airways brought their extension up to Basra in Iraq. At last the Government of Iran gave an authorisation for three years to the Imperial Airways for an air service, once a week in each direction through a corridor leading from Baghdad to Ispahahan, Yezd, Kirman, Bam and Gwadur. It was in 1929 that the Imperial Airways effected the extension of their weekly eastern service to Karachi. India thus had her first air

mail nine years ago. The Imperial Airways were, however, not satisfied with this route and after two brief extensions by the Iranian Government, they changed over to the route along the Persian Gulf on the Arabian side, which they are using at present for their services.

The distinction of making India air-minded goes to two private citizens, Sir Victor Sassoon, the Bombay magnate, and the late Sir Montagu Webb of Karachi. The latter foreseeing the possibilities of the development of civil aviation in this country which at that time was far behind the European countries in this respect almost simultaneously with the arrival of the survey party of the Imperial Airways, inaugurated in Karachi the Air League of India, the first organisation to be started in India for furthering the cause of commercial aviation, with the aims and objects, among others, of "creating public interest in aviation, fostering the development of air mail services in India, provision of aerodromes and landing grounds and training of Indian personnel for all branches of aircraft manufacture and operation". The Air League of India was followed a few months later by the foundation of the Aero Club of India by Sir Victor Sassoon whose interest in aviation commenced almost at the time when the heavier-than-air machines were yet in the infancy of their development, and whose practical skill in negotiating them had found for him an appointment as a pilot during the European War, 1914-18.

The Aero Club was an immediate success. In 1928, the Air League of India was turned into Karachi Aero Club, the first club to be started in India for training students as pilots. Soon afterwards, Aero

Clubs were started at Delhi, Bombay and Calcutta by the Aero Club of India. The various Aero Clubs drew around them a number of enthusiastic young men and very soon the enterprises of young Indian aviators began to be prominently displayed in newspapers. Among the early exploits of Indian aviators may be mentioned the flight of Kabali, a Bombayite, the flight of Aspy Engineer and Chawla in a push moth from Karachi to England and the successful effort of a Sikh youth to fly solo from England to India and thus win the Aga Khan prize of £500.

Within a year of the extension of the Imperial Airways' Eastern arm of the air routes, the K. L. M. and the Air Orient Companies of Holland and France respectively extended their air routes eastwards and started their services to their colonies in the Far East across India. The K. L. M's and the Air Orient's were the first trans-continental services to be run across India. With only working organisations, these companies had to operate a route of nearly ten thousand miles and, therefore, the actual inauguration of their services was preceded by a number of test flights extending to over three years. Spectacular among these test flights was the one undertaken by Von Lear Black who flew in a K. L. M. machine as a passenger from Amsterdam to Batavia and back in 1927 in thirteen flying days.

The Air Mail routes and the Flying Clubs were established in India almost about the same time and hence the internal air routes came in handy for the newly trained pupils from these Clubs for the operation of machines carrying air mails. Shortly after the Imperial Airways extended their Empire Air Service to Karachi, the Delhi Flying Club undertook to operate a

Karachi to Delhi service. The Tatas of Bombay also started an aviation department and very soon inaugurated an air service between Karachi and Bombay which they soon extended to Madras. All these services were operated mostly by young Indian pilots. The Delhi Flying Club continued to operate the Karachi-Delhi route for two years till the Imperial Airways took one more step forward in extending their air services and extended their route to Delhi and shortly afterwards to Calcutta, Rangoon and ultimately linking England with Australia. While this extension of the Empire Air Services was in progress, the Imperial Airways duplicated the service which was further multiplied to four mails a week last year with the introduction of the air mail without surcharge in the Empire. Thus in a space of ten years the dream of establishing an Empire-wide link of air mail services for the carriage of mails at ordinary postal rates was realised. At present, there are five services a week. The services are being run partly by flying boats and partly by land planes and consequently a number of marine air ports have also been established in the country.

The K. L. M. and the Air Orient services have also been expanded and at present three services by the K. L. M. and two services by the Air Orient per week are being maintained on their trans-Indian route.

The successful operation of the feeder services in India with Indian pilots have proved their capacity and ability as aviators. Though some of these feeder services are in existence for over eight years, they have worked with remarkable punctuality and freedom from accidents—a fact which would make them hold their own in this respect against any air service

on the Continent of Europe or the United States. Particularly significant is the successful operation of the air services run by the Tatas without any aid by way of subsidy from the Government, except a charge of an anna per half ounce of postal articles.

Businessmen at once realised the importance of communication by air and they enthusiastically developed and picked up the air mail habit. The establishment of the air route proved equally useful to those who have to live on the Makran coast for their business and, therefore, had to live in isolation of the world at large. At present, fresh vegetables, eggs and many other articles of daily use are regular items of traffic by air between Karachi and places on the Makran coast.

Recently, particularly during the current year, gold has also increasingly figured as cargo that is being exported from India via air. Statistics up to the end of October 1938 showed that gold and bullion valued at slightly over two crores of rupees was exported to various places, mostly United Kingdom by air from Karachi.

That communication by air offers decided advantages over any other means of transport between places, which by their peculiar topographical lay out may be accessible only by long detours on the land route, has been proved by the successful operation of an air service between Bombay and important towns in Kathiawar. The distance between Bombay and Bhavnagar as the crow flies is hardly 250 miles. Yet by land route it takes 24 hours to reach Bombay from that place as the train has to traverse double the distance on account of the Gulf of Cambay. An aeroplane would cut down the time of

journey to a couple of hours and the service is growing in popularity as time passes.

The administration of the air routes in India during the first decade of the growth of civil aviation in the country has become an intricate problem. For this purpose, the country has been divided into several zones. The main overland air route between Karachi and Rangoon has been divided into five zones: Karachi to Jodhpur, Jodhpur to Allahabad, Allahabad to Calcutta, Calcutta to Akyab, and Akyab to Rangoon. The departure of any aeroplane within any of these zones is wirelessed to the next aerodrome. With the departure report, information is also sent about the mail, freight and passengers carried by a 'plane and quantity of oil and petrol required. On the receipt of these messages, the aerodrome of destination advises all the authorities concerned, such as the Post Office, the Customs, Health authorities and the agents of the operating companies, about the arrival of the 'plane. All these messages pass from the wireless station to the control room with minimum delay. In the air, aircraft fitted with wireless keep in touch with both aerodromes, the one it has left and the other that it is to reach, and to the latter it also wirelesses the time it is likely to take, an hour or two before it is due to reach there. So correct are these estimates that a machine is rarely more than five minutes behind or before its stated time of arrival.

Wireless and meteorology play an important part in aviation, and with the growth of aviation in India, the organisation of wireless and meteorological services have also enormously grown. Medium wave transmitting stations with ground-direction-finding transmitters have been established at thirteen places in India on the Trans-Continental route. But the earlier types of transmitters erected at various stations are liable to serious errors, particularly at night and twilight, and two of the stations have already been fitted with transmitters of more modern types which are comparatively accurate at all times of the day.

Some idea of the expenditure incurred by the Civil Aviation Department on providing wireless facilities to the aircraft will be gained from the fact that the total cost of providing these facilities in a year is five lakhs of rupees and this expenditure would be doubled when the developments contemplated by the Department of fitting four main stations with short-wave transmitters and replacing the transmitters at other stations with modern types are carried out.

The first decade of the civil aviation in India was, as it were, fittingly celebrated at Karachi during the first week of December when the new Administrative Offices of the Karachi Air Port were formally opened for use by His Excellency Sir Lancelot Graham, Governor of Sind, and an Air Rally was held in which aviators from all places in India participated.

SCIENCE FOR THE CITIZEN

BY THE HON. JUSTICE SIR MAHOMED SULAIMAN

LANCELOT HOGBEN, the author of "Science for the Citizen" (George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London) needs no introduction in view of the popularity of his previous book "Mathematics for the Million". The new book contains a wealth of information covering over 1,100 fair sized pages, which must obviously be the result of many years' hard work. It deals with a large variety of scientific matters, even more fully discussed than may be required by a student of Every-day Science. It is written in a popular and lucid style; and although not intended to be any advanced book on any of the subjects dealt with, it nevertheless, contains plenty of useful and valuable information. The book, though technical in character, is an easy and interesting reading. The neat and excellent drawings and illustrations by J. F. Horrabin enhance its value.

As the subjects dealt with have not been grouped together in strict accordance with the recognised division of the Sciences, and are rather widely scattered, it may, but for the index, be difficult to find where they are. The book is divided into five parts: The Conquest of (1) Time Reckoning and Space Measurement; (2) Substitutes; (3) Power; (4) Hunger and Disease; and (5) Behaviour, each containing several Chapters. The headings of the Chapters, though chosen to make them attractive to the lay reader, do not at first impression serve as a true guide. For instance, the tenth Chapter is headed as "The last Resting Place of Spirits" and the title would hardly enlighten the reader until he discovers that it contains a fairly detailed description of chemical compounds, formulae and analyses. Possibly an

artistic sense of alliteration has something to do with the choice of names for the various chapters, as "Pole Star and Pyramid" go together and so do "Spectacles and Satellites". "Pompey's Pillar" deals not only with the Science of sea-faring, including compass, longitude, altitude and meridian, but also the apparent motions of the Sun, the Earth and the Moon, Solar and Lunar eclipses, the Celestial sphere and even Star maps. But rather a happy choice is "Wheel, Weight and Watch-spring".

Even old exploded systems, like the Ptolemaic Geocentric system, have been given a detailed treatment more appropriate for the trained astronomer, who can appreciate the contrast between the old and the modern conceptions, than of interest to the Reader seeking a popular description of modern knowledge. But the modern innovations like Relativity or Quantum Mechanics, are perhaps considered too much for the common sense of ordinary readers, and have been studiously eschewed. One would strive in vain to discover any reference to neutron much less to neutrino. Nor do great Mathematicians and Scientists like Albert Einstein and Neils Bohr find any mention. It is difficult to vouchsafe for perfect accuracy of details in all particulars when a vast field is covered, but the author does not appear to have spared any pains in making the book both interesting and instructive. "The intellectual censorship" of three friends, described by the author in a complimentary way as the Brain Trust, ensures such accuracy. The author's knowledge of the classical sciences is wide and thorough, which has enabled him to deal with so many branches of Science with such admirable skill. The book will be a useful addition to any library.

JAPANESE EMIGRATION PROJECTS

BY MR. RASHID A. MUNSHI, B.AG. DIP. FORESTRY (N. WALES), EX-F.R.M.S. (LONDON)
(Author of "Economic Fruit Trees and Their Culture")

IT is evident that general agricultural conditions in Japan are very poor and soils light in texture and many times unproductive. Nearly 80 per cent. of the total land area in Japan is mountainous and hilly, and out of the 20 per cent. remaining only 15 per cent. is fertile land.

Looking into the statistics nearly 5,600,000 families are found to be settled on 4,900,000 land acreage, and as such the economic holdings are very small and meagre. In many rural areas the holdings seldom exceed 1.1 cho or 8 acres.

The agrarian communities find it very difficult to make both ends meet and often they have to leave their villages in search of employments and higher wages. To add to these problems of over-populations, there are natural calamities such as typhoons and sleet and untimely rains. The villagers have seldom bumper rice harvests and the recent economic depression has aggravated their poverty and hardships.

In many Japanese villages people have no decent *kimono* or clothes to wear and the monthly earnings being 18-15 *yens* per month per head. Due to increase in rural population during the recent times, there is too much unemployment and the people generally send out their women and children to work in the factories and other places.

This problem of unemployment and over-population is being successfully tackled both by the Government and the public bodies by introducing birth-control measures wherever possible and giving adequate facilities for purposes of colonization.

During recent times the Overseas Office in conjunction with local authorities has

been trying its level best to encourage transplantation of families to fertile regions of North Manchuria and Brazil in South America.

It seems the regions adjoining Hsinking, Lunkiang, and Sanking districts and along the banks of Sungari and Niuling rivers are found to be most fertile and the climatic conditions are mild and suitable to the Japanese settlers in North Manchuria. The crops such as tobacco, sugar-beet and soya beans are remunerative enough to induce the farmers to purchase land and occupy their spare time in cottage industries.

The North Manchurian colonies fall within the same latitude as the Northern parts of Japan, i.e., North from Akita prefecture to Karafuto, but the Japanese climatic conditions are humid and the temperature ranges from 80-90° F. with cold winds.

TOKYO OVERSEAS OFFICE PROJECTS

The Overseas Office along with the Finance Office authorities has elaborate emigration projects in view. It appears they are contemplating to send nearly 1,000,000 agrarian families within a course of 20 years and that too in four stages. It is further decided that each family is to get a 1,000 *yens* Government subsidy to start with and about 20 cho or 25 acres of land from the Manchou Government. These Japanese settlers are given arms for self-protection from the terrors of the petty war-lords and bandits, and in addition the Kuantung Garrison is to look further after their families and property.

The settlers are often encouraged to utilize F. Y. M. (farm yard manure) as

far as possible in the cultivation of their plots. Out of the total 25 acreage at his disposal, nearly half is devoted to fodder crops and cereals while the rest is left fallow for cattle raising and sheep farming. One or two acres are put under vegetables and home site.

The Government authorities are further advised to supply 80 sheep, 1 cow, 1 horse, hogs and chickens to the newly settled farmers on the agricultural plots.

These immigrants are expected to be self-sufficing and independent within a course of some three years or so.

They have every right to purchase new sites and grow economic agricultural crops in the near future.

The Government has arranged to give suitable loans and subsidies to those in need of farm implements and seeds and those too at low rate of interest.

These settlers are required to be physically fit and above 20 years and below 30 years' age limits prior to their attesting signatures to the forms of applications and emigration certificates.

They should be born agriculturists as far as possible and possess sufficient knowledge of the farm technique.

They are asked to approach the Tokyo Overseas Office through the village and prefectural authorities concerned and secure finally the approval and emigration certificates.

Very often these immigrants are divided into so-called "leaders" and "general settlers". These leader settlers are generally required to undergo a training course for 20 days or one month in Japan and later on arrival in North Manchuria. They are taken up either by the Colonial Training School near the various Japanese colonies of Chimussu or by the National

High School, Harbin, for further agricultural practical studies for 1½ to 2 months.

Most of these trained men are absorbed up in the field works and general management of the various agricultural colonies.

In certain cases special course has been prescribed for advanced students and supervising colonists.

The affairs of a colony are supposed to be looked after by a chief, four assistants and a supervising colonist and often these are graduates of agricultural colleges and schools in Japan.

The groups belonging to the class of "general settlers" have little or no responsibility whatsoever as regards to the future colonial developments and farm managements. These simply settle down to farm routine works in the ordinary course of time beginning sometime towards the month of March or so every year after the preliminary works of land survey have been prepared and chalked out by the leader colonists.

NORTH MANCHURIAN COLONIES

Most of the Japanese colonies are situated in Hsinking, Sankiang and Lunkiang districts in North Manchuria. The soils are cleared and cultivated by the agricultural overseers appointed by the Overseas Office and Japanese Government.

These are also looked after and protected by the Manchou Government authorities and the Kuantung Garrison stationed there. A colony comprises of some 800 families and 10 colonies have been joined together to form into a village. It is learnt from the agricultural office records that these Japanese villages are managed by the Hsinking Government and the village administration has been most thorough and up-to-date.

These villages have a sort of autonomous system of their own, and the financial and industrial affairs are often handled by the Village Economic Unions. Every village has a guard-leader, a chief, a physician, a veterinary doctor and some three agricultural experts to advise and promote the cause of rural reconstruction programmes in hand.

The Government has been liberal enough to grant handsome subsidies for public bath-houses and village schools.

In certain villages the schools have been brought up to the level of second grade schools and advanced curriculum of studies has been introduced just as the middle grade schools of Japan do.

The colonial communities seem to take growing interest in the education of their children from day to day.

So far several attempts have been successfully made by the Tokyo Overseas Office to transplant families in North Manchurian districts and its plan of work is being steadily carried out in the interest of the rural communities.

The first group of Japanese immigrants comprising of some 1,800 farmers left Japan for Chengtuho and Hataho and thence to Chiamusu and Yenpaochen some time during the Spring months of 1932-33.

They formed themselves into four companies headed by four army officers and were seen off by Municipality members and school children amidst shouts of 'Banzai' and Bon Voyage. These settlers took about 10 days to reach Chiamusu. For the present there are very few road and railway travel facilities and every step is being taken by the Manchurian Government authorities to improve the situation and hasten Public Works Department's road-side

projects. These Japanese farmers have shown great interest during the short space of some three years and have established village hospitals, public halls and schools for their children.

Out of their contemplated projects, some two villages, viz., Naganomura and Yungpaochen, later came to be known as Iyasakamura, have advanced agricultural cultivations and those too on collective farming basis. These improvements have been chiefly responsible in seasonal bumper wheat and barley harvests.

The settlers seem to get good financial returns and are now in a position to grow such crops as sugar-beet, tobacco and hemp.

The Iyasakamura seems a model village and owns village hall where local and administrative affairs are conducted. It also boasts of a co-operative store, which has varied enterprises in connection with brewing of beverages, milling flour, refining rice and marketing crops. It is also interested in extraction of bean oil on small scales.

The village has a decent school and the staff comprises of village-master, deputy-master, and a treasurer.

It seems some 120 babies were born in the village by the year 1936 ending, and that out of 493 settlers some 807 had their own houses and apartments.

Further figures show that there were some 222 horses, 109 cows, 580 sheep, and 234 hogs besides 500-785 chickens in the village.

The Japanese settlers have further secured the services of veterinarian doctors and quite a few agricultural advisers and experts. One of the colonies has three physicians and two hospitals for contagious and ordinary diseases. Most of the settlers

are content and prosperous and enjoy a sort of higher and better standard of living than they used to in their original homes in Japan.

The second batch of Japanese immigrants came to settle down in Chiburimura during 1988. These agrarian families were mostly recruited from Northern parts of the main Island.

Unfortunately these were attacked by some 8,000 bandits soon after their settlement and had to leave the colony and flee for shelter to an adjoining village called Honanying. These were given due protection by the Manchurian Government Officials and soon occupied themselves in peaceful vocations and rural reconstruction works.

This Chiburimura has now a rice refining mill, a flour mill, and a brewery.

production of 1,147 *kan* tobacco leaves valued at some 1,720'50 *yens*. It seems the Harbin Tobacco Factory pays as much as 1'50 *yen* per *kan* and the farmers are greatly benefitted due to incessant demand in the local markets. The Manchou Government itself requires some 4,000,000 *kan* tobacco leaves and most of it is imported from abroad.

The village owns 247 horses, 55 cattle, 25 colts, and 1,000 sheep. These have also small poultry concerns on the farms. The agricultural communities have established a primary school in 1985 and the village serves as a light-house for the spread of knowledge.

It is self-sufficing and enjoys an autonomous system of internal administration.

During 1988, a third group of settlers came to be established and settled



THE FARMERS GOING TO WORK

The Japanese farmers have improved upon seasonal harvests and secure about 80'5 bushels of barley and 20'8 bushels of wheat per acre. They also grow tobacco, and the 1986 crop shows a total

in Peitaiko-Suileng "hsien" (district) and Pinkiang province.

These numbered about 500 heads. Peitaiko is sometimes well known as the "Granary of North Manchuria" and

possesses rich and fertile stretches of agricultural lands.

The farmers soon established little colonies of their own and are doing well.

By 1936, the Japanese Government sent another batch of settlers 5,600 in the

They first came with the sole idea of spreading their religion, but most of them have taken to agricultural pursuits and farming. The Tenri Young Men's Association has a sort of rigorous daily routine of work in the Tenri village and conduct



WINNOWING OF RICE WITH HAND AND MACHINE

Mishan district of Pinking province. These emigrants split up and established themselves in Takaho and Chungtsuhu villages adjoining Tunghai and Keisei railway stations. Most of the agricultural lands are found to be situated on the bank of the river Niuling-ho and as such are rich and fertile for rice crops and harvests.

Apart from these Japanese Government's emigration projects, several other missionary and public independent bodies have come forward to establish new colonies, especially in the Southern Manchurian Railway zone.

It seems the Tenri-kyo and Itto-en group of religious bodies have established their own colonies in Harbin and Toei.

regular mass services for the people. They generally get up as early as 8 A.M. and lead a hermit's life.

They have, however, earned a good name and own agricultural lands in the vicinities of Shinilitang, Changtsutun, and Cheng-chiatun in the north-east of Harbin,

Lastly but of no less importance is the Tenshoen Institution duly promoted and managed by its able director, one Mr. Bon-yo Kosaka of Tokyo. It seems he has been chiefly responsible in successfully bringing together ex-service men and unemployed of Tokyo and Tokyo suburbs and establish them in agricultural colonies of the North Manchurian districts.

Prior to the working of this Tensho-En Settlement in Fukagawa slums of Tokyo. Much was done in the way of transplanting families by such bodies and institutions as the Tokyo Municipal Social Welfare Bureau, Gendarmerie Headquarters and the Kuantung Garrison. To-day the Tenshoen Colony in Manchuria has nearly 72-75 families and most of them are permanently settled on their estates.

In one of the industrial agricultural centres, these farmers own some 62 cows, 112 sheep, and 96 pigs. The place is getting ever so prosperous and the farmers are now in a position to buy new lands on their own account. There is also a weaving factory giving employment to those who are in search of work, especially during off-seasons of the year. Only recently another canned food factory has been established in the vicinity of this Japanese colony.

This colony has been working smoothly and the farming is being carried on collective farming basis so commonly in vogue in Siberian districts in the North.

The member colonists have no hard-and-fast rules as regards to the internal affairs and general administration of the place as the previous ones have imposed upon themselves and the Manchurian agrarian communities are free to join the colony.

These Government Overseas and Finance Offices projects, in order to relieve the tension of overpopulation and unemployment, have been successfully carried out during 1988-1987.

Besides these, such private organisations as the Manchou Immigration Co. and the Manchou Colonization Co. have come into existence and are busy in aiding the colonial agricultural settlements. It seems

the Manchou Immigration Co. was formed during the latter part of 1985 with the sole object of training the Japanese emigrants to Manchuria. On the other hand, the Manchou Colonization Co., though formed in the same year, takes active part in purchasing suitable lands, managements and financing the rehabilitation projects.

The Japanese emigrants have proved themselves to be active workers and possessing technical field knowledge much in advance to those of the Shantong coolies or the local Manchurian farmers. The new crops grown under the colonial managements and cultivations are decidedly remunerative and economic in the long run. New colonies and villages have sprung up along the banks of Sungari and Niuling rivers and the Manchurian Government is trying its utmost to encourage rural reconstruction works and giving adequate protection from the armed bandits.

There are again large-scale plans in order to establish railway centres and connect up important and industrial places, such as Chamusu and Tonan and Poli. It is expected that these railway branches and others would be directly responsible in converting these scattered colonies of North Manchuria into huge colonial regions.

It is interesting to note that these industrial enterprises have been successful and much has been achieved to mitigate the undue and sordid influences of the problems of overpopulation, criminology, and unemployment in the land.

The colonization schemes have further opened up new venues for the pavement of future economic and cultural ties in between the Japanese people and the Manchurians, and across the Pacific in Brazil.—(Copyright-Author).

THE HISTORY OF NON-VIOLENCE

BY MR. P. SPRATT

NON-VIOLENCE in its long Indian history has passed through several stages. It is the purpose of this article to distinguish four of them.

As it appears in the classical authors, it shows the characteristics of the thought of a priestly ruling class. In this stage it is itself a dogma, or it is deduced from dogmatic premisses—the existence in all living creatures of souls similar to those of men. The argument is followed out consistently. It applies to all kinds of animals: men are allowed no more value than mosquitoes. It applies also not only to violence in the ordinary sense, but to harsh words. There is, therewith, a sort of ruthlessness in the extension of the principle. It is to be observed, according to Patanjali, without regard to time, place, or circumstances. The doctrine has no regard for practical necessities. Dangerous animals are to be spared no less than harmless ones.

These features are characteristic of the thought of a priestly class. The dogmatic assurance, the consistent logic, the neglect of the practical every-day world—all speak of that peculiar, cloistered, other-worldly outlook. So also, perhaps a little contradictorily, does the neglect, in practice, of the spirit in favour of the letter. For this is the doctrine as it is generally held by Hindus to this day; and as Gandhiji has had occasion to point out, while orthodox Hindus protest against the benevolent taking of life, as when he had some rabid dogs killed, they "forget that there may be far more *himsa* in the slow torture of men and animals, the starvation and exploitation to which they are subjected out of selfish greed, the

wanton humiliation and oppression of the weak and killing of their self-respect".

The next stage of non-violence is that typical of the mediæval bourgeoisie. Here were a class of men in possession of wealth but not of political power, and under a regime which did not very effectively guarantee the reign of law. In Europe in similar conditions, the bourgeoisie sought security by taking the protection of some of the military class against others, or alternatively by organising in their own urban strongholds their own military defence. The former was but to yield oneself to systematic plunder, and the second method was therefore the more popular, and gradually prevailed.

In India, from whatever causes, the second method made little progress. Accordingly we find what can be interpreted as a defence-reaction of a different type. This is the adoption by the bourgeois class of a show—I do not mean merely a show—of piety, and in particular of non-violence. In order to avoid plunder by the authorities and irresponsible armed men, the rich in those times had to pretend to be poor. Similarly, to disarm envy and ward off aggression, they would themselves conform to the rule which they would like to see generally observed—non-violence. They did in fact do these things, and even to-day the tradition persists among Banias of strict vegetarianism and other signs of piety, of living cheaply and dirtily, but endowing highly ornate temples. Probably the popularity of Gandhiji's ideas among the bourgeoisie is partly due to these traditions.

It is not difficult to see traces of both these kinds of non-violence in the doctrine

professed by Gandhiji. Formally his theory is that of the classics, as he himself says. It seems to a non-expert to resemble closely that expounded by Patanjali. Though he has often to commit breaches of the principle so laid down, Gandhiji does not regard these as weakening it. It remains the ideal towards which he believes one must strive.

Gandhiji associates with his non-violence a principle of humility, and lays great stress on it. The truly non-violent man will live poorly, like a peasant or a worker. Further he holds that his non-violence confers power upon him. "Where is the power of non-violence in me?" he once asked. He has even spoken of that power as "credit" given him by God.

There are no doubt other and weightier reasons which need not be explored here, why Gandhiji should hold these views and use these peculiar expressions. But I think it is not too extravagant to detect in them a trace of the attitude of the mediæval bourgeois.

It is obvious, however, that this is a matter only of traces. The first type of influence, that of the classical doctrine, is more important and more evident in relation to Gandhiji. But the most important class-influence in his non-violence is the third, that of the modern bourgeoisie.

Modern Europe is not lacking in expressions of this kind of non-violence. The doctrine of the Quakers shows it most completely, but many signs of it are to be seen beyond the bounds of that small sect. It is in fact but an extreme expression of the bourgeois individualist attitude to things. The earlier bourgeois desire to be left free from spoliation develops into a general outlook upon life, centering upon the

individual free from all interference by others, except such contacts as he chooses to enter into, and these regulated by law to secure justice. Non-violence may be said to sum up the ethics of free competition, equality of opportunity and individual liberty.

Further, non-violence is a virtue which will appeal as practically possible only to men who assume that their own rationality is shared by mankind as a whole. Dr. Mannheim has given a very lucid account (in contrast to the rest of his book) of this mentality. It is distinguished by extreme intellectualism; it neglects will, interest and passion; it is intolerant of emotionally determined and evaluative thinking; it puts its confidence in reason. It is the kind of attitude which the Marxists call "metaphysical" or mechanistic.

Non-violence evidently fits this kind of mental atmosphere very well. It assumes, as the utilitarians did, that men seek their own interests in a rational way, that they control their emotions and impulses in their own larger interests. Mr. Andrews and Prof. Whitehead have popularised Plato's "victory of persuasion over force". The phrase shows admirably the intimate connection between rationality and non-violence; and suggests further the connection of both with individualism—respect for the individual as in himself valuable.

Non-violence in this aspect is then but the primary condition of social co-operation, of living together on the part of free and equal citizens. It involves only internalising the restraint which is necessary in any society, especially in a free and equal one. It seeks to replace the criminal law,

No elaboration is needed to show that Gandhiji's non-violence partakes most of the nature of this modern bourgeois non-violence. His doctrine is strongly individualistic and rationalistic. It undoubtedly neglects the facts of psychology, in attributing to ordinary people, and especially to people in the mass, a higher degree of rational foresight and self-control than they actually possess.

Non-violence of this cold, rational sort has never succeeded. Non-violence has victories to its credit, but they have been won not by virtue of its rationality but by the strength of its emotional appeal. So it would be if the attempt were made to conduct a society with this kind of non-violence as its guiding principle. Bourgeois non-violence would not be enough. It aims at liberty and equality, but these unsupported by fraternity would fail. Non-violence must be given an emotional content.

Gandhiji has extended the doctrine of bourgeois non-violence in the restricted meaning here considered, by giving his doctrine some of the necessary emotional tone. He has identified it with love—social solidarity, fraternity.

Now the working-class socialist movement lays great stress on social solidarity, both emotionally and intellectually. It criticises the bourgeois social order as heartless, cruel and selfish; and as atomistic, and so as tending necessarily to social disintegration, and as leading to intellectual error. Socialists differ a good deal, but all would agree that fraternity is an essential part of their doctrine.

A principle of non-violence which stresses this emotional tie between the individual and society may then be associated with the working-class and its characteristic

doctrine of socialism. And so far as Gandhiji lays emphasis on this aspect of non-violence, he may be said to incline towards socialism. Of course, this profession on his part is not enough to entitle us to call him a socialist. But it is reasonable to call socialistic one side of his teaching, although it seems inconsistent with other theories of his which are kept more prominently before the public.

Gandhiji has said that while disapproving of the methods of the socialists he approves of their aims. He would like social and economic equality, and democracy, and the relinquishment of all private property-rights. He would place large-scale industries under public control. But these questions are for the present rather remote. What seems more immediately important is the aspect of socialism which he repudiates, its methods. These are, of course violence, confiscation of property, and class-struggle. Gandhiji believes that the necessary transformation of society can be brought about without compulsion upon property-owners; and nobody questions that if it can be so brought about it ought to be. I am not prepared to say that this transformation without compulsion is impossible, but I think it extremely unlikely. Here again is to be seen the influence of the rationalism so characteristic of bourgeois thought, and of Gandhiji's. The power of reason is exaggerated, emotional factors are neglected. For in such a matter emotional factors are of decisive importance. The question has not arisen yet in India and can hardly do so for some time. But when if ever it does arise, it will be the subject not of academic debate but of passionate dispute, class ranged against class, power against power. As it is now

in Europe, so probably it will be in India, a question of change in the economic system, or collapse; of power to the fascists or power to the socialists. If the socialists win, they will have no time, even if they have the desire, for theoretical demonstrations and rational persuasion. They will have to act at once, or abandon the cause for which they have obtained power, and ultimately lose that power itself. Gandhiji's method of dealing with these problems reminds one of those theoretically perfect engines one reads of in Thermodynamics. Their efficiency is the maximum possible, one hundred per cent—but only if they work infinitely slowly. In practice there can never be time for peaceful persuasion and free consent.

This peculiarity in Gandhiji's thought seems to most socialists so important that they refuse to recognise what I have called the fourth phase of his non-violence.

Nevertheless, it is real, and worth recognition. It is surely a fact of no small importance that he does uphold the main principles of socialism, that he does admit that a society based on equality and brotherhood, instead of inequality and competition, is the society we ought to aim at; and further, that he admits this not merely in an abstract way, as a remote and practically negligible ideal, but as a real possibility, which he regards himself as working to bring about. If the question of socialism becomes an urgent one within this generation, it may be predicted that what is now the united camp of the followers of Gandhiji will become divided over it. Socialists may then appreciate, what for the most part they do not appreciate now, the great value for their cause of the Gandhian teaching generally, and even of the much-derided principle of non-violence.

THE PROBLEM OF DOUBLE TAXATION

BY PROF. BOOL CHAND, PH.D. (LONDON)

DOUBLE taxation arises owing to the adoption of two fundamentally distinct bases of taxation by any two taxing countries or authorities: one country or authority may tax incomes on the basis of their 'origin', and the other may tax on the basis of the domicile or permanent residence of the recipients of such incomes. In effect, thus, the same income may have to bear the burden of income tax twice over in the two taxing countries; and this situation gives rise to a real hardship and grievance, which with the constant growth of international, commercial and industrial enterprise is assuming larger and larger proportions every day.

This problem of conflict between the laws relating to taxation in different states, and the consequential necessity of double taxation relief, was considered by a small Committee consisting of Professors Seligman, Bruins, Einaudi, and Sir Josiah Stamp appointed by the Finance Committee of the League of Nations. The Committee came to the conclusion that the most feasible principle of double taxation relief was the division of the total tax between the two taxing jurisdictions, and therefore suggested the advisability of concluding international, inter-state, and inter-communal agreements in order to achieve that object; for only by means of such

agreements could there be an effective assurance of uniform action on the part of the conflicting authorities. As for the basis of the division of the total tax between any two conflicting authorities, Prof. Seligman's opinion was that 'a large part of the tax should go to the place where the property lies or whence the earnings are derived, a smaller share to the domicile of the owner': this opinion was quite in consonance with the doctrine of economic allegiance elaborated by the Committee on Double Taxation. The implications, however, of these principles of double taxation relief have not been strictly observed in practice in the Western countries. They have been modified and generally interpreted to their own advantage, so that relief from double taxation has been given on two fundamental conditions, firstly, that any relief that is thus granted should be granted by a country only to its own nationals and residents, and secondly, that any inter-state agreement for double taxation relief should be of the nature of a trade agreement which secures the maximum of advantage for the nation corresponding to the advantage that is conceded to the foreign nation.

This same practice is followed in the Indian tax system also when the taxing authorities in conflict happen to be British India and any Indian State. In this case, the income subject to relief is Indian in the sense that it arises in India and the person given relief is also an Indian, so that the first fundamental condition of double taxation relief as practised in the Western countries is quite automatically secured. As regards the relief itself, the existing arrangement is that when a person who has paid British Indian income tax

on any part of his income has also paid on the same part of his income State income tax in any part of the States, he shall then be entitled to a refund from the Indian Government of a sum representing half the rate of the State tax levied on his income, provided that such relief is not to exceed one-half of the Indian rate of tax. The State, in return, refunds to the double taxed person the other half of the State tax. Thus a doubly taxed person has to pay, in the final analysis, since the rate of the British Indian tax is almost always higher than that of the State tax, only the higher of the two income taxes.

But the system of double taxation relief as between India and Great Britain is not governed by these national principles or equitable practice and necessarily causes to the Indian exchequer a large financial loss every year. Great Britain, as is well known, has a very comprehensive scheme of income tax, levying it both on the basis of 'origin' and 'residence'; India is partial to incomes from salaries and securities receivable abroad, but rigorously taxes incomes from business carried on in India without any regard to the place where such income is receivable: therefore in many cases there is double taxation of the same business income by the British and the Indian Governments. The existing arrangement for relief of this double taxation is to make the first charge on the British exchequer to the extent of one-half of the British rate including sur-tax, and then to have a refund from the Indian exchequer to the extent of the difference between the Indian rate of tax and the rate at which relief has already been granted from the British exchequer, subject however to the maximum

of one-half of the Indian rate. But although the income that thus receives relief is formally Indian income, the main beneficiaries from this relief are largely Englishmen. There are very few Indians who have any substantial incomes arising in the United Kingdom, so that the whole effect of the operation of present system of double taxation relief between these two countries is to benefit non-Indians upon their Indian incomes. All this is against one of the fundamental conditions underlying double taxation relief. The loss of revenue to Indian exchequer on this account is by no means small, and with every rise in the Indian rate of tax it must obviously increase. All this loss is being borne by Indian exchequer merely to afford relief to foreigners who are trading in India and exploiting Indian resources. There is no reason, therefore, why this system of relief should not be abolished, and there can be no justification for the new Income Tax Amendment Bill leaving the existing provisions wholly intact.

An argument is sometimes made that a change in the existing arrangement would, by forcing double taxation upon Englishmen, impede the free flow of British capital in India and tend to raise the rate of interest; but such an argument seems to us to be a mistaken one. The grant of relief for Indian income given at present by the British exchequer is not conditional and is not based upon reciprocity, so that if Indian Government should refuse to give any refund, the loss to the British profiteer in India will only be to the extent of that portion of the Indian tax which is in excess of half the British rate. Such loss cannot be large in dimension and should not be any great

discouragement to British capital in India; for it would at all events be counterbalanced by the high return which British capital normally obtains in India. But even if the withdrawal of double taxation relief should cause some discouragement to foreign capital in India, we do not see why that should make us unhappy. India has large reserves of capital which can be mobilised and which need to be tempted out by positive Government action; for only thus can Indian dependence upon foreign capital be brought to an end.

There is one kind of double taxation relief, however, for which there is ample justification as it would operate in the interest of Indian nationals. At present there is no agreement for double taxation relief between India and the Dominions, so that all Indian incomes derived from any of the Dominions are subject to the levy of double taxation in India as well as in the respective Dominion where the income arises. In order to encourage the acquisition of foreign profits, some of the Dominions, like New Zealand and Canada, are specifically exempting their citizens from being taxed upon incomes that have already paid income tax in any other part of the British Empire, so that incomes derived by their nationals from abroad are relieved from the burden of double taxation, even although such relief means a slight cost to the National exchequer. Many Indians have an extensive trade in South Africa and they have to pay income tax upon their incomes, not only to the South African Government but also to the Indian Government. Although the income thus doubly taxed is technically South African income, the persons who suffer by such double taxation are Indians. It is, therefore, desirable that the Indian Government should try to make permanent agreements with all those countries in which Indians are carrying on lucrative trade for the division of the total tax income and the corresponding relief of double taxation.

PROGRESS AND THE GOOD LIFE

BY MR. T. T. KRISHNAMACHARI, M.L.A.

"NOT life, but a good life is to be chiefly valued," said Socrates. The concept of the good life is undergoing constant change with the progress of the sciences and of man's ethical standards. The ceaseless pursuit of the good life, good in that it is purposive, humane and beautiful ever more, is the end which is worthy of man's utmost endeavours in this world. Thinkers of every country therefore have to readjust their ideas in relation to the rapidly changing conditions about them. It is dangerous to proceed on the assumption that the systems and institutions that we live under, were built for all time. Institutions are but means to the great end of the good life and to fossilize and place them beyond the healthy influence of amendment and alteration is to mistake the means for the end and the resulting social lag brings on unhappiness and strife. If, similarly, people who are placed in positions of power, trust, influence and privilege are unable to readjust their views to suit changing conditions, a class of die-hards is created. Misfits and disharmonies occur largely because we are unable to keep pace with the changes in thought occurring around us and because we lack the capacity for changing our methods in certain matters in tune with the changes occurring in other aspects of life.

Let us apply this reasoning first to politics. In our own country, twenty or twenty-five years ago—and this is not a very big period of time—our leaders like Surendranath Banerjee would have been content with a recognition of India's ultimate right to Dominion Status and the grant of a substantial measure

of reform towards it. Fifteen years ago, C. R. Das said he wanted immediate Dominion Status. To-day, the generally accepted political ideal for the country is *Purna Swaraj* which to most people means a fully national and independent international status for all-India. Political institutions are to be judged by their capacity to make for conditions to ensure the good life of the people and during the past two or three decades, these conditions have moved so incessantly that the country has changed its political idealism from a place in the back benches of the British Imperial Councils to the front rank of international life. This is not the work of agitators but this springs out of the deep desires and interests of the people and whether you call it a progress towards the good life or a reversion to the chaos of that anarchy which has filled our land in the past with misery, you have to register the fact of the overwhelming change.

What is true in the political field is even more strikingly true in other spheres of human activity in this country. In the economic and social spheres, the unrest is more deep seated. The institutions on which our social and economic life is founded, were based on a state of things that social evolution has long outrun. If the institutions are now less efficient or adequate, there is no use attributing these defects to temporary causes. The matter is of serious importance, for while the political struggle will, for the most part, be directed against non-Indians, the economic and social readjustments when tackled would release forces of internecine conflicts and the survival of institutions and their fitness for promoting the

good life will, consequently, be even more problematical.

Our economic problems are more or less inextricably bound up with our social structure. In the economic life of the people, we always come to a point when it is not possible to postpone a decision on the issue—what is the true basis of the economic structure? Is it work to be contributed by everybody in his own measure or is it the privilege of a few to get work done by the rest? What is the true criterion of social justice—a phrase very much in evidence in these days—and what is the machinery most suitable to achieve it? Taking stock, we find ourselves landed in some confusion so far as this question is concerned in India. Even the views of Mahatma Gandhi to whose voice people often look for guidance on similar questions do not help to clarify the issues. He has evolved a scheme of economic life which blurs the frontiers of this discussion by side-tracking it to an appraisal of the value of materialistic progress itself and by putting it down as both unsuitable and unethical.

Those who have vested interests, by which I mean interests vested in them by social consent and by the law of the land, are persons who in the past have contributed largely by reason of their initiative and enterprise to the economic uplift of the country. They naturally resent attempts at what they believe to be serious inroads into their rights. It is, therefore, natural to expect vehement opposition to the cry of social justice from this class. Again there are those at the other end of the scale asking for violent changes and bringing into play the full force of all the knowledge and prejudice that they have

obtained from the philosophy preached by various kinds and grades of socialists ranging from Robert Owen to Lenin. Throughout history, the have-nots have been ultimately prevailing though not to the same extent and as speedily as they desire to achieve success. The trend towards adoption of socialistic ideals is more and more clear even in countries which have an apparent objection to the doctrines of Marx and Lenin. The days of individualist and capitalist economics and *laissez-faire* seem to have come to an end. The limits to Governmental interference into the economic life of the people set by the 19th century standards have faded away. Governments even in avowedly capitalist countries have generally realised that it is their duty to step in and correct economic mal-adjustments, that they as representatives of the people have a right to order the economic structure in the best interests of the country, irrespective of their professed adherence to one or other of the conflicting socio-political ideologies of capitalism, fascism, communism and the like.

Socially established valuations have a way of persisting by reason of the inertia of institutional habits through inherited tradition, custom and laws beyond the point of equity or of their own usefulness. That this inertia is slowly disappearing is evident from frequent and continued governmental interference in the economic affairs of its people. But rigid adherence to these valuations by vested interests is bound to make the conflict acute. Social statesmanship on the part of those that have more of worldly goods is the one chief need at the moment and this must inevitably precede the forging of conditions making for the good life.

To a people dominated by Hindu ideals of *Dharma* in their every-day life, to a people who have not had to face the rapid industrialisation of the West, to whom the Darwinian theory of survival of the fittest cannot make a strong appeal, peaceful readjustment of our economic order need not present the same difficulties as it does to Western countries. Changes in our economic structure are

inevitable and it is only a quick, proper and correct realisation of this inevitable fact, a display of that virtue which has been called social statesmanship in an abundant measure by those occupying key positions in the economic field that will serve to avoid unnecessary and wasteful conflicts and help in the smooth reconciliation of diverse interests and thus promote the good life.

ART IN EVERY-DAY LIFE

BY

SRIMATHI KAMALADEVI CHATTOPADHYAYA

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WHAT is art is still an oft-repeated phrase and many puzzling interpretations are given of it. But the average "man in the street" conception is that art is an expression of beauty, something that transforms the ordinary crude form into one of delight. These expressions are both natural as well as studied. When an artist paints, a sculptor models, he does it under the force of his inner urge, he is seeking to give form to his dreams. When a potter gently moulds the clay and turns the wheel, it is only his spontaneous natural urge that guides him—an urge which has now become pronounced and set through the ages, it has passed into tradition. He creates a common object of utility but makes it an object of beauty. We call it craft.

At a cursory glance at any artist at work, the result may seem a sheer accident. Because the instinct for beauty is inborn. It may be polished and refined later as a rough diamond is made ready for jewel-

setting. Throughout the ages man has craved to find himself in creation. It is the creative urge of Nature which made man that in its turn seeks to escape into expression. From the primitive times we find this turbulent spirit breaking out in various forms. The first attempts of man to draw pictures on the walls of his cave, his efforts to shape his implements into quaint forms of harmony, these are but a few examples. No matter how crude, we see the beginnings of an object of beauty, the faint traces of the work of art. Fashions and tastes may change, even our conceptions of beauty differ, but that fundamental urge is ever there.

But these objects of beauty fulfil different purposes. A piece of painting or sculpture will only be used as an ornament to lend beauty and loveliness to the surroundings. Then there are objects of every-day use which are also delicately modelled, that they may not only serve as utilitarian objects but also bring delight into our daily existence.

These we generally call the crafts. Roughly speaking they may be divided into graphic and plastic art, though they are expressions of the same spirit. But the two cannot be divorced from each other. A work of art is an object which has harmonious design and aesthetic appeal. There are objects which do not satisfy either of these and still in wide circulation because of their commercial value. But they could not be called objects of art unless they satisfied the above test. The two aspects of expression—arts and crafts—are closely interdependent. Even a painting needs a frame, it needs the proper setting. This can only be supplied by crafts.

Though roughly speaking we may say the craft came first and then art, it is wrong to make these crude distinctions. Every attempt which man has made to create any object of utility has betrayed his innate urge to make it beautiful. The creative vein runs through the most elementary effort even. Hence the close inter-dependance of arts and crafts which brings beauty into our dull, humdrum routine existence. Even in the wild days when man lived the dangerous life of a hunter and depended upon his bow and arrow to get him his daily food, he regaled himself by painting, giving a wistfulness to his harsh and hard struggle for existence. They used to taboo their bodies for decoration. They invented beads for ornaments, ever the desire for beauty and yet more beauty. Even in such practical objects as ancient flints, we notice all kinds of decorations, although one can easily imagine the immense task of tracing lines on hard stone in those days. In fact some of the workmanship of jewellery and other objects and ornaments

still puzzle the modern craftsman. Even his skilled fingers cannot always reshape them. These arts and crafts tell their own undeniable tale of the growth and development of man, the human mind, the social organism. They tell the story of civilization. Pottery, for instance, is the most common and probably one of the most ancient of objects that speaks most eloquently. From its crude earthy origin it emerged in its resplendent aristocratic form as porcelain. Here we have a very ordinary object of every-day use receiving the fastidious attention and care of master artists who devote their whole lives to perfecting it.

But arts and crafts are not always the result of purely indigenous genius. Every country which it invades is influenced by the new-comer's culture. Moreover trade and commerce also make for wider influence. But such interchanges make for the richness of art as Chinese porcelain or Indian muslins have made for pottery and textiles respectively, provided these influences are absorbed and harmonised into our daily lives. Then they make for greater variety and richness of beauty and such influences should be welcomed. In fact, India has been considerably influenced throughout by many other cultures, just as she in return has influenced others. The predominating feature of arts and crafts must lie in their dynamic rhythm, their capacity to harmonise with their setting. For this the artist has to take his cue from Nature. Whatever departures we may make from the accepted traditions, they must be such as find a place in our setting.

To-day in India we find great clashes of tastes and influences. The West has

brought a new civilization to us. It is inevitably bound to influence our arts and crafts. The danger to be avoided is imitation. Those objects which find a harmonious relationship in their own atmosphere, and blend into their background, become crude and incongruous in our land. The style of buildings, clothes, furniture so often imported wholesale have begun to become monstrosities instead of objects of beauty. We have ceased to take our cue from the Nature. We find our country flooded by cheap-looking objects that so mar the dignity of our existence. Even in remote villages where once festive decorations were woven out of leaves and palms, to-day we find them disappearing and giving place to ugly paper flowers. However beautiful the paper flowers may look in Japan, for there they have the appropriate background and setting for them, they become utterly incongruous in our setting.

One big factor that is upsetting our old arts and crafts is machine manufacture. Large-scale production and standardisation do not leave scope for that individual expression which has been such a feature of handicrafts. When cheap manufacture flood the market, the genuine articles of art are hustled out and the result is a rapid deterioration. Care has, therefore, to be taken to see that the machine does not entirely kill the soul of a nation. Even where goods are produced by machinery, the element of beauty must never be lost sight of. Care has also to be taken to see that all our handicrafts are not lost, but a place securely preserved for them in the scheme of things. Machine-made goods need not necessarily be ugly or crude. They can also express the hunger of man for beauty. The desire to shape the

cheapest or commonest of goods for every-day use with an eye to harmony of design and aesthetic appeal, is fast growing. But the fundamental thing is that it must be of such design as will stand out in loveliness and fit into our surroundings. Otherwise even a most beautiful thing will look incongruous and out of place. That is why education in fine arts, arts of one's own country must be made part and parcel of children's training from the earliest stage. To-day there is too much of "Foreign" element in education and our children's tastes are vitiated from the very beginning. Unless this is stopped and their taste is cultivated along right lines, our arts and crafts will degenerate more and more, and our culture deteriorate.

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N. GOPALA IYER,

Secretary.

MAHATMA HANS RAJ AS I KNEW HIM

BY PROF. DIWAN CHAND SHARMA, M.A.

Who is the happy warrior? Who is he
That every man in arms should wish to be?
It is the generous spirit, who, when brought
Among the tasks of real life, hath wrought
Upon the plan that pleased his childish thought;
Whose high endeavours are an inward light
That makes the path before him always bright;
Who, with a natural instinct to discern
What knowledge can perform is diligent to learn;
Abides by the resolve, and stops not there,
But makes his moral being his prime care.
—W. Wordsworth.

In these words does Wordsworth depict
the character of the Happy Warrior
and these words apply with equal force



MAHATMA HANS RAJ

and appropriateness to the subject of this sketch also—Mahatma Hans Raj. Mahatma Hans Raj was, indeed, one who possessed the generous spirit, whose life was full of high endeavours, who was ever eager to learn, who abided by the resolve and who made his moral being his prime care. In fact, all his life, his moral being was his prime care and he strove to be good and virtuous rather than clever and brilliant. But was he a warrior? He was a warrior in the sense that he always sought to combat illiteracy, superstitions, social injustice and irreligion; otherwise he was one of the most pacifist of men. Lord Asquith once referred to himself as

one of the most pacifist of men by disposition who was engaged in the two most contentious departments of life: law and politics, and this was true. Mahatma Hans Raj was like Lord Asquith a pacifist by disposition but he was unlike him engaged also in the least contentious of all spheres of work—education. He did not take delight in setting people by the ears, in producing friction, generating heat and creating schisms, but he liked to reconcile even the most irreconcileable elements, to hold people together, to avoid bad blood and to produce harmony out of conflict. Thus, though he was not a warrior in the sense of a man in arms, he was ever happy. His happiness, however, was not dependent on the circumstances of his life, but the result of his attitude towards life and his own frame of mind.

The gentle-hearted Mahatma was at home amongst all. His sunny disposition, his contagious loud laughter, his contented looks, his equable life showed that he was happy and that he was pleased with what he was and what he saw around him.



PROF. DIWAN CHAND SHARMA

One secret of his happiness was the strength of his domestic affections. The writer had seen the Mahatma surrounded by his daughters and sons, enjoying a hearty

laugh with them, telling them an amusing story and unbending his mind in their midst. To Wordsworth, as to the Mahatma, the ties of home were the most sacred and the most dear. Every day when he was at Lahore, he would go to see his elderly mother as long as she was alive and his affectionate brother, and whenever he would find some time free from his pre-occupations, he would spend it in the midst of his family group. The family group was a sight for the gods to see. Emerson used to invite to his parties all children from six to sixty and the Mahatma's family group is also composed of children from six to sixty. The Mahatma was himself like a child there and put all at their ease in his presence. There you saw him with the wisdom, experience and looks of a great patriarch but with the loving heart of a child, the careless laughter of a boy—a laughter that came from the heart and showed his fresh and hearty delight in the simple joys of life. In fact, there was none who found so much pleasure in the simple and homely details of life as he; for to him God had given the capacity for enjoying the most ordinary blessings of life. A walk to the river would give him greater pleasure than a ride in a motor car. The cucumber and the turnip, the sugar-cane and the carrot were most dear to him, and he would eat them with a relish and gusto which would surprise all who have set their hearts on more fashionable luxuries. He would like to bask in the sun and not sit in a room heated by an electric furnace. He would like to wait for a breeze of God rather than have the breeze from the man-made fan. He would thrive on bread and pulse and never think of many dishes. He would dress himself in the hempen home-spun rather than in Assam silk. He would see the sun rise and hear the birds sing rather than go to a cinema or be entertained in a music-hall. In fact, luxury was a word not to be found in his dictionary and for him were the simple, unsophisticated pleasures which the ordinary things of life yield. The most homely of men, he was also compact of devotion to God. Like the Reverend Mr. Holman of Mrs. Gaskell's creation, he believed that we should work

for the glory of God. In him was manifest that spirit of resignation to the will of God which has been a distinctive feature of all God-fearing men. He worked for God, lived for God and did everything for the glory of God. As other people take pains to show themselves off, so he sedulously refrained from being in the lime-light. It might have been truly said of him:

He is retired as noon-tide dew.
Or fountain in a noon-day grove.

He was, to tell the truth, the happy sage. Hutton said of Wordsworth that there was self-government in every word, line and sentence of his and it may be said of Mahatma Hans Raj that there was self-government in every word, thought and action of his. He was not one of the impulsive, vehement and passionate people but he was sober, cautious and thoughtful. His motto of life was not merely to take care of the day passing over the head but to see into the future, to think ahead of others. He would take a step after due thought but he would never bark back after having taken a step once. He believed in slow and gradual evolution and not in any sudden transformation. He was a builder and he built slowly but on broad and firm foundations. He built the D. A. V. College and he perfected the organisation of the Arya Samaj as well as any human being could. He never liked to pose, to appear clever and to overawe others but wished to work slowly and silently. He did not work by fits and starts but with a steady aim and a steadfast purpose. People believed him to be sincere in whatever he said or did and therefore accepted his lead. Eminent as an educationist, he was not the less great as a friend of the poor. He did much to help the famine-stricken people in Garhwal in the State of Jammu, in Orissa and other places. He came to the rescue of the people in Malabar and earned the gratitude of all.

Such was Mahatma Hans Raj, a man sincere, devout and homely, a man of gentle persuasion and of an inspiring simplicity of life, a man whose self-denial proved contagious, and who wrought the people of the Punjab much good.

We may here give in brief outlines an account of his life. He was born in

1864, at Bejwara in the district of Hoshiarpur—a place remarkable for natural beauty, romantic scenery, historical associations and a bracing climate. His father died when he was only 10, and he was left under the charge of his elder brother L. Mulk Raj. His father, when on his death-bed, heartened his wife by saying that their family would not remain sunk in poverty and obscurity for long but would become distinguished soon. The prophecy of the dying father has been really fulfilled and the family is now as distinguished as any other. After receiving his elementary education, Hans Raj was brought to Lahore where his elder brother was employed in a railway office. There he was admitted into the Mission School and proved to be a bright scholar. One anecdote of his school days is worth remembering. One day a teacher made some unpleasant remarks about ancient India and this cut him to the quick. He could not tolerate that ancient India should be held up to ridicule and the ancient Indian culture derided in that way. He, therefore, respectfully suggested to the teacher that his views about ancient India were not correct. This annoyed the school-master, and Hans Raj had to go out of school for a day or two. The incident was not without its moral. It showed that even as a boy he felt much pride in India's past and was jealous of its honour. It also showed his self-confidence and his intimate knowledge and growing love of history. From his boyhood he had the courage of his convictions and this matured but did not decrease with years. After leaving the Mission School, Hans Raj entered the Government College, Lahore. While he was a student of the Government College, he fell under the spell of the late Lala Sain Das, a man of integrity, piety and simplicity. As Mr. Armstrong exercised a great influence upon Booker T. Washington, so L. Sain Das had a healthy formative influence upon the growing boy. The veteran inculcated in him fervour for Arya Samaj, zeal for service and a love of simplicity. Hans Raj was a constant companion of L. Sain Das and became a fervent worker in the cause of Arya Samaj. Nor was he alone in this. L. Laipat Rai and Pandit Guru Datta Vidyarthi were his

contemporaries and his fellow-workers. This happy trio did not care much for the studies but set their hearts upon those things which are dear to social servants and public workers. Even in their youth they were distinguished by their zeal for noble causes and their love of progressive thought. Day and night they toiled for Arya Samaj, speaking from its platform, editing a newspaper and doing many other things. Hans Raj graduated from the Government College in due course of time and then he had to choose a career for himself. While he was yet thinking of what he should do, Swami Dayanand, the founder of the Arya Samaj, passed away. It was then decided to commemorate his memory by starting the D. A. V. College at Lahore, which besides teaching English literature and Western sciences, should foster in the people love of ancient India, Sanskrit and Vedic religion. Consequently money was collected for this purpose, but money was not the only thing that was wanted. A man was wanted to be at the helm of the affairs of the College—a man who should identify himself with the cause and devote his days and nights to it. Hans Raj, therefore, offered his services as the first honorary headmaster of the D. A. V. High School, Lahore, and his elder brother, L. Mulk Raj, promised to support him. Both the brothers fulfilled their promise, the one served the D. A. V. College with his whole heart and the other supported him through thick and thin. L. Hans Raj was the head of the D. A. V. College for 25 years and made the institution the premier centre of education in the province. When he retired from the principalship, the students of the D. A. V. High School, Lahore, under the lead of their revered headmaster, Bakshi Ram Rattan, built a hall in his honour which cost about Rs. 80,000. After he retired from this, he was made the President of the D. A. V. College Managing Committee, Lahore. He resigned from it also after some years and then devoted his days to the propagation of Arya Samaj. He did much to uplift the untouchables and help the famine-stricken. His name was a household word in the Punjab, and everywhere he was known as a steady and indefatigable worker. His lecturing activity was immense.

and he wrote some books also. He published a book in Hindi "Puja Dharma" which could be used for daily religious practice by all lovers of the Vedas.

But the most important part of his work lay neither in writing nor in lecturing but in organising. This work of organising had several aspects. In the first place, he knew that nothing could be accomplished without money, and so he made it a point to collect as much money as he could for the several kinds of work that he did. The D. A. V. College, Lahore, had an initial capital of only a few thousands, but now it has a funded capital of several lakhs. All this money was raised with the direct help of, or the blessings of, Mahatma Hans Raj. Moreover it should be remembered that most of this money was collected in the form of small donations. But this happened only because the people believed that the management of the D. A. V. College, Lahore, never wasted even a single pice and made the best use of whatever it had. In fact, one of the Vice-Chancellors of the Punjab University, Sir John Maynard, once remarked in his convocation address: "The management of the college knows how to make a rupee go towards doing the work of rupees two or even more." But the Mahatma knew that it was not only money that was required for running an organisation, men too were wanted - earnest and devoted men who could throw themselves heart and soul into the movement. So in the D. A. V. College, Lahore, he instituted an order of Life Members who devoted their lives to the College on a bare living wage. Not only did he collect money for the College, but he also got together funds for the Arya Pradeshak Pratinidhi Sabha, Lahore, whose object is to propagate the mission of Arya Samaj. Thereto he inspired a band of zealous workers to spread the messages of the Vedas. But he did not confine his activities mainly to the Punjab. When famines broke out in Garhwal in the U. P. and Orissa, when there was trouble in Madras on account of the Mopla rebellion, when an earthquake took place in Behar, when the Bhils were hit hard on account of the failure of rains, when the people of Behar were the victims of an earthquake—on all

these occasions he appealed to the people of the Punjab and the other provinces to help their brethren. His appeals always met with a generous response and he was able to succour these people in the hour of their need and distress. At the same time, he established centres of missionary work all over India as well as outside. For instance, there is a centre of work at Calicut even now and there is a missionary establishment in Assam. Several times he sent various missionaries to Europe and Africa to spread the gospel of the Vedas. It was on account of his unique services to the cause of Arya Samaj that he was asked to preside over the All-India Aryan Conference held at Delhi in 1927. I attended that Conference in his company and found unprecedented enthusiasm there. The number of people who attended it ran into thousands and every one seemed intent on giving his very best in the cause of Arya Samaj. Mahatmaji gave to these people a message of hope as well as an inspiration for solid constructive work.

But his great self-sacrifice was recognised not only by Arya Samajists. His work in the cause of social reform was well known and so he was asked to preside over the Indian Social Conference held at Amritsar in 1919. In his presidential speech he appealed not merely to the sentiments of the people but gave them a programme of constructive work. He drew the attention of the people to their love of extravagance. They spent too much money on observing festivals and in celebrating ceremonies. He wanted them to get rid of this habit, and he further pleaded that even if some money was to be spent, it should be done in the cause of *svadeshi* only on those things which are made in our own country and that we should not run after foreign goods. He knew that child marriages were still common amongst Indians and therefore asked them to abolish them. He felt that Indians do not observe *Brahmacharya* and exhorted them to practise it in the cause of national fitness. It pained him to see that Hindus were divided into so many castes and sub-castes and this made them a house divided against itself. He wanted that the artificial caste system as it prevailed should give way and its place

be taken by the old Aryan Varn Ashram system. He felt that this caste system was responsible for narrowing the field of choice in the case of marriages and was placing difficulties in our way in the pursuit of certain trades and professions. He felt that all these things must disappear and within the present system of caste sub-divisions. He felt sincerely for the depressed classes, and he believed that unless their problem was solved, Hindus could not attain to greatness. He, therefore, asked the high caste Hindus to let Harijans worship in their temples, draw water from their wells and receive education in their institutions. The problem of Hindu widows always touched his heart, and he asked Hindus to abolish all restrictions in the way of their re-marriage. So many young Hindus, he said, embraced other religions simply because they could not find suitable matches in their own community. If the re-marriage of widows is permitted many of such conversions would be stopped. He was equally keen on female education. But he was bitterly opposed to the present system of University education for girls. He felt that Indian girls should not be made to read the same books and undergo the same examinations as Indian boys. Some years afterwards he started the Mahila Maha-vidyalaya at Lahore in order to give the girls a new type of education.

Mahatmaji was alive to the plight of the disunited Hindus of India, and he wanted that they should become united and powerful and strong. So he said: "Let the Hindus learn to pray together like the Mohammedans. Let them look after their widows and orphans as other communities do. Let them remember that Hinduism should not be confined to India only, but should become a world religion. The Hindus should learn Hindi and make it the most important language in India. They should work for the uplift of the depressed classes and do away with the false distinctions of caste. Every Hindu should feel that all Hindus are his brothers."

He was equally keen on *Shuddhi*, and it was his belief that the reconversion of the Hindus who had abjured their faith

should be carried on without fear and that the doors of Hinduism should be flung wide open to receive any one who believed in its tenets. But this did not mean that he was intolerant of, or inimical to, the other communities that inhabited India. When he was invited to the Unity Conference held at Delhi, he felt glad to go there. He thought that if the Hindu-Muslim problem was solved, India would be nearer to the attainment of *swaraj*. He, however, did not believe in the attainment of *swaraj* through Non-Co-operation. When the first Non-Co-operation movement was launched in this country and the students were asked to leave schools and colleges, he thought it to be not a very wise step. He, therefore, opposed this part of the Non-Co-operation programme. But he believed also that our education should not be dominated entirely by examinations, universities and the education department. He, therefore, started three new institutions which were going to be entirely free from the control of the University of the Punjab and the Punjab Education Department. He established a college of higher Sanskrit learning where Vedic missionaries were to be trained. He started an industrial school where young men were to receive training in handicrafts, and he founded a school and a college for girls where the courses of rendering were to be entirely on national lines. One thing that pained him very much during the last few years was the question of unemployment amongst young men, and he was very keen on doing something to solve this problem. Since he felt that Hindu young men hankered too much after petty clerical jobs and were averse to vocational careers, he persuaded the Management of the D. A. V. College, Lahore, to establish a new institution on the occasion of its Golden Jubilee Celebrations, which would fit young men for industrial careers. His suggestion was taken up with much enthusiasm and about a lakh of rupees were collected for this purpose. Then he was asked to lay the foundation-stone of the Dayanand Industrial Institute. He was also very enthusiastic about the military training of young men, and if he had lived a few years more, he would have established an institute for this purpose also.

Mahatma Hans Raj lived a life dedicated to the good of the people. He had no personal ambition of his own, and he devoted all his time to the welfare of his countrymen. Personal comfort and domestic affairs did not have much interest for him. Every waking hour of his life was spent in the good of the people. Even when his son L. Balraj became involved in a conspiracy case he did not take his mind off his work. Those were the days of much strain for him, but never was he known to complain or grow faint-hearted. He pursued his daily routine as usual as if nothing had happened. His ailing wife passed away as a result of the shock she suffered on account of the life sentence awarded to her son, but he bore this grief with exemplary patience. Till the last day of his life before the fatal illness came upon him, he remained in harness. He also remained in the full possession of his moral and mental energies till the last moment of his life. Old age deals very severely with some people but it did not lay its hand so rigorously on him. He was always active taking his usual walk every day, advising and guiding people and receiving the unending stream of visitors. Even though his eye-sight became impaired in the last years of his life, it did not interfere with his usefulness to the people. He remained ill for about three weeks and during all these days he bore his suffering cheerfully. Even on his deathbed he devoted his time to the chanting of *Om* and he died also with the word *Om* on his lips. About eight days before his death, he sent for a gentleman and practically told him that he would not be able to get over the illness. Then he gave him what may be termed his testament. He wanted that the *Vedic Dharma* should be propagated, not only in British India but also in Indian States. He wished that people should come forward and make sacrifices in the cause of their religion. In a word, all his thoughts during the last days of his life were turned towards the spreading of the gospel of the *Vedas*.

He passed away at about 11 o'clock in the night on Tuesday the 15th of November, 1988. The people of the Punjab

felt deeply his loss and business was suspended everywhere. All the schools and colleges in the Punjab and all the shops in the various towns of the province and some of the Government offices were closed in his honour. The funeral procession was one of the biggest of its kind and thousands of people accompanied it bare-foot and bare-headed. It was his desire that he should be cremated according to the Arya Samajic rites and this was done. Public meetings were held everywhere and his loss was mourned. The Governor of the Punjab, the Premier and many others sent messages of sympathy, and a big public meeting was organised in Lahore which was addressed by a large number of persons, including the Speaker of the Punjab Legislative Assembly, who is one of his old students and the Minister of Education. The burden of all the speeches was that he was a constructive genius of a high order, and the Punjab would not see the like of him again.

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The Congress Government and Its Critics

ONLY the other day H. E. the Viceroy paid a well-merited tribute to the Congress Governments functioning in eight Provinces in India. Indeed high authorities from the Secretary of State downwards, who have no reason to be particularly pleased with the Congress policy, have borne testimony to the competent manner in which Congress Ministers are handling their affairs in the Provinces. "My expectation," said H. E. Lord Erskine, Governor of Madras, in a recent tribute to the Madras Ministry, has been amply justified under the new regime. It is a regime in which reforms are proceeding at a rapidly accelerating pace and I sincerely hope that nothing will arise to impede the constitutional and social progress of the Madras Presidency.

In fact among the Congress Provinces, Madras has led the way in many directions; and the sister Provinces will not grudge the meed of praise so deservedly won by those at the helm of affairs in Madras. Sjt. Rajagopalachari and his colleagues have distinguished themselves alike by their competency and courage and have, by all accounts, achieved phenomenal success.

But as in all human affairs, the hour of their triumph is also the hour of their trial. Already the disgruntled elements in the Province are up in arms. There is a growing opposition all round. But opinions thrive on opposition, and a certain measure of opposition is always a sign of strength and vitality in the thing opposed. The Premier, happily, is not so weak-kneed as to fear criticism of his policy or action and certainly welcomes sensible and helpful criticism from whatever quarter.

But the real danger to the Government is not from outside. If the Congress Government or Party breaks up, it must be by its own dissensions. It is strong enough, one should think, to withstand opposition from outside. But when a disgruntled section within its own ranks begins to gnaw it from within—well, no organism can long withstand this insidious pressure. It looks as though the avowed friends of the Congress are bent on breaking it under false pretences. Attempts have of late been made to discredit the Government for acts of commission and omission alike. We can quite understand people not

seeing eye to eye with the Premier in his defence of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, or his firm stand for Hindi. But in criticising these measures, one interested in the Government should be wary of overdoing it. It looks as though the critics are more interested in getting rid of the Government than in getting rid of the unwanted measures. It would be well for them to consider the consequences of any action tending to disrupt a government so well established and capable of doing such good work. If the Government should fall, what is the alternative? The authority of the Congress will be seriously impaired and even the substitution of one set of Congressmen by another will be imperilled. It will merely end in destroying what has been built up at such a cost and a return to the reactionary rule of an irresponsible group, which has of late been proclaiming a veritable "hymn of hate". It would be well for the critics, therefore, not to carry their denunciation of the Government to the point of complete strangulation.

Much of the criticism, it is feared, might be due to merely personal factors. Politics and personality are so intermingled that we are not surprised at this turn. But the Premier, we have no doubt, is much too concerned with the prosecution of his policies to give a thought to the personal issues. That, in our view, is not an unmixed blessing. For the ascetic in politics has his limitation. Void of personal ambition and conscious that he is shedding light on the office, he may not care to wrangle for power with those whom only office could give distinction. That way lies the danger. For there are cases where personality and policy go hand in hand and the identity of their interests is so complete that the withdrawal of the one must necessarily mean injury to the other.

It is hardly eighteen months since the Government came into being amidst difficulties which it is useless to recount, and it will be a tragedy if anything is done to disturb its fulfilling the trust reposed in it by the electorates in such overwhelming numbers—a trust too which it is discharging with undoubted competency.

BHULABHAI'S SPEECHES

"**B**HULABHAI occupies a unique position in the public life of India. He wears the triple tiara of leadership of the Bar, of the Congress Party, and of the Opposition in the Indian Legislative Assembly," says Mr. O. M. Thomas in a brilliant note of introduction. "I have it on good authority," observes the same writer, that he was sounded as a proper person to fill the high post of Law Member of the Government of India. His close personal friends pressed him hard to avail of the unsought opportunity, but Mr. Bhulabhai Desai proved a *Barts* who was not willing, and he declined the appointment in anticipation.

This consistent refusal of offices actually offered is a rare event in the public life of India and it elevated him to an exalted plane. It gives him a touch of that greatness which is due to silent self-denial.

But this negative attitude to remunerative offices, however wholesome in a subject country, can hardly be the sole title to fame. Bhulabhai made himself what he is by virtue of his more positive services to the country. Indeed, since the passing of Pandit Motilal Nehru, the mantle of the late leader fell on his shoulders with an easy grace; for Bhulabhai has suffered and sacrificed for the cause and continued the struggle with the same passion and energy and eloquence. How does Mr. Bhulabhai compare with the late Pandit?

In debates, says Mr. Thomas, Mr. Nehru was a sort of sledge-hammer; Mr. Desai is like a chamois that leaps from crag to crag with ease and rapidity. Mr. Desai is a better public speaker than Mr. Nehru was, but the latter had a sense of humour which is wanting in the former. Mr. Nehru had the compensating merit of being a more vigorous penman than his successor. The most obvious difference between them is in respect of that indefinable something called personality. Motilal Nehru was a study in conscious power. He had the hauteur of a hidalgio. "To govern men," said Disraeli, "you must either be superior to them or despise them." Pandit Motilal Nehru seemed to have done both. A well-known newspaper once called him the proudest man in India, and he quoted the remark with approval. His enormous jaw was a kind of royal proclamation that he meant to rule as well as to reign. He exacted implicit obedience and took prompt disciplinary action against the recalcitrants of his own party. Mr. Desai's manner is quite different. His circulating smile is a welcome sign of his agreeable urbanity. He has tact. He works in closer co-operation with Mr. Jinnah and his group in Assembly than Mr. Motilal Nehru ever did,

and has kept his own party in a better trim for team work. He enjoys a larger measure of popularity, especially among Britshers. This is the more worthy of note inasmuch as he is rather different to the gentle art of personal advertisement. He does not cultivate a good Press, whereas Mr. Motilal Nehru owned newspapers and spent a fortune on them.

As a Parliamentarian, Mr. Desai has proved himself to the manner born and his leadership of the Congress Party in the Assembly has been marked by the same skilful handling of men and the same sense of realism amidst confusing issues. Bhulabhai's Speeches* during the last four eventful years, both in the Assembly and outside, give us a measure of the wide scope of his activities and the ardour of his patriotism. His legal training and parliamentary mentality have not deterred him from being an ardent follower of Gandhiji.

Indeed, he fell under the spell of Gandhiji from the time he first came in touch with him, now more than twenty years ago. It was at a public meeting in Bombay. And the story of his first acquaintance with the Mahatma may well be told in Bhulabhai's own words:

In the year 1917, we had a Provincial Conference in the city of Ahmedabad. My friend, Mr. M. A. Jinnah—I should drop the word Mr. as we are very close friends—was the President. Some of us, his friends, went with him to that Conference. Mahatma Gandhi, then known only as Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, had just come to India and was received with a certain amount of patronising kindness by the politicians of those days, and he was asked to move a resolution in the open Conference on the South African question. I well remember the formal patronising way in which he was introduced. "Now we must get speakers for this resolution. I think Mr. M. K. Gandhi, who has just returned from South Africa, will be able to speak." That was the position he got then.

As the Conference was over, a vote of thanks was proposed. Mr. Gandhi was the proposer and I was the seconder. Mr. Gandhi came to me and said: "Look here, Bhulabhai, I propose to move this resolution in Gujarati."

I welcomed the proposal and agreed to follow suit. He got up and started making a very fine speech in Gujarati which I have never forgotten since.

Bhulabhai is a winning and persuasive speaker, and the collection which covers a wide field is thoroughly entertaining.

* G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Price Rs. 3-8.

INDIAN AFFAIRS

By "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

The Next Step in Travancore

In a recent interview with journalists in Calcutta, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, the Dewan of Travancore, did well to clear up a misapprehension in regard to a much discussed statement of his, on the position of the States *vis-a-vis* the Paramount Power. He explained that his critics

had proceeded on the erroneous assumption that he had asserted that the Paramount Power would obstruct proposals for responsible government or constitutional advance in the States.

He had said nothing of the sort, but, on the other hand, he had said, and he still maintained, that the grant of complete responsible government involved a change in the constitution and a modification in the substance of the interrelationship between the Paramount Power and the Maharaja.

It would appear from his statement that the Dewan and the Travancore State Congress are perfectly agreed on one thing—that the constitutional advancement in Travancore has arrived at such a stage that the next step can only be full responsible government. But while the State Congress thinks the next step may be taken immediately, the Dewan has been led by certain reasons attendant upon the present agitation to the conclusion that it is not possible to contemplate so large a measure of change as the grant of responsible government without the utmost deliberation and perception of all the pros and cons, including the communal and religious aspect of the question, which cannot be ignored or minimised.

As we go to Press, it is welcome news that the Travancore State Congress has followed Mahatma Gandhi's advice, and withdrawn the personal allegations against the Dewan from the memorandum, which should now be an unadulterated plea for responsible government. The Mahatma has expressed his satisfaction and said that the Civil Disobedience movement also should be suspended in order to examine the whole position afresh. He hopes that in view of the withdrawal of the

allegations, prosecutions against the State Congress leaders would be withdrawn by the State and the prisoners set free.

The withdrawal of the entirely irrelevant personal allegations against the Dewan in an important memorandum on constitutional reform followed by the suspension of civil disobedience cannot but herald a welcome atmosphere of peace and tranquillity—an atmosphere appropriate to the discussion of vital political issues. We trust it will not be long before the people and the authorities decide on a resumption of negotiations leading to responsible government, as the Dewan and the State Congress alike are agreed on it as the next step in Travancore.

The Ceylon Constitution

The introduction of the Cabinet System of Government to replace the present Committee System is recommended in the proposals submitted by the Governor of Ceylon to the Secretary for Colonies, with a view to reforming the Ceylon Constitution. It is generally admitted that the system of Government introduced on the recommendations of the Donoughmore Commission has failed to satisfy any section of the people. The chief novelty of the Donoughmore scheme, namely, the Committee System of Government, would, if the Governor's proposals are accepted, be replaced by the familiar Cabinet System under which, no doubt, the principle of collective responsibility would be introduced. The Officers of State would no longer find a place in the System and so the unsatisfactory dyarchical element would be removed. This is reform in the right direction and more in accord with progressive political ideas.

The Press Act

The Full Bench Judgment of the Lahore High Court in a recent case under the Press Act of 1931 is of particular interest in these days when newspapers have to handle reports of communal fracas. The Government of the Punjab took action against the printer of a newspaper whose correspondent had given a detailed account of a Hindu-Muslim riot at Hissar. They held that the report had a tendency to create feelings of enmity between the communities and offended against Section 414 of the Press Act. The result was forfeiture of the printer's security. The owner of the Press thereupon petitioned to the High Court against the action of the Government. Their Lordships accepted the petition and set aside the order of forfeiture. Mr. Justice Bhide made it clear in the judgment that the mere publication of news of Hindu-Muslim riot was not penalised by the Press Act. For he held that if the Government's interpretation were correct, it would lead to the

startling result that any newspaper that publishes an item of news such as the burning of a temple by Muslim or the desecration of a mosque by Hindus would run the risk of having its security forfeited. For, according to the Advocate-General, such item is bound to have a tendency to promote feelings of hatred and enmity between Hindus and Muslims. If this be the correct legal position, many newspapers are probably bringing themselves within the clutches of the law by publishing news of Hindu-Muslim fracases which unfortunately are common in this country.

His Lordship declined to accept this interpretation.

I am, therefore, of opinion that the publication of mere authentic news of a riot without any comments cannot be said to fall within the purview of this Section.

This is a sensible interpretation of an Act which is a constant source of harassment to working journalists.

Resistance to Federation

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the Associated Chambers of Commerce in Calcutta shows the keen anxiety of the authorities to inaugurate Federation. The Congress and, indeed, the whole country have, on the other hand, expressed themselves unequivocally against the brand of Federation adumbrated in the Government of India Act of 1935. What will the Congress do, or what should it do in the event of the Government proceeding with their scheme in spite of unanimous disapproval? Mr. Satyamurthi, speaking at Bombay, made it clear that there will be no Congressman, moderate or extremist, who will not resist it to his uttermost strength.

The manner of resistance will depend on the time and the circumstances; but there can be no question of Congressmen giving up offices in the Provinces. Of course, the Congress Ministries must, and will, refuse to carry out the orders of this imposed Federal Government.

If the Governors do not want them in those circumstances, they will have to dismiss them. Indeed, that was the point which Mahatma Gandhi insisted on during the summer months of 1937; and if the Congress Ministers are so dismissed, the Congress must and will see to it that no other Ministries function.

Indeed to all Congressmen, non-acceptance of office must mean non-acceptance of office by Congress or any other Ministers. That will effectively kill this imposed Federation.

Sir Radhakrishnan on the Hindu Ideal

In his Convocation address to the Benares Hindu University, Sir Radhakrishnan was not content to confine himself to problems of education. He spoke of the Hindu ideal, reinterpreted it in the light of India's ancient heritage and suggested it as a possible solution of the present-day world conflicts—conflicts in all spheres of life: political, social, and economic.

"I have no doubt," he said, "that when the world gets together and when a creative commonwealth is projected, India would be called upon to supply an indispensable part of its design for living."

The National Planning Committee

The first meeting of the National Planning Committee was inaugurated in Bombay by Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, the President of the Indian National Congress. He put up a strong plea for a thorough enquiry to be made for the starting of "mother industries" in India which will help, nourish, and develop cottage industries.

Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, who took the chair, stressed the importance of co-ordinating the two kinds of industries : the village-cottage and bigger industries. He pointed out that the activities must bear relation to the nationalist movement and suggested the appointment of representatives of labour and of the cottage industries on the Committee.

Pandit Pant's Convocation Address

In the thoughtful address he delivered at the Lucknow University Convocation, Pandit Vallabh Pant touched on the many problems of education that are now engaging public attention in India. The Premier is not of those who hold that we can have too much of University education.

"I am all for education and yet more of it," he said: one rightly educated person endowed with the gifts of leadership, a correct outlook, wisdom and courage can do more than an inert mass of millions."

He pointed out that if his Government had not been able to make as much provision for higher education as they would have liked because of other urgent claims, he for one "would set no limit to the assistance which a university may receive from the public exchequer". The Pandit deplored the growing spirit

of indiscipline in colleges, and the unfortunate incidents at the Osmania and Annamalai Universities add point to the aptness of his observations.

There can be no culture, no real culture, no real education, he said, without discipline. Complaints are not often heard about the lack of restraint betrayed by young men. We even hear of strikes by students, of the spirit of trade unionism imported into educational institutions. This is not right. Indiscipline is utterly foreign to our nature and amounts to an outrage on our culture and traditions.

The late Dr. Seal

Sir Brojendranath Seal, who has passed away at the ripe old age of 74, was a profound scholar and educationist, who has left the impress of his personality in more than one field of thought. His prodigious learning in many branches of knowledge, says Sir Radhakrishnan, "was the admiration and despair of lesser minds", and generations of students in Bengal and elsewhere sat at his feet and received inspiration. Great as an educationist, philosopher, and political theorist, he showed himself equally competent as an administrator. As Vice-Chancellor of the Mysore University, he did much to the cause of education. His report on Mysore reforms is a document worthy of a great political thinker. But apart from any specific contribution to thought or scholarship, his great learning and his insatiable interest in literature, philosophy, mathematics, history, economics, religion and languages was a continual source of surprise and inspiration to fellow-scholars. Sir Brojendra represented a type of learning and authority that is fast becoming extinct in these days of hurry and specialisation.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

BY "CHRONICLER"

Italian Claim for Tunis

ANTI-FRENCH demonstrations in Tunis, and the Italian demand for the possession of the French colony, is causing considerable concern in the Chancelleries of Europe. Strong warnings to Italy with regard to the inviolability of Tunis are contained in the French Press.

Le Figaro states:

As far as Tunis is concerned, there is not a Frenchman who would allow the least violation of our Protectorate. Tunis is one of those sacred things for which, if any one dared touch it, France with one accord would fight immediately.

The *Figaro* declares that if Italy were to deny the validity of the 1935 accords and to raise all sorts of new questions in Africa or the Mediterranean *status quo*, we should regrettably have to tell her that, when agreements already concluded no longer count, we see no reason to conclude new ones.

At such a time it is unfortunate that Mr. Chamberlain should have stated in the Commons

that no specific pact existed at the present time under which in the event of Italy starting warlike operations against France or her possessions, Great Britain would be required to render military aid to France.

The *News Chronicle* deplored the statement as "tactless" and added that the effect must be to encourage Italy to believe that France can be attacked without bringing Great Britain to its defence. The Prime Minister should have added, that apart from any treaty obligation, the integrity of France is a vital interest to England,

This, however, the Premier did in his speech at the Foreign Press Association Dinner in London. On this occasion, the cordial and close relations between the two countries and the identity of interests were re-stated with refreshing emphasis. That will go a long way towards neutralising the very "careless and rash" words he used recently, when he stated in the Commons that Britain had no treaty obligation to go to the help of France if Italy attacked her.

The New Czechoslovakia

Czechoslovakia is turning a new leaf in her history. Gone are the days of Masaryk and Benes when it served as a pattern for other democracies in the West in her method of government and management of minorities. But now, says the *Statesman*,

with her mountain barrier in Sudetenland against the Germans gone, her forts in foreign hands and a large section of her army and air force handed over to Germany, with Hungarians and Poles squabbling over the amount of territory they can seize in the East, Czechoslovakia can see apparently no alternative but to become an unresisting satellite of the Third Reich.

Such at least is the expressed opinion of several of her leaders both military and civil. Czechoslovakia is well on its way to complete Germanisation. The blundering diplomacy of Britain and France has thrown her completely into the arms of Germany.

Britain and the Colonies

An important statement on Colonies was made by Mr. Malcolm MacDonald in the House of Commons. Mr. MacDonald emphasised the uncertainty created in the colonies and mandated territories by the demands now being made in regard to them and said that the uncertainty must be removed. He went on to add:

For that purpose I have only to state a simple fact. I do not believe that there is to-day any section in this country which is disposed to hand over to any other country the care of any territories or peoples for whose Government we are responsible either as colonial or mandatory power. . . .

That view has been expressed by every part of the House and shared by the Government. We are not discussing this matter, we are not considering it. It is not now an issue in practical politics. If we were ever to come to a discussion on this question, certain things have to be borne in mind; firstly, that Britain is not the only country which has assumed additional territorial responsibilities after the War. Other countries will also be involved and the question will have to be examined by all those countries together.

The Trouble in Memel

Memel with an area of 1,000 square miles and a population of 1,52,000 has become the centre of international attention. In 1923, the Lithuanians seized the town. The Powers later recognised the conquest as a *fait accompli* and did not care to interfere. In March 1924, Lithuanian sovereignty over the whole territory was accepted subject to local autonomy. But the German population in Memel are trying now to do what the Sudeten Germans did in Czechoslovakia. As usual, intrigues from interested quarters are not wanting and the success of the Sudeten Germans, aided by the Reich, is apparently encouraging them for a similar venture. Memalites hope that the German threat, so successful in Austria and Czechoslovakia, will yet work in Lithuania also. And a crisis is developing which, if unchecked, will prove the storm centre of a European conflagration. The British Premier has done well to sound a note of warning.

Making a statement in the House of Commons on the Memel situation, the Prime Minister, Mr. Neville Chamberlain, said that he had reason to think that, after the elections, demands might be made of the Lithuanian Government by the majority parties in the Diet which might be inconsistent with the Statute of Memel. The British Government, as a signatory, could not ignore this possibility.

In view of the special influence which the German Government were in a position to exert, the British Charge d'Affaires, Sir George Ogilvie-Forbes, had been instructed to join the French Ambassador in expressing the hope that Germany would ensure respect for the statute.

Pan-American Congress

The eighth session of the Pan-American Congress which met at Lima early last month was notable for a lengthy address by Mr. Cordell Hull, the U. S. Secretary of State. The United States, said he,

were ready to play their part in the defence of the American hemisphere against external aggression. So long as the possibility of armed challenge existed, the United States would maintain adequate defensive military, naval, and air establishments.

In recent years, declared Mr. Cordell Hull, powerful sources in some parts of the world have challenged the validity of the primary and basic principles upon whose foundations we and the rest of mankind have been building the edifice of social organisation and our international life. Mankind is tragically confronted once more with the alternatives of freedom or serfdom, of order or anarchy, of progress or retrogression, of civilisation or barbarism. The alternatives are real and concrete, not only in portions of the world lying in the immediate vicinity of the countries in which these resurgent forces find their organised expression: they loom threateningly throughout the world. Each and all of us desire passionately to live in peace with every nation in the world; but there must be no shadow of a doubt anywhere as to the determination of the American nations not to permit an invasion of this hemisphere by the armed forces of any Power or any possible combination of Powers.

The France-German Declaration

The text of the Franco-German declaration signed by M. Bonnet and Herr von Ribbentrop at Paris on December 6, states that the respective Governments agreed as follows:

Firstly, the French and German Governments fully share the conviction that peaceful and good neighbourly relations between France and Germany constitute one of the essential elements of consolidation of the situation in Europe.

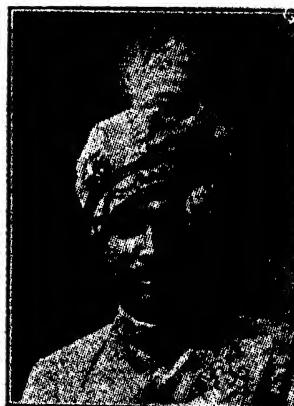
Both Governments will, therefore, do all that lies in their power to assure the development of such relations between their two countries.

Secondly, no question of a territorial nature remains to be settled and they solemnly recognise as definite the frontier between their countries as at present traced as definite.

Thirdly, the two Governments are resolved, subject to their special relations with third Powers, to remain in contact on all questions of interest to the two countries and consult each other in a case where subsequent evolution of these questions involves the risk of leading to international difficulties.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

- Nov. 29. H. E. Lord Linlithgow inaugurates the Inter-Provincial Agricultural Marketing Conference at New Delhi.
- Nov. 30. General strike begins in France. Daladier's Government take energetic measures against it.
- Dec. 1. Dr. Hacha is elected President of Czechoslovakia.
- Dec. 2. Federal Court unanimously holds that the C. P. Act to levy a sales-tax on petrol is not *ultra vires*.
- Dec. 3. Sir Jorjendranath Seal is dead.
- Dec. 4. Italy and Rumania sign an agreement concerning commercial payments and barter.
- Dec. 5. Muslim League Council re-elects Mr. Jinnah as President.
- Dec. 6. The Chinese goodwill mission arrives in India.
- Dec. 7. Herr von Ribbentrop and M. Bonnet sign the Franco-German "No War declaration".
- Dec. 8. Mr. MacDonald announces in the House of Common that no Colony will be returned to Germany.
- Dec. 9. The Assam Council throws out the No-confidence motion on the Ministry.
- Dec. 10. The Eighth Pan-American Conference meets at Lima (Peru).
- Dec. 11. Congress Working Committee meets at Wardha.
- Dec. 12. World Missionary Conference meets at Tambaram.
- Dec. 13. Mr. Chamberlain states in the Commons that no specific pact exists requiring military assistance to France in the event of its being attacked.
- Dec. 14. At the Calcutta Rotary Club, Lt.-Col. Muirhead, Under-Secretary, makes a vigorous defence of British policy.
- Dec. 15. Mr. Chamberlain's speech at the Foreign Press Association dinner, emphasising closer association with France, is welcomed in France.
- Dec. 16. The German party score a sweeping success in the Memel elections.
- Dec. 17. The new Linlithgow ward in the Government Tuberculosis Hospital, Tambaram, is opened by Lady Erskine.
- Dec. 18. The National Industrial Planning Committee meets in Bombay.
- Dec. 19. The Science Congress Meeting at Madras with Sir C. V. Raman in the Chair is welcomed by the Premier Sjt. C. Rajagopalachariar.
- Dec. 20. Madras Ministry submits Malabar Temple Entry Bill to the Governor for assent.
- Dec. 21. Employers' Federation meets at Calcutta, Sir E. C. Bentall presiding.
- Dec. 22. The Governor of Burma proclaims a state of emergency.
- Dec. 23. The Twelfth Music Conference in Madras is opened by H. H. The Yuvaraja of Mysore.
- Dec. 24. Russo-Japanese tension as a result of dead-lock over the fisheries dispute.
- Dec. 25. Gandhiji advises Travancore Congress to suspend civil disobedience.
- Dec. 26. The 26th Session of the All-India Muslim League meets at Patna with Mr. M. A. Jinnah in the Chair.



THE THAKORE SAHEB OF RAJKOT

- Dec. 27. The Rajkot dispute ends. The terms of settlement include the Prince's offer of such a scheme of reforms "as to give the widest possible powers to the people".

The WORLD of BOOKS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS—1918-1987
2 Vols. Edited by Dr. A. B. Keith. The
World's Classics, Oxford University Press.

Dr. Keith has already given us "Selected Speeches and Documents" on British Colonial, Dominion and Indian Policy. The volumes under review supplement the series by furnishing authentic documents on the momentous transactions of recent years. For we have seen within the lifetime of a single generation changes that have transformed the face of Europe, and future historians will be grateful to Dr. Keith for furnishing authentic sources and original records for their account and interpretation of these eventful years.

Here in these two volumes are presented in chronological order facts essential to a study of world affairs since the Great War: the treaties, protocols, conventions and significant speeches from President Wilson's Fourteen Points down to the Resolution of the Imperial Conference of 1987.

These very names are landmarks in the history of the post-War world and are bound to figure in any future record of these times. Yet how many of these transactions have already receded into the background and have been superseded by yet more momentous changes! At one stroke, Austria has since become a part of the German Reich and a big slice of Czechoslovakia has gone to Germany, and another to Poland and yet another to Hungary!

THE DARK ROOM. By R. K. Narayan.
MacMillan & Co. 8s.

Ramani, the boss of an upper middle class family and the branch of the Engladia Insurance Company, belongs to the old conservative set, which regarded marriage just as an institution for implicit obedience and bearing of children. Proud of his self-acquired status in life, his behaviour towards his wife and children alternates between some mild enthusiasm and much violent teasing. The period of teasing drives the dear dutiful wife to a dark room in the house where she moans and sulks. Ramani finds the pretty and vivacious girl probationer in his office a happy relief from the monotony of his life. The wife scents the nature of his nocturnal activities and feels miserable and pained. Being unable to bear the thought of his infidelity, she makes bold one day to give him an ultimatum—the girl in the office, or the wife—never both. The outcome of this outburst of feelings is, the wife quits the house with a resolve never to return. But the constant thought of her children drives her back home to the intense happiness of the sorrowing children and to the relief of the erring hubby.

The characters in the story are typically South Indian and are admirably portrayed with such a realistic vividness that they seem to be moving before us. They all speak for themselves in the easy, effortless and masterly language of the author.

SIKHISM: ITS IDEALS AND INSTITUTIONS
By Teja Singh. Longmans, Green & Co.
Rs. 2.

In this interesting little book, Professor Teja Singh of the Khalsa College, Amritsar, has sought to give a succinct account of Sikhism as a living force, its aims and ideals for the future. He lays stress on the simplicity of the faith and on the excellence of its social and political ideals. Long subject to suspicion and persecution in the early days of its existence, this noble faith developed a certain strength of purpose and organisation, which was almost unique in India, and Teja Singh lays stress on this feature of Sikh history as well.

But the booklet is not, and is not meant to be, a history of Sikhs and Sikhism. It is a definite contribution to the study and understanding of present problems, and the author does not fall into the easy and common error of mistaking the ideal for the actual. Conscious as he is of the past glory of Sikhism, he has no illusions about its present position, and he feels that except for their honoured place in the British Indian Army, the Sikhs to-day are not pulling their weight. He commends the attempts of the modern Singh Sabha movement to revive Sikhism and restore the old balance. One hopes that the distinction he draws between matters strictly religious in which the Sikhs may be a law unto themselves, and other matters, social and political, in which they have to take account of and actively co-operate with other communities in whose midst they live, will receive universal recognition among the Sikh leaders of our time. Altogether it is an ably written and balanced book.

IMAGE-BREAKERS. By D. M. Borgaonkar, M.A.
Published by the New Book Company,
Hornby Road, Bombay. Re. 1-8.

Punch's famous advice to those about to marry—DON'T—would seem to be the line of least resistance in the face of problems such as confront the characters in this play. Niranjan, a Hindu, loves Roshan, a Mohammedan girl; Nadir, a Mohammedan, loves Leela, a Hindu girl; Sarojini, the sister of Niranjan, seeks the intellectual Vijay for constant companionship and the handsome Bikram for the father of her children. They bravely resolve—Niranjan to marry Leela but really husband Roshan; Nadir to marry Roshan but really husband Leela; Sarojini to marry Vijay but really be wife to Bikram. So they seek their individual happiness while pretending to conform to ancient custom. This tragic farce is kept up for three years. Roshan has a son by Niranjan named Akbar; Leela has a son by Nadir named Duleep; Vijay under the stress of a repressed life develops a jealousy complex. Niranjan dies in a motor accident. Nadir and Leela decide to marry each other. Rai Bahadur Shankar, father of Niranjan and Sarojini, seeks the aid of Law Courts to recover possession of Duleep whom he imagines is his grandson by Niranjan. The final denouement takes place in the Court Room. The Judge's indictment and the defending speeches of Roshan are well worth careful consideration by all interested in the present-day social problems of India. The play is a Drama in form but is in substance a monograph on the institution of marriage to be freed from religion and superstition. The play is strongly reminiscent of Ibsen and Shaw. The author brings together on the stage several interesting iconoclastic persons who would fain be the forerunners of a new world, image breakers destroying the traditions of the old order.

POETRY OF THE INVISIBLE. By Syed Mehdī Imam. Allen and Unwin. 8sh. 6d.

Mr. Imam's book comes to us excellently upholstered in prefaces and introductions. Both Tagore and C. F. Andrews commend him heartily to us. But what Mr. Imam has actually to tell us will probably interest only a few. He writes of the eerie and the esoteric, and he traces the mystic line in English poetry from Keats to Bridges. For theosophical circles and those who traffic on the astral planes, this book may have some interest; but to the pedestrian lover of poetry who walks the earth, Mr. Imam will remain incomprehensible.

THE MACHINERY OF SOCIALIST PLANNING. By G. D. H. Cole. The Hogarth Press. 2sh. 6d.

Mr. Cole lays down a plan for the slow socialization of Britain, which the Labour Party should follow if it won a general election. He suggests the methods and principles which should govern the reorganisation of the Civil Service and the Cabinet, the controlling of prices, the regulation of investment, etc. He envisages a whole scheme which would lay the foundations of a socialist economy in Britain. Although the book is of academic interest, it should be read by all who believe in economic and political reconstruction.

BOOKS RECEIVED

LHASA: THE HOLY CITY. By F. Spenceer Chapman. Chatto and Windus, London.

SOCIALISM IN NEW ZEALAND. By John A. Lee. T. Werner Laurie Ltd., London.

COPERNICUS. The Founder of Modern Astronomy. By Angus Armitage. George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London.

THE SPIRIT OF INDIAN CIVILIZATION. By Dr. D. N. Roy, University of Calcutta.

THE MADRAS STATES AND MYSORE DIRECTORY, 1938. Edited by T. M. Satchit. The Pearl Press, Cochin. Rs. 7.

THE FOUNDATIONS OF LIVING FAITHS. An introduction to comparative religion. By Haridas Bhattacharya of the University of Dacca. Published by the University of Calcutta.

PRIMARY EDUCATION IN INDIA: Suggestions for its improvement and expansion by Dinkar D. Desai, M.A., LL.B. Servants of India Society, Girgaum, Bombay. Price Re. 1-4.

REPORT ON THE SEA-BORNE TRADE OF THE PROVINCE OF MADRAS FOR THE YEAR 1937-38. By W. A. Ward, B.A., Collector of Customs, Madras. Manager of Publications, Delhi.

REPORT ON THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE METEOROLOGICAL DEPARTMENT of the Government of India in 1937-38. Manager of Publications, Delhi.

REVIEWS AND OPINIONS ON SHRI BHAGAVAD GITA. The Raseehala Aushadharham, Gondal, Kathiawar.

PLEASURE. By Douglas Almud. A book of poems. Chiswick Press Ltd., London, E.C. 4.

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INDIAN STATES

—:o:

General

CONGRESS AND THE STATES

Under Gandhiji's guidance, the Congress Working Committee, which met at Wardhaganj on December 14, adopted the following Resolution on Indian States:—

The Working Committee welcomes the awakening of the people of Indian States in many parts of the country and considers this as a hopeful prelude to the larger freedom comprising the whole of India, for which the Congress has laboured.

The Committee supports the demand for Civil Liberty and Responsible Government under the aegis of the Rulers in the States and expresses its solidarity with these movements for freedom and self-expression.

While appreciating that some Rulers of States have recognised this awakening as a healthy sign of growth and are seeking to adjust themselves to it in co-operation with their people, the Committee regrets that other Rulers have sought to suppress these movements by banning peaceful and legitimate organisations and all political activity and in some cases resorting to cruel and inhuman repression.

In particular, the Committee deplores the attempt of some Rulers to seek the aid of the British Government in India to suppress their own people and the Committee asserts the right of the Congress to protect the people against the unwarranted use of military or police forces, lent by the British authorities, for the suppression of the legitimate movements of the people for Responsible Government within the States.

The Committee desires to draw attention afresh to the resolution of the Haripura Congress, which defines Congress policy in regard to the States. While it is the right and privilege of the Congress to work for the attainment of Civil Liberty and Responsible Government in the States, the existing circumstances impose certain limitations on this work and considerations of prudence prevent the Congress from interfering organisationally and directly in the internal struggles in the States.

This policy was conceived in the best interests of the people to enable them to develop self-reliance and strength. It was also intended as a measure of the goodwill of the Congress towards the States and of its hope that the Rulers, of their own accord, would recognise the spirit of the times and satisfy the just aspirations of their people.

Experience has proved the wisdom of this policy. But this was never conceived as an obligation. The Congress has always reserved the right, as it is its duty, to guide the people of the States and lend them its influence. With the

great awakening that is taking place among the people of the States, there must be an increasing identification of the Congress with the States' people. The policy laid down by the Haripura Congress, which has been so abundantly justified, must continue to be pursued.

While, therefore, the Working Committee welcomes the movements in the States for the attainment of Responsible Government, it advises the people not belonging to the States concerned against taking part in civil disobedience or the like. Participation by such people will bring no real strength to the movement and even embarrass the people of the States concerned and prevent them from developing a mass movement on which strength and success depend.

The Committee trusts that all movements in the States will adhere strictly to the fundamental Congress policy of non-violence.

Baroda

CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM IN BARODA

"The policy of His Highness' Government is the close association of the people with the administration and the satisfying to the fullest extent of aspirations which are the direct outcome of the enlightened policy of His Highness the Maharaja Saheb," declared Sir V. T. Krishnamachariar, the Dewan, in opening the Session of the Baroda Assembly on December 12. He continued:

Baroda, as a State, has developed on lines of its own with traditions, individuality and culture of which there is reason to be proud. It has been well said: 'Every constitution emerges from the spirit of a people through an inward progress of development or rather every constitution is the spirit of a people.' Few men have pondered more deeply over States and their problems than His Highness the Maharaja Saheb and I commend to you the following extracts from a recent speech of his:

There should be no striving after a soul-destroying uniformity. We are often reminded that it is unsafe to generalise about India; and if the mere observer needs that warning, far more weighty is it in the vastly more important domain of administration. We all want to develop naturally each according to the path of evolution on which he has set out.....

In many fields of activity—mass education, re-orientation of indigenous culture, social legislation, devising of methods for associating the people with the administration, reconciliation of conflicting communal and other interests—the States with their distinctive traditions can embark on fruitful experiments; and it would be a pity to do anything which would deprive India of this wealth of political and administrative experience.

Mysore

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION IN MYSORE

Far-reaching recommendations for the improvement of elementary education in Mysore State and for financing the proposals are contained in an interim report issued by the Committee on Elementary Education which was appointed by the Mysore Government in 1937, with Mr. S. P. Rajagopalachariar as Chairman.

The Committee states that the survey of the progress of elementary education in the State, since the passing of the Elementary Education Act, shows that little progress has been made either in the expansion of elementary education or in combating illiteracy.

The hopes entertained at the time of the passing of the Elementary Education Act that a great fillip would be given to expansion have not been fulfilled and the present state of things in regard to the progress of elementary education indicates that the scheme, as outlined in the Act, has been practically a failure so far as expansion of elementary education is concerned.

Hyderabad

THE HYDERABAD BAN

The Hyderabad Government have banned the singing of *Bande Mataram* in State institutions according to a Press communiqué issued by the Information Bureau. The communiqué is the sequel to the strike by a large number of students of Osmania University over the expulsion of several Hindu students for the singing of *Bande Mataram*. The communiqué states:

In connexion with the present strike by certain Osmania University students over the singing of the *Bande Mataram* in hostels of the University as a part of Hindu worship and the representation they have made to the authorities on the subject, H. E. H. the Nizam's Government in the Education Department wish to make it clear that they are unable to accept any claim that the song, which is of comparatively recent origin and has become the subject of controversy, is an integral part of Hindu worship. . . .

The Government, therefore, have decided that they are not prepared to allow the song to be sung in any Government institutions.

Travancore

THE STATE CONGRESS

Mahatma Gandhi has, after obtaining due permission from the President of the Travancore State Congress, published the account of his interview with the members of the delegation who recently sought his advice at Wardha:

"I told them" (State Congress Deputation), he says, "that their cause would be damaged by persistence in charges against the Dewan and that the question was not one of the truth or otherwise of the charges. It was one of political insight.

I could not be a party to the conduct of a struggle, which must engage and exhaust time and energy in pursuit of a personal matter to the exclusion of the most important one of *Swaraj* The employment of civil disobedience had well defined limitations and required suspension as the occasion demanded."

Cochin

COCHIN'S PROBLEMS

Like Mysore, although not to the same degree, Cochin is troubled by certain financial considerations. The arrangements which were made with the Government of India a few years ago, bring her a substantial income from the Cochin port.

The Railway which runs from Shoranur to Ernakulam which is her property, although it is worked by the South Indian Railway, brings her a by no means negligible amount. Her total annual revenues are not much over a crore of rupees and she spends a fifth of them on education. She has a population of a little over one million which is a large one, because in size it is one of the smaller States of India, one-third of which is uninhabitable. Cochin has one of the highest percentages of population per square mile, and since the last census there seems to have been a considerable increase.

All this, says the *Statesman*, makes Cochin anxious to guard her finances. She, too, like certain other States, makes it a grievance that she pays any tribute at all although her quota is only two lakhs. She has a few other legal and technical grievances which call for redress.

Indore

SIR S. BAPNA'S REVIEW

Inaugurating the sixth session of the Indore Legislative Council on November 14, Sir Serayamal Bapna, the Prime Minister, announced that the life of the Council would be extended for one year.

In the course of his speech, Sir Serayamal referred to Federation and said that the negotiations continued and that the final details of the terms of the instrument of accession had yet to be determined.

Sir Serayamal expressed satisfaction at having come to an arrangement with the people's leaders regarding the popular agitation in the State for certain political reforms.

In conclusion, he appealed to the Sanatanists to co-operate with the Government in giving effect to the new charter of liberty for the Harijans, granted recently by the Maharaja.

Kurandwad

GRANT OF RESPONSIBLE GOVT.

The Rajah Saheb of Kurandwad State made the following important pronouncement in the course of his speech at a Durbar held recently to celebrate the sixth anniversary of his installation:—

You all do know that the ideal of responsible government has been accepted in British India by the British Government in 1917. You also know that some of the Deccan States have recently accepted this ideal in principle. Although I consider that small area, small population, and slender resources of this State are serious and real difficulties in the way, I have decided to accept in principle the idea that responsible government under the aegis of the rulers of the State should be the ultimate goal or ideal of the State administration.

Kolhapur

RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT

In a Press interview, Rao Bahadur Surve, Prime Minister of Kolhapur State, declared that shortly the State subjects would be granted rights of responsible government and that a representative assembly would be set up.

It is learnt that the Representative Council of the State will consist of 42 members, some elected by the people and some by the Jagirdars of the State.

Dhenkanal

REFORMS IN DHENKANAL

The Ruler of Dhenkanal in Orissa has decided to grant to his subjects certain constitutional rights and privileges, which will enable their representatives to be associated in the administration of the State, according to a message from the Private Secretary to the Ruler of Dhenkanal. The message adds that the changes will be made with effect from the next financial year and that steps are now being taken to settle the preliminary details without delay.

Mayurbhanj

NIGHT SCHOOLS IN MAYURBHANJ

In order to strengthen the campaign against adult illiteracy, 20 night schools have been started in different centres that are chiefly populated by the aboriginal sections of the State. The schools sit for two hours in the evening. Efforts are made through the *Oriya Supplement* to the *State Gazette* to create a taste for reading and an ability to take active interest in the affairs of rural uplift.



INDIANS OVERSEAS

South Africa

INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

In his Memorandum presented to the Asiatic Land Laws Commission at Johannesburg, Mr. B. Rama Rao, the Agent-General for India, dealt with the question of Indian ownership of fixed property in Transvaal. He said that refusal of ownership rights tended to lead to slum conditions as no tenant would willingly spend money on the repair of another person's property.

Originally, the Transvaal Government had restricted Asiatic ownership in the interests of public health.

I should like to say that the Government may, perhaps, have considered itself justified in passing such legislation in 1885, because it was then only three or four years after the first Indian had settled in the Transvaal, and the Government through inexperience or fear may have felt it necessary to take precautionary measures. But the history of the last 50 years has shown that from a sanitary point of view such legislation was quite unnecessary. It is the local authorities concerned who, instead of paying particular attention to sanitary conveniences and drainage in these areas, are inclined to neglect them.

The reasonable solution would appear to be to remove the root-cause of the trouble, and it is accordingly suggested that this Commission recommend that Asiatics be given the elementary right to own land—a right which is held by any permanent and intelligent section of the population of any country.

East Africa

INDIANS IN EAST AFRICA

There are about 100,000 Indians in East Africa. The last official census of 1981 reveals the following distribution:—

Kenya	... 48,628
Tanganyika	... 25,144
Zanzibar	... 15,246
Uganda	... 14,150

In East Africa as a whole, the Indians outnumber the Europeans by more than three to one. Of the total European

population in East Africa, which amounts to about 80,000, more than half is found in Kenya. The Indians thus form the largest single group of the non-native peoples of East Africa. Mr. L. James, writing in the latest number of the *United Empire* about the condition of Indians in East Africa, says:

A slightly higher percentage of Indians is engaged in agriculture than in Kenya, but again the majority are engaged in commerce and clerical work. There are no restrictions upon Indians residing anywhere in the Colony, as Britain is prohibited by the terms of the Mandate from following a discriminatory policy. Since Britain acquired the Territory, the Indian population has doubled. The grievances of the Indians in Tanganyika have been largely concerned in the earlier years with the loss of considerable sums forcibly loaned to the German Government during the war and afterwards repudiated. Apart from difficulties connected with taxation, the Indians of Tanganyika have fairly cordial relations with the Administration and consequently have been vigorous opponents of the closer union of East African territories. In Uganda, where the Indian population is similarly concentrated in the main commercial centres, the relationship with the Administration has been particularly harmonious. In Zanzibar, where the Indians have long been the merchants, money-lenders, and shop-keepers, many Indians have bought up the estates of impoverished Arab landholders.

Fiji

INDIANS IN FIJI SERVICE

Three Indians, Messrs. Raghavanand, Sant Singh Chola and Mirza Salim Bux have, for the first time in the history of the colony of Fiji Islands, been appointed to work as the Indian Assistants to the District Magistrates in that country.

Mr. Raghavanand is the son of the late Mr. Badri Mahrai, who was the first Indian member of the Fiji Legislative Council. It is the first time that Indians have been raised to this rank in the civil service.

Another appointment of importance is that of Mr. Shankar Pertap as the Sub-Inspector of Police. He is the first Indian Sub-Inspector of Police in the Fiji Islands.

Malaya

EMIGRATION TO MALAYA

"All emigration to Malaya must stop till such time that guarantees are forthcoming for the proper treatment of our workers," says Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in a message to the Central Indian Association of Malaya. Pandit Nehru goes on to say:

The memory of my visit to the beautiful and pleasant land of Malaya is fresh in my mind, but above all I think of the lot of the thousands of Indian workers there. I have come to know of the heavy reductions which have been made by the planters in the wages of Indian labourers without any reference to India. I am glad that the Central Indian Association of Malaya has resisted this, and the Government in India have banned all recruitment of South Indian labour to Malaya. Subsequently, it appears that under cover of voluntary emigration labour recruitment has continued in an illicit form. But in September last the Central Assembly passed an Amending Bill regulating this form of labour emigration also.

Efforts are now being made by vested interests in Malaya to open out fresh sources of cheap labour from India which they can exploit at their will. We have to be vigilant to prevent any such opportunity being given to them. India cannot and will not permit exploitation of her children in this way and we must insist that no Indian worker should be allowed to be ruled away abroad unless decent wages and conditions of livelihood are assured for him. Therefore all emigration to Malaya must stop till such time that guarantees are forthcoming of proper treatment of our workers.

Tanganyika

THE FUTURE OF TANGANYIKA

Statements reported to have been made during the Munich negotiations regarding German colonial claims have caused considerable consternation among all sections of the community in Tanganyika. As a result, a movement formed to conduct a campaign against any transfer of the colony has been reorganised.

The Central Committee representing Europeans and Indians has decided as a preliminary measure to cable to the Joint East Africa Board, pointing out their serious alarm at the prospect of an

early development of German claims and asking the Board to obtain from Mr. Malcolm MacDonald an immediate assurance in view of repeated pledges that Tanganyika was an essential part of the British Empire.

Other influential quarters in Britain are also to be advised of the general feeling of alarm. Indian and South African inhabitants are taking up the matter with their respective Governments.

A Nairobi message adds:

Enrolments to the Tanganyika League, a body pledged to resist to the utmost the return of Tanganyika to Germany, are pouring in from all parts of East Africa.

Mr. MacDonald has since given the assurance.

Ceylon

INDIANS IN CEYLON

The Government of India have definitely refused to accept the recent amendment to the Village Franchise Ordinance passed by the Ceylon State Council. The Government of India, it appears, feel that the amendment, which excludes all the estate labourers, including even the Sinhalese, from franchise, cannot be regarded as a satisfactory solution of the rights of the Indian labourers.

Mr. H. M. Desai, who recently went to Simla, had placed the view-points of the Indian labourers in Ceylon before the India Government, whose present attitude is believed to be the result of this representation.

Subsequent to the reply of the Government of India, H. E. the Governor of Ceylon, it is further understood, referred the Amended Bill to His Majesty's Government for fresh consideration. In view of the firmness of the India Government, it is not unlikely that the Secretary of State for the Colonies may advise His Majesty not to give assent to the Bill.

TOPICS From PERIODICALS

DICTATORSHIP AND DEMOCRACY

It seems to have become the fashion in Parliamentary countries to look upon all dictatorships with unconcealed disapprobation and denounce everything associated with them. A writer in the *Twentieth Century*, Mr. Dharam Bir Vohra, points out that this is not fair. For dictatorships arise out of the necessities of the situation and serve a purpose which cannot altogether be ignored.

Who can say, for example, that Germany after the War was a fit subject for the democratic experiments such as the Weimar Republic was designed to carry out? Not only were the Germans almost uninited in the arts of democracy but they felt terribly humiliated at the outrageous restrictions which the Peace Treaty imposed upon them. They longed to regain their former position of supremacy in the galaxy of nations but realized that the Republic was utterly powerless to lead to this end. Hence they squirmed impatiently under its dead weight and wished for a strong man who would raise them out of the slough of inaction and give them a cause to work for. This environment was evidently not the most desirable one for a democratic government and it was inevitable that the Weimar Republic should break down hopelessly.

On the other hand in both Britain and France, democracy survived because conditions were not ripe for the appearance of a truly socialistic party convinced of the futility of Parliamentary methods.

The Peace Treaty placed these countries in a position of undeniable advantage in the field of world trade. It enabled them to restore their economic strength rapidly and, therefore, to carry on with the old institutions satisfactorily enough. The capitalists in these countries did, indeed, find it necessary to

reduce wage rates severely, and distress among the working classes did in fact reach a pitch hitherto unimagined. But conditions were not nearly as hopeless as they were in the vanquished countries and every one expected that prosperity would soon be restored. People in general found no reason to lose faith in the existing government and there was no tendency to look towards the Socialists for the betterment of prevailing conditions. Consequently the capitalist elements felt no need of attempting to consolidate their position by winning over the discontented elements to their side, or by rousing nationalist sentiment against the Socialists. Democracy in France and Britain, therefore, escaped annihilation largely because these countries were not compelled to face up to fundamental issues.

However, even in the typically democratic countries, Parliamentary methods are not always looked upon as most satisfactory. For example:

America during the financial crisis of 1933 was compelled to give President Roosevelt almost dictatorial powers. Some people went so far as to assert that America had entered upon an era of Fascism, but although this was an undoubtedly exaggeration, it cannot be denied that during those critical years democratic procedure had definitely fallen into abeyance in America. Similarly, the British Government during the Great War was obliged to impose unusual restrictions on its subjects and for once the theory of the sanctity of civil liberty had to be thrown to the winds.

It is clear, therefore, says the writer, that dictatorship and democracy are not competing forms of government but experiments adapted to suit entirely different conditions and circumstances. It is as fallacious to compare the one with the other as it is to compare man with woman. Both are right in their own places just as much as man and woman are in theirs.

EDUCATION FOR JOURNALISM

Public opinion in any country is largely shaped by newspapers through efficient journalists. Though the actual technique of journalism is acquired by practice, the journalists to be really useful to the community should be men of wide studies and liberal outlook. The latter qualifications cannot be assumed unless the journalist acquires first a sound general education and then special technical education pertinent to his profession. Thus the need for special education in journalism is apparent.

Mr. S. G. Warty, in the December number of the *Modern Review*, urges that Universities in India should introduce a course in journalism and a degree to mark the end of that course.

"It is my considered opinion that no candidate should be admitted to the special studies of journalism in a University until he had first acquired the B. A. degree. As regards the special studies for the degree in journalism, one has to take note of the fact that in India, journalism at the present day almost completely consists of political writing so great being the emphasis placed on politics. For this reason a scientific and systematic study of politics in all its practical and theoretical aspects must form a necessary part of a course in journalism. The aspirant for a journalistic career must be intimately acquainted with the currents of economic and political thought in the modern world, the forces now at play in shaping mankind and its actions, and the problems of each country and nationality on the globe with their historic background. The journalist must be able to take a world-view of things and to look at the problems at hand from that perspective. The first thing that a journalist has to learn is to

condense elaborate news or writing into intelligible summaries to suit the limited space at his disposal and he should be able to do so whilst running over the sheet itself with his blue pencil. He should also cultivate the practice of describing events in a picturesque yet in a truthful manner. Similarly a certain number of exercises in article-writing of various sorts must be made compulsory. The principles in regard to the reviewing of books with some practice must also be taught."

In addition to these compulsory subjects, specialisation in voluntary subjects should be prescribed, and subjects like Indian Politics, European Politics, Asiatic Politics, etc., may be profitably studied.

"THE INDIAN OPINION"

The Diwali Number of *Indian Opinion* (of Phoenix, Natal) is very interesting. The journal was founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1908. The Special Number is beautifully illustrated and well printed. It contains messages among others from Mr. B. Rama Rau, the Agent-General, who says that he cannot do better than repeat a message which Mr. Gandhi sent to the Indian community of South Africa some years ago. The Mahatma's message alluded to was as follows:

We hear constant references to dissensions among you. If you go on creating different and conflicting interests, e.g., the rights of the rich as distinguished from those of the poor, the rights of the Northern Indian as distinguished from those of the Southern Indian, of the Colonial-borns as distinguished from those of the merchants, of the latter from those of the indentured, of the Transvaal Indians as distinguished from the Cape Indians and Natal Indians, you will lose the little that you have got. If you wish to better the position of the whole community you will always stand united,

. IN DEFENCE OF CULTURE

The rising tide of barbarism has goaded Olaf Stapledon to make a bold plea in defence of culture, through his article in the October issue of the *London Mercury*. Artists, he says, have been suffering a comparative neglect, whereas the scientists have been largely used for deeply immoral ends.

Scientists have inadvertently served a dominant class at the expense of the people. Security, comfort, health, leisure and luxury have indeed been increased in some measure even among the masses; but always the wealthy minority has benefited extravagantly, while hosts of ordinary folk have been enslaved to the industrial machine. Their physical stamina and mental health have been undermined. And now in our day the whole process of social amelioration is slowing down, nay is perhaps actually reversed. Even the most fundamental benefit, security, is threatened by economic disintegration, by tyranny, by war.

He attributes the cause of this frustration of science to the change in its spirit. The new spirit tends to be commercial and secretive. Industrial laboratories cannot afford to give away their secrets to competitors. Science is prostituted to further the interests of capitalists and Governments, because they are the only bodies who are rich enough to afford costly research.

"Economic demand has been greatly influenced by the needs of Governments for armaments. And since Governments are generally far more wealthy than private individuals, and since capitalistic and imperialistic national States are inevitably hostile to one another, the demand for armaments is immense. Moreover, it has constantly been stimulated by the machinations of the great armament firms, which have spent lavishly to foment national rivalry. Thus a large

proportion of the wealth, intelligence, and energy devoted to scientific research has been given up to discovering more and more effective methods for destroying human wealth and human life."

The triumph of materialistic science and capitalistic industry is the cause of the new kind of barbarism, springing up from the decay of capitalistic society. Fascism stands as a striking creation of the frustration of science. There is no hope for civilization or for culture till the social injustice is abolished. For the construction of a better social order, a struggle to overthrow the existing plutocratic oligarchy should be carried.

"Is there anything of a practical kind that scientists and artists can do to help in the struggle, he asks. The artists (of all sorts) are in too weak a position to do much. They can only talk. But the scientists are in a very strong position. They are extremely important for the functioning of modern society. If they were to organize themselves and refuse to co-operate in exploitation and tyranny, the powers of exploitation and tyranny would have to capitulate."

LABOUR & CONSERVATIVE PARTIES

Mr. Arthur Slaberdain writes in the *Liberal Magazine* as follows:—

The Labour and Conservative parties exist essentially to further the interests of organized groups of producers. The predominant power in the Labour Party is wielded by the trade unions. The Conservative Party has become the instrument of certain agricultural and industrial interests. Ideally both wish to plan society so that the *status quo* were favourable to the interests is maintained. Both have created monopolies, petrified the industrial structure, closed avenues for enterprise, regimented the consumer, penalised efficiency, increased the power of the executive, sacrificed the common good for sectional advantage. Both are exponents of the Philosophy of Grab. The principles of both are restrictionist, collectivist, monopolist, authoritarian.

BRITAIN'S FOREIGN POLICY

"The view that England could safely allow such a ruler as Hitler to override Europe, to make himself master of one State after another by naked force, to aggrandise his power to such a degree that he could despise not merely the conscience of mankind but the armed strength of any rival implies a complete breach with the whole tradition of British policy," says the *Manchester Guardian* commenting on Chamberlain's conduct in the recent crisis in Czechoslovakia.

For England to stand aside while the plans were carried out would be an abdication so important as to mark a revolution in the history of Europe. Not a single Foreign Minister of the nineteenth century can be named who would have resigned himself to such a catastrophe. It should be the policy of this country to allow no one Power to become a danger to the liberties of Europe: that was the declaration of Fox, who is chiefly famous for his opposition to war. The Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Butler, quoted and approved this statement as describing British foreign policy in the past at a recent meeting of the Institute of International Affairs. No doubt we should be exceedingly wary and careful in the application of this principle, but the destruction of the liberties of Europe would not be too strong a phrase to describe her domination by the Nazi system. The Ministers that Mr. Butler had in mind recognised that property, as Drummond told the Irish landlords, has duties as well as rights. A State that has collected great power in the past and used it with great effect for its own interests so that it has possessions and dependencies all over the world and draws wealth and prestige from every continent, cannot behave as if the world has no claims on its wisdom and strength. Great empires and little minds go ill together, said Burke.

But those Ministers, says the paper, knew also that to yield to the threats of a Power that recognised no right or law in public life is fatal to British interests as well to the British honour.

EURHYTHMICS: FOR OUR GIRLS

Margaret E. Cousins, writing in the annual number of the *Scholar*, laments over the very low standard of health of girls in our country. Physical training in schools and colleges is generally neglected. The girls have a duty to be strong for their own individual sake, because the burden of continuing the race is theirs at a later stage. She says:

"Improved and compulsory daily physical culture for girls in schools and colleges in every class is the first step necessary to be taken to raise the health standard of India's womanhood.

The return of rhythm to its place of power in the Indian social life is one of the most hopeful advances of these days. India providentially has not been an exception to the response of the nations of the world to the renaissance in dancing. Especially is the Indian Classical Dance, the Bharata Natya, coming into its own. Training in dance forms necessitated control, concentration, memory, gracefulness, health.

To-day's new fashion of learning dancing is particularly valuable for securing the interest of the Indian girl in the improvement of her physique and it should be taken advantage of to the full. The more it is encouraged in its collective form the better, for the greater the number taking part in the rhythmic expression, the greater will be the courage induced to bring it to its highest perfection, the less there will be of personal self-consciousness, the more the group-consciousness (so necessary in every aspect of India's life to-day) will be established, the more powerful will be the evocation of health and harmony."

MUSICAL EDUCATION IN INDIA

Music is the utterance and expression of the soul; no race can live without it and it has its own important role to play in our cultural life. If it is to serve its noble purpose, it should form part of our school and college curriculum. Mr. J. M. D'Souza has some valuable suggestions to offer in his article in the *New Review* of November. He says.

"The entire system of education must be soaked so to say in music. The science and art of music must be a part of the curriculum of every school and college in the country. The system must be freed from the shackles of compulsion and the portals of educational institutions thrown open to every optional subject, thus enabling pupils who are required to love what they learn and to learn what they love. Music is then bound to step in as one of these optional subjects.

Musical training should start at the earliest stage of education. During the first two or three years, its aim should be to discover the hidden talent which will later on be developed through a more intensive and graded course of study. With this object in view, choral singing, solo singing, children's operettas, percussion bands, musical drill should be carefully and systematically introduced.

We shall then be in a position to direct those who are sufficiently musical to select music—both theoretical and practical, and either vocal or instrumental—as an optional subject and pursue the course up to the Matriculation or School Final. In order that the scheme may work, the Government will have to vote to every aided institution a grant, however small, meant expressly for musical education. This course will be further continued

by colleges for the benefit of those who will take music as one of their subjects for the Intermediate and Degree examinations.

What, then, will the Universities do? Their main task will be: (1) To draw up the syllabi for the various grades; (2) to examine candidates at the various stages; (3) to conduct well-organized and up-to-date classes in music for both graduation and post-graduation purposes; (4) to aid and conduct research in the field of music; (5) to grant recognition and affiliation to private musical institutions, which will have to be encouraged in order that the scheme may succeed on a nation-wide scale; (6) to conduct training for the Teacher's Diploma in Music which, we think, will serve the purpose better than the courses, for the mere award of music diplomas our Universities have either started or contemplate starting."

THE ENGLISH CHARACTER

An American, writing in the *Listener*, says:

A greater nation of sneerers never walked the earth than the English. They sneer at foreign fashions and then take them up a couple of years later. They sneer at every dictionary except the Oxford, although that otherwise excellent work actually begins every word in the language with a capital letter. They sneer at Americans for thinking only of business—it's so bad for British trade. They sneer at Australians for talking like Londoners, and at Frenchmen for talking like Frenchmen. They sneer at Italy for her Imperialism, because the British Brand is the best. They sneer at German censorship and then won't let me say half the things I'd like to say. Yes, indeed, when it comes to sneering, the English can out-sneer anybody anywhere. But it's O.K. with me. There's nothing I like better than a good wholesome sneer. And the English have got to have some defence against outside criticism.

THE COW IN HINDU LIFE

"From time immemorial the cow had occupied an honoured place in the Indian household, none cherished her so much as the Vedic Indian," says Mr. Ramachandra Dikshitar writing in the latest number of the *Journal of the Benares Hindu University*. In the Rig Veda, cows are even treated as deities and prayers are offered to them for material welfare. Owing to the economic importance of the cow to man, Vedic and post-Vedic literature abound in ample references to her. The Dravidians of South India valued and honoured the cow no less than the Vedic Indian. Parallel to the Aryan worship of the cow, how the Tamils worshipped her is described by Mr. Dikshitar as follows:

"In more than one place in *Samyam* literature, the spiritual merit of protecting cows is stressed. *Tolkappiyam* refers to the five duties of the Kaatriya, of which one is *kaval* or protection, which included that of cows. The connection between discharge of regal duty and fruitfulness of Earth is beautifully explained in a *Kural-venba* by Tiruvalluvar, which Dr. Pope translates:

Where guardian guardeth not, udder of kine grows dry.
And Brahman's sacred lore will all forgotten lie.

Cows and sacred knowledge are placed on a par among things whose loss will cripple society. This is why, in discussing those who should not be hurt during war, *Purananuru* rules that cows and Brahmins should be sent out even before the commencement of hostilities.

Among the ancient Tamils, cattle-lifting was common and was tantamount to a declaration of war. Cattle recaptured from enemy were to be kept under proper guard. No harm or injury was to be done to such cattle."

It is evident from many references in Tamil literature and South Indian inscriptions that the ancient Dravidians had a horror of cow-killing and were always for *goraksha*. To them, the cow was one of the six objects of worship. Thus has the cow attained so much importance in the daily life of the people in different parts of India from pre-historic days.

A NEW SPIRIT IN INDIA

"India is watching British policy with justifiable solicitude," writes Mr. Edward Howard, the well known journalist of experience in India and the Far East in the *Daily Telegraph* and *Morning Post*. Mr. Howard continues:

Never has her place in the Empire been as important as it is to-day. Her faith in the maintenance of the principles of liberty and international fair play is no sentimental flourish. It derives from the practical conviction that in such a leadership India has the best hope of securing her own liberty within the family of a free Commonwealth.

For purely British interests, India cannot be expected to fight any more than the other Dominions. When those interests, to take your correspondent's endorsement of Mr. Chamberlain's definition, coincide with resistance to world domination by any one Power, India's solid support of British policy is unhesitating. That was proved in 1914; it was clear at the emergence of the recent crisis.

A new spirit is abroad in India—a spirit infused with confidence in assertion of a self-reliance to which Great Britain has given so admirable a stimulus by a gradual devolution of authority to Indian agency. That spirit sharpens India's scrutiny of world affairs. She has means to form opinions.

Her Press which, by the way, has shown a greatly improved sense of responsibility of late—the by-product, no doubt, of enhanced constitutional responsibility—has closely followed events in Europe. Moreover, as a founder member of the League, India has distinguished sons who have had practical experience of international politics at Geneva.

THE INVENTOR OF FASCISM

According to *Parade*, Gabriele D'Annunzio, the celebrated soldier poet of Italy, who died early last year, was the real inventor of fascism.

The war of 1914-1918 left in its wake, to a certain extent everywhere, and especially in Italy and Germany, a new category of white-collar proletarians, who were an exceedingly troubled wreckage in a society in which capitalism and the world of the working man seemed equally hostile to them.

In Italy, the greatness of our Middle Ages in which all is disorder and life, was necessarily incomprehensible to their limited capacity. By a strange paradox, it was Gabriele D'Annunzio, whose lyric richness had been so splendid, who became the poet and the prophet of all these pathetic misfits. It was he who was the real inventor of fascism.

When in 1919, D'Annunzio seized Fiume what drove him on was not the idea of preserving the Italian character of the unfortunate Adriatic city (whose occupation by the French immediately after the armistice constitutes the greatest psychological blunder France has been guilty of in her dealings with Italy); what he thought of, and immediately, was a coup aimed at the whole of Italy; for him, Fiume was to be merely a springboard.

D'Annunzio was too intelligent and too subtle to believe in this adulterated wine of the heritage of Rome. But he took advantage of all these springs of action, because he felt that they were more within the imaginative grasp of the *petite bourgeoisie*, embittered by the after-war, and it was from this class that he recruited his volunteers.

It was he who, at Fiume, invented that "Roman salute" which has now become also the "German salute", and which he, overlooking its implications, copied from some statue or fresco, forgetting that in Rome the *cives* greeted each other by shaking hands and that only slaves made the sign which has been adopted by the subjects of Mussolini and Hitler.

It was D'Annunzio who invented those dialogues with the crowd, which fascism later on found so useful at the Piazza di Venezia at Rome.

"To whom shall Fiume belong?" D'Annunzio called down from the Capitol balcony.

And the mob of volunteers, who had invaded Fiume, thundered from below:

"To us!"

And the poet-dictator:

"And Italy!"

And the mob, once more:

"A noi!" (To us!)

This "to us" gave the key to the real love of D'Annunzio for the fatherland, a love of possession, not a love of devotion and sacrifice.

The fascist conquest of Italy, which came three years later, was nothing after all but a gigantic repetition of the mad and romantic enterprise of Fiume—the same following up of D'Annunzio's brilliant pioneering.

"THE TIMES OF INDIA" ANNUAL

The *Times of India Annual* for 1939 is, as usual, an attractively got up number, packed with articles and illustrations of varied interest. Particularly attractive is this centenary number which opens appropriately with an interesting article on "India one hundred years ago" by Mr. S. T. Sheppard. This is followed by many striking articles including one by Sir Patrick Cadell and another by W. E. Gladstone Solomon, which is illustrated by two striking colour reproductions of portraits of Sir Akbar Hydari and Sir V. T. Krishnamachariar.

Of the pictures, special mention must be made of the fine reproduction of a colour plate depicting "Monsoon fishing in Bombay Harbour, 1898", which adorns the title page, the tinted etchings by C. W. Cain, two small pictures of the Irrawaddy by Mingyan, and reproductions of old Indian works in the Moghul style. Altogether, the Annual is a sumptuous volume worthy of the occasion.

THE RIGHT PATH

In the fourteenth anniversary number of the *Calcutta Municipal Review*, Mr. Roy Chowdhury makes a vigorous appeal to the city fathers for greater good-will and co-operation in serving the best interests of the city. He grants that imperfections and shortcomings in the municipal administration of every city in the world are unavoidable; but in the midst of these impediments, the path of duty, the 'Right Path' as he calls it, should lie clear and straight on which should be placed the chariot of civil administration. He explains:

"Every civilized administration, which is based on reason and intelligence and has public good as its main objective, must possess a constructive programme to be followed assiduously and loyally for ordered progress. An administration without a plan or a programme of work is like a vessel put to sea without rudder and compass. It should be clearly emphasised that what is most essential is the working of a definite plan by the best available talents in the country. This is equally true about our city government. There cannot be any system in administration unless a plan of work is first chalked out. It is safer to depend on it than to act in an aimless desultory way. A programme of work helps to reduce acrimonious controversies to a minimum and also puts an end to mutual jealousies and antipathies. Why cannot we think more of our city's good and less about individual or party gains? I fervently appeal to our city fathers to pause and ponder here. Let us sink our differences, close in our ranks and immediately prepare a cut-and-dried municipal programme in which the welfare of ratepayers and the city at large will be the dominant factor."

JAPANESE ATROCITIES IN CHINA

Madame Chiang-Kai-Shek, describing the atrocities committed by the Japanese troops in China, writes as follows in *San Francisco Chronicle Magazine*:

Wherever the Japanese have been, they have marked our land with ruin. They have left scars upon earth, our hearts and our minds—indelible scars—scars which never can be healed or eradicated. The myriads of ghosts they have made will take a lot of laying—ghosts of men, women and children, of ancient cities and villages. You never saw such monstrous criminality. Yet in this year of grace, 1938, at this alleged advanced period of civilization, there is no law and no nation or nations to check or punish the criminal; no applicable international instrument of any kind available. Think of it. The new style of 'undeclared war', permitting any kind of unlicensed inhumanity has superseded all decencies.

Not all Japanese soldiers have been willing instruments of the policy of frightfulness of the Japanese militarists. We have it on the testimony of General Chiang Kai-Shek himself that many Japanese soldiers chose self-destruction to end their enforced part in such barbaric warfare. They killed one another, or hanged themselves, or disembowelled themselves, and in their pockets were often found letters containing their "death counsel" to the Japanese military.

INDIA IN PERIODICALS

INDUSTRIALISATION OF INDIA. By Nihar Ranjan Mukherji. [The Modern Review, December 1988.]

THE HINDU CONCEPTION OF LAW. By Krishna Gopal Goswami, M.A. [The Calcutta Review, November 1988.]

MAHJOOR: A POET OF KASHMIR. By Balraj Sahni. [Visvabharati Quarterly, Nov.-Jan.]

RATIONALISTIC ATTITUDE IN SIKH RELIGION. By Prof. C. S. Bindra, M.A., LL.B. [Prabuddha Bharata, December 1988.]

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS

DEPARTMENTAL

NOTES

Questions of Importance

A NOTABLE JUDGMENT

The Federal Court of India has upheld the right of the Central Provinces Legislature to levy a tax on the retail sales of motor spirits and lubricants.

The case arose out of a special reference from the Governor-General-in-Council questioning the validity of the Central Provinces Motor Spirits and Lubricants Taxation Act 1938. The Federal Court held that the Act was not *ultra vires* of the Central Provinces Legislature.

Sir Maurice Gwyer, Chief Justice of India, in his judgment observed that the claim of the Government of India must be that any Provincial Act imposing a tax on the sale of any goods other than a turnover tax was an invasion of entry 45 in the Federal Legislative List.

His Lordship thought it would be strange if the Central Government had the exclusive power to tax retail sales even if the tax were confined to goods produced or manufactured in India, when the provinces had exclusive powers to make laws with respect to trade and commerce within the provincial boundaries.

His Lordship hazarded the guess that the anxiety of the Government of India arose from the probability that a general adoption by the provinces of this method of taxation would tend to reduce the consumption of taxed commodities and thus indirectly diminish the Central Excise Revenue.

This, however, was a circumstance which the Court could not allow to weigh with it if, as his Lordship believed, his interpretation of the Act was clear. His Lordship thought that this interpretation would not have the effect of depriving the Centre of any source of revenue which it enjoyed.

Sir Maurice said he would report to His Excellency the Governor-General that the Central Provinces Act was not *ultra vires* of the provincial legislature. Sir Shah Sulaiman and Mr. M. R. Jayakar delivered separate but concurring judgments.

GANDHIJI'S ADVICE TO THE JEWS

The persecution of Jews in Germany is the subject of an article by Mahatma Gandhi in *Harijan*. He advises them to choose the way of non-violence to vindicate their position.

Gandhiji draws a parallel from the Indian *satyagraha* campaign in South Africa and adds that, while the Indians resorted to *satyagraha* without any backing from the outside world, the Jews of Germany are in an infinitely better position, for they have organised world opinion behind them.

Dwelling on the Palestine issue, Gandhiji says that his sympathy does not blind him to the requirements of justice. He adds:

Surely it would be a crime against humanity to reduce the proud Arabs so that Palestine can be restored to the Jews, partly or wholly, as their National Home. It is wrong to enter Palestine under the shadow of the British gun.

"There are hundreds of ways," Gandhiji says, "of reasoning with the Arabs if they (the Jews) would only discard the help of the British bayonet."

PARAMOUNTCY AND THE STATES

Replying to a question in the House of Commons, the Under-Secretary of State for India said:

His Majesty's Government adhere fully to the statement made by my noble friend, the Member for Horsham (Earl Winterton), in his reply on February 21st last on this subject. The Paramount Power will not obstruct proposals for constitutional advance initiated by Rulers. But His Majesty's Government have no intention of bringing any form of pressure to bear upon them to initiate constitutional changes. It rests with the Rulers themselves to decide what form of government they should adopt in the diverse conditions of the Indian States.

With regard to the second part of the question, the obligations of the Paramount Power to the States extend to protecting Rulers against violence and disorder and to advising and assisting Rulers in remedying such legitimate grievances of their subjects as may be found to exist.

Utterances of the Day

DR. MOTT ON THE TAMBARAM CONFERENCE

Welcoming the delegates to the World Missionary Conference at Tambaram, Madras, on December 12, Dr. John R. Mott, Chairman, observed :

In this fascinating land, where we witness so much of the beauty, the grandeur and the majesty of the works of God in nature, and some of the most impressive and surpassing works of man; in this ancient land with its great traditions antedating those of so many countries from which we have come, notably those of the West; in this land of so many peoples and tongues—the home of one-fifth of the human race; in this land which more than any other is the home of great religions and culture; what does not the world owe to India's ancient, yes, and its modern saints, sages and reformers! "Modern"—this at once suggests to all of us the name of Gandhi. It would be hard to find a modern parallel to the moral influence of this one personality over vast bodies of people near and far, or a more heroic record of sacrifice on behalf of a great and noble cause. In his advocacy and practice of non-violence, may he not, in this particular, be charting a new course for mankind? Here in India we find ourselves among people characterized by reverence for religion, and also by large religious tolerance. And speaking of the Indian people, where is there a people more warm-hearted, more gentle, more peace-loving?

In coming to India, we have come to a country where Christianity is not a foreign religion. It ranks as one of four or five of the oldest of many faiths. For here we find the ancient Syrian Church which is identified with much of the best in Indian life. Moreover, we must not overlook the fact that in India is to be found a larger membership in the Younger Churches than are to be found in any other land. Our hearts should be touched with responsive sympathy when we remind ourselves that in India we are in the presence of one of the greatest areas of poverty, of human need and suffering, and of burden-bearing in all the world. "Bear ye one another's burdens and so fulfil the law of Christ." Here in India we shall find virtually every problem we have left behind us, and some that will be entirely new to us.

What is most important for all of us who have come to India is the fact that India to-day presents the world's most instructive laboratory of Christian experience, method, and adventure. God grant us one and all the humility and the thirst and purpose to learn that we may discover much that will guide and inspire us. What an opportunity here at Tambaram, and later as we move about this wonderful land.

SIR RADHAKRISHNAN'S WARNING

"If Britain fails to develop in time a strong and self-governing India, she cannot escape the destruction which has overcome empires as proud and seemingly as firmly



SIR S. RADHAKRISHNAN

rooted as her own," declared Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan at the Annual Convocation of the Benares Hindu University.

Even now a great menace to the peace and safety of our country is growing up in the Far East and its tremors are felt in Siam and Burma. Germany is striving to extend her influence through Asia Minor, Iraq, Iran, and Afghanistan to the frontiers of India. In the dangerous condition of the world, where three great powers are acting in concert, adopting the doctrine of force as the inspiration of their policies, Britain must reaffirm her faith in freedom and democracy, not by words but by deeds and weld together the different dominions into a unity on the basis of devotion to these ideals. Self-interest, international decency, and justice demand the establishment of self-Government in India. The most urgent problem is to work out a federation not on the lines of the Government of India Act, but on lines which will foster and further internal unity among the different communities and between provinces and States.

THE VICEROY ON FEDERATION

H. E. the Viceroy, addressing the meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce at Calcutta on December 19, observed:

To-day I would make an appeal to India for collaboration, and I would make that appeal even to those who may sincerely doubt the value of the Federal Scheme; for I am confident that experience will justify my own profound belief in it. I would make an appeal for trust—trust in the sincerity of those by whom the scheme has been devised, trust in the goodwill and good faith of those by whom it falls to be carried out.

SIR FRANK NOYCE ON FEDERATION

Speaking at Liverpool on the future of India, Sir Frank Noyce, a former Member of the Viceroy's Council, stoutly defended the movement towards complete self-government and, apparently feeling called on to justify the present Constitution, he quoted the words of Sir Thomas Munro, Governor of Madras more than a century ago, as follows:—"We shall so far have improved the character of our Indian subjects as to enable them to govern and protect themselves." Sir Frank indicated that so far as Provincial Government was concerned, this prophecy had been fulfilled.

In his remarks on the outlook for Federation, Sir Frank Noyce held that the opposition of the Congress is not to be taken seriously. He is reported to have said that the repudiations of the Federal Scheme were not more convincing than were the previous Congress declarations that it would have no part or lot in Provincial autonomy, and that once Federation was established, most parties would make the best of it.

MADRAS AND MILITARY TRAINING

The Madras Assembly has passed a resolution urging that

it is necessary and desirable that immediate steps be taken to provide facilities for military training to all college students and other civilian population desirous of undergoing such training.

The Premier, supporting the resolution, stressed that "from the point of view of the province as a whole, it is just on our part that we should ask for and demand our natural and proper share in the defence of our country being given to us".

THE VICEROY'S COUNCIL

The following appointments have been made with His Majesty's approval to the Executive Council of the Governor-General to take effect from the retirement, on the expiry of their terms of office, of Sir N. N. Sircar, K.C.S.I., at present Law Member with the Government of India, and of Sir P. J. Grigg, K.C.S.I., at present Finance Member to the Government of India:—

Sir Mahomed Zafrullah Khan, K.C.S.I., at present Commerce Member with the Government, to be Law Member.

Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, at present Adviser to the Secretary of State for India, to be the Commerce Member in succession to Sir Mahomed Zafrullah Khan.

Mr. A. J. Raisman, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., at present Finance Secretary to the India Government, to be the Finance Member.

MR. JINNAH AND SIR SIKANDAR

The right of Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan to offer in the name of Muslims help to Britain in the event of a war was challenged at a meeting of the Council of the Muslim League.

Sir Sikandar in reply made a fighting speech. While declaring that it was for the martial classes of the Punjab to offer support to Britain or withhold it, he made an attack on the Congress.

At the intervention of Mr. Jinnah the matter was dropped. He, however, advised Sir Sikandar that before making important pronouncements, he should consult his colleagues of the Muslim League.

I look upon Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan as one of the most eminent Muslims and the strongest pillar of the Muslim League. His utterances are naturally taken as reflecting the views of the Muslim League. Therefore it would be best that before making important pronouncements on critical questions, Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan should consult his colleagues of the Muslim League. The League should act in concert in all important matters.

A GREAT VICE-CHANCELLOR

The following remarkable tribute was paid by H. E. Lord Brabourne, Governor of Bengal, to Mr. Syam Prasad Mukherji on



MR. SYAM PRASAD MUKHERJI

the occasion of the Special Convocation of the Calcutta University, on November 26 :—

Though our paths no longer run together in the affairs of the University, I sincerely trust that during the rest of my time in Bengal, I may have the privilege of your help and co-operation in other spheres because I feel that Bengal needs your services.

H. E. the Chancellor continued :

I had the pleasure of meeting Mr. Mukherji in Bombay last year when he came over there to deliver the annual address to the Convocation of the Bombay University of which I had the honour to be the Chancellor. I well remember that address and also remember the difficulty I had in speaking after him. It is so much easier to speak after a moderate speaker, but nobody can say that Mr. Mukherji belongs to that category. It was a magnificent speech. I then realised how fortunate I would be in having a man of his calibre as my Vice-Chancellor.

It has already been said that he was the son of a great father. If you look through history, do you often find that a great father is followed by a great son? How rare it is! Nobody can say that Mr. Mukherji is being honoured by this honorary degree because he is the son of a great father. It is because he is himself. He has earned every bit of it.

DR. REDDY'S CONVOCATION ADDRESS

Dr. C. R. Reddy, Vice-Chancellor of the Andhra University, observed in his address to the Nagpur University Convocation :

Mahatmaji has said that the parliamentary mind has come to stay. We might go further: we might say that perhaps the democratic method has also come to stay. And that means not only a "mass responsibility" as attaches under every form of nationalism, but the responsibility of each individual as a voter, as a constituent element, however small, in the Governments, and I do hope my young friends going out into the world will honour the obligation of a democratic vote fully and always. . . .

I am glad that we met on an occasion when there has been a real transference of political power directly in the provinces, and indirectly as by way of a subtle reaction even in the All-India Government, from the British bureaucracy to Indian national and nationalist hands.

I know our Ministers have been, speaking generally, conspicuous successes. I do not wish to say anything about a province in which I am only a transient guest, but I have no hesitation in acclaiming the Ministry of Madras and my Hon'ble friend Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar as a set of people who would do credit to any Government in any part of the world.

EDUCATIONAL PLANNING

Addressing the Convocation of the Patna University on November 29, Prof. Amaranath Jha stated :

In India where the number of literate persons is woefully small, there are hundreds, perhaps thousands of young University graduates who feel that the world is out of joint and has no use for them and can do nothing for them. Well-meaning gentlemen, whose sympathies are keener than their vision, suggest in despair that there is too much of education in this country. The problem is not mainly one of education and a good education can become a cure for our ills only when it is associated with good conditions in other departments of life. Good education will be fully effective only when there are good social conditions and, among individuals, good beliefs and feelings. Unemployment is mainly a symptom of industrial maladjustment. The world is getting over-populated.

In India, a careful survey of the country's needs, and a clear view of the social structure of the future, must precede the educational planning, which is necessary and indeed urgent. This careful planning will prevent the revolution which is inevitable if there is a large number of dejected, hopeless, hungry intellectuals.

PROBLEMS BEFORE LAWYERS

Presiding over the Second Kistna District Lawyers' Conference on December 18, at the Museum Buildings, Bezawada, Sir M. Venkatasubba Rao, retired Judge of the Madras High Court, dealt at length with the problems of lawyers and gave many useful suggestions.

Analysing the causes and effects of overcrowding in the profession, Sir Venkatasubba Rao suggested that lawyers should settle down in the villages and take up such work as advising and conveyancing for which there was great scope in the country. He exhorted the lawyers to create a common fund with which to help the poorer section of litigants.

As any increase in the number of judges or courts was impossible under present conditions in order to cope with the work of arrears, Sir M. Venkatasubba Rao suggested that practising lawyers of known integrity and capacity from one district might be appointed judges in another for short periods on an honorary basis. He made a similar suggestion for dealing with the arrears in the High Court.

FEDERAL COURT APPEALS

The Federal Court has rejected an application filed on behalf of Lakhpatram for the grant of special leave to appeal to the Federal Court from an order of the Patna High Court refusing leave to appeal. The Chief Justice of India, Sir Maurice Gwyer, said that the Statute did not vest in the Federal Court the power to grant leave without a certificate from a High Court, which in this case had been refused by the Patna High Court. The Federal Court similarly had no inherent power to grant special leave in the absence of such a certificate.

SIR SHADI LAL & MR. JUSTICE JAYAKAR

Sir Shadi Lal has resigned his post on the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council which he has held for four years.



THE RT. HON. SIR SHADI LAL

As we go to Press, we learn that the Hon. Mr. M. R. Jayakar, Judge of the Federal Court of India, has been offered and has accepted a place on the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in the vacancy caused by the resignation of Sir Shadi Lal.

ABOLITION OF DEATH PENALTY

The House of Commons by 114 votes to 89 carried a private member's motion favouring the abolition of death penalty for an experimental period of five years contrary to the advice of the Government on November 17. But the passing of a resolution does not constitute a Government defeat and no action is likely to follow this expression of opinion by the Commons which is not mandatory.

Insurance

THE UNITED INDIA

The success of the United India Life Assurance Company in Madras as a premier *swadeshi* concern has encouraged its conductors to extend the scope of its operations to Mysore and far away Bombay and Bengal. The Company owns its own buildings in Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta and some measure of the prosperity that has attended its efforts in Mysore is evident from the fact that it has been able to raise a magnificent structure in Bangalore.

It was a happy thought of the Directors to have invited H. H. the Maharajah of Mysore to perform the opening function. The Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Company presented an address of welcome to His Highness enclosed in a silver casket embossed with the model of the United India Bangalore Branch buildings.

His Highness, in declaring the building open, said :

You can see for yourselves how fitly it symbolises the stability and security which are the qualities which one associates with all sound insurance business, and I pray that it may long remain as an enduring monument of a very remarkable piece of *swadeshi* enterprise, and that the Company may live to extend its benefits both to the policyholders, whose minds are set at rest, and to those responsible for the development of the country, whom it is able to assist by its organised finance.

INSURANCE IN CEYLON

The provisions of the Draft Ordinance for the regulation and supervision of the conduct of the business of insurance in Ceylon generally follow the recommendations of the Banking Commission of which Sir Sorabji Pochkhanawala was Chairman. The provisions of the Ordinance are applicable to Provident Societies also.

It is proposed that any body, company or individual carrying on life insurance in Ceylon should be required to have a

working capital of a net sum of not less than Rs. 50,000 exclusive of deposits with the Deputy Financial Secretary, which all classes of insurers will be required to make and also hold gilt-edged securities.

It is also provided that no person shall allow or offer to allow an inducement to any person to effect or renew an insurance in respect of any kind of risk relating to lives or property in Ceylon, any rebate of the whole or part of the Commission payable, or any rebate of the premium shown on the policy, nor shall any person taking out of renewing a policy accept any rebate except such rebate as may be allowed in accordance with the published prospectuses or tables of the insurer.

CO-OPERATIVE INSURANCE

The Hon. Mr. V. Ramdas Pantulu, President of the Southern India Co-operative Insurance Society, while presiding over the Bombay Presidency Co-operative Conference, said :

Among the non-credit activities of the Co-operative Movement, co-operative insurance deserves to occupy an important place and its benefits and potentialities should be better known. An insurance society working on co-operative basis is never a superfluity in spite of the host of well-established and large joint-stock companies working in this country.

Every member of a co-operative society ought to be told that to obtain cheap credit is not the sole object of co-operation and that a co-operative society does not exist merely to enable its members to borrow. The habits in Bengal is sure to afford such facilities to a legion who are now being driven from pillar to post in search of employment—patriotic, industrious and ardent youths who can work wonders if they receive proper training. An apprentice class on sound business lines should be opened by every good bank which should afford facilities to aspirants for banking business. This may appear troublesome at the beginning but a trained man is bound to be an asset in the long run.

Another essential requirement is the stimulation of the banking habit among an increasingly wider public. A great deal can be done, I believe, in this direction by suitable publicity propaganda.

Trade and Finance

CHANGES IN OTTAWA PREFERENCES

India's interest in the Anglo-American Trade Treaty concluded in November last arises from the changes in the Ottawa preferences. The new Agreement, observes a contemporary, will have the effect of taking away the preferences granted by the United Kingdom to Indian as well as Canadian and Australian wheat while the preference given on Indian rice will be lowered.

The abolition of the preference on wheat is not expected to affect India seriously in the United Kingdom market, because American wheat is of a quality which competes with the Canadian rather than with the Australian or the Indian type of wheat.

India's exports of wheat to the United Kingdom for September, the latest month for which figures are available, show heavy fall in value from previous years. In September 1936 it was Rs. 2,989,616; in 1937, Rs. 8,160,850; and in 1938 Rs. 1,85,092; while for the six months ending September 30, the figures for the same three years respectively were: Rs. 45,25,746, Rs. 2,48,98,501 and Rs. 1,00,16,695.

THE TRADE OF INDIA

The yearly review of the trade of India for the year 1937-38 published by the Economic Adviser to the Government of India does not make an encouraging reading. The value of India's export to all countries including Burma in 1937-38 amounted to Rs. 181,00,00,000, i.e., Rs. 4,00,00,000 less than the preceding year and the imports rose by Rs. 82,00,00,000 more than the previous year. The merchandise balance of trade in India's favour thus declined by over Rs. 85 crores.

FOREIGN FIRMS ON BROADS

An important decision regarding the liability of foreign companies doing business in India through agents to be assessed to income-tax was given by Mr. Justice Rangnekar, Chief Justice of Bombay, on November 7.

The point arose on a reference by the Income-tax Commissioner in the case of Metro-Goldwyn-Meyer (India) Limited, which is a branch of the parent Company, the Metro-Goldwyn-Meyer Corporation of the United States of America.

It appeared that the Culvert Export Corporation of America had acquired the rights of doing business in India in respect of certain American films, and by an agreement dated September 30, 1931, they transferred these rights to the Metro-Goldwyn-Meyer (India) Limited on condition of getting 70 per cent. of the profits made by the latter Company in India. The Income-Tax Commissioner sought to recover income-tax on the income going to the Culvert Corporation, which had no branch of its own in India.

In their judgment, Their Lordships observed that under the law a person who did not reside in British India but still had business connections in British India through an agent was liable to be assessed to income-tax. In the present case, the Culvert Corporation had business connections in this country through the Metro-Goldwyn-Meyer (India) Limited, who acted as their agents. They were, therefore, liable to be assessed to income-tax on their share of 70 per cent. of the profits made by the Metro-Goldwyn-Meyer (India) Limited.

WOMEN'S ROLE IN SOCIETY

H. E. Lady Linlithgow, in declaring open the new building of the Lady Irwin High School at New Delhi on November 26, expressed herself especially interested in the coming generation, and she felt that she had good cause to hope that Indian girls would realise more and more the part which they were called on to play in the future of their country. Better education for all classes, continued Her Excellency, had taught them that to be ornamental was not sufficient, but that they should aim at some form of social service for the betterment of those who were less fortunate than themselves. This was one instance in which the East could learn from the West. There was such a large field for women in every country but the professions in which women were most needed out here were nursing and health-visiting from the fact that they were most neglected. In schemes for village uplift, the difficulty was always to find health-visitors.

Her Excellency pointed out that a husband was an asset rather than a disability in this case, as it was not always possible for a woman to live alone. She was aware that a great many men did not like the idea of marrying wives who had professions and in this respect she emphasised the usefulness of establishing in boys' schools in this country classes for instructing them in the qualities they should look for in their helpmates of the future.

On the other hand, pointed out Her Excellency, the West could learn much from the East—resignation and calm in the face of difficulties and sorrow, love, and reverence for the family, grace and beauty of carriage.

MRS. NAIDU ON OUR HERITAGE

"The purpose of education is to draw out not only individual capacity but also those racial characteristics that mould you from generation to generation," observed Mrs. Sarojini Naidu addressing the graduates of the 12th Convocation of the Andhra University.

Universities are not luxuries but seats of learning and sanctuaries of our life. Seats of learning in the day of our struggle are the very foundation and source from which we drew inspiration, manifold and co-ordinated to the service of progress, whether intellectual, economic, political or spiritual. Therefore, let no one decry a University as imperfect.

Speaking about women, she declared:

To-day no woman of India need ask for concessions and favours or wait for crumbs to fall. The days are gone when women for generations had exiled themselves from the heritage of responsibilities. Women, who for the sake of shelter, had subordinated all their duty to the nation, have returned to the path of consciousness. To-day the responsibility of women is very great and grave. Women have come in their proper progressive manifestation of woman sakti. Women of India will stand as peace-makers. I charge you to be pioneers of the great ideal of national unity and stand as peace-makers.

INDIAN WOMEN OVERSEAS

"Indian women and children in far off colonies were suffering a lot and needed the help of their sisters in India," observed Mr. C. F. Andrews addressing a meeting at Queen Mary's College, Madras, on November 8. Mr. Andrews referred at first to the conditions in Fiji. He said that half the population of those islands was Indian. One very serious trouble there had always been that more men had gone out to the islands than women. We need from India some who would be able to go out there to take up education as a real life service, continued Mr. Andrews, not merely go out for a year or two, but go out as missionaries to serve for a whole lifetime.

MRS. PEARL BUCK

The Nobel Prize for Literature has been awarded to Mrs. Pearl Buck.

Mrs. Pearl Buck, American novelist of China and author of the famous "Good Earth" (Pulitzer Prize winner), was born in the ancient city of Yochow, far in the interior of China, at the junction of the Yangtze River and Tungting Lake, on June 26, 1892. She was the daughter of an American missionary, named Sydens-trickers, formerly of Virginia.

Mrs. Buck's first novel "East Wind—West Wind" was published in 1929, "The Young Revolutionist" and "The Good Earth" followed in 1931. "Sons" in 1932, "The Mother" in 1934, "A House Divided" and "House of Earth" in 1935 and "The Exile" in 1936.

SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPTS

The University of Calcutta, it is understood, contemplates publishing several unpublished Sanskrit manuscripts on various subjects it has collected. A Committee of eminent Sanskrit scholars, including the Principal of the Sanskrit College, which was appointed by the University to go into the matter, has submitted its report recommending the acceptance of the above scheme. The series will be named the "Ashutosh Sanskrit Series" after the name of the late Sir Ashutosh Mukherji.

A BOOK TO SUIT YOUR MOOD

Here is a beautiful thought from Lord Grey of Falloden quoted by Mrs. Neville Chamberlain at the opening of the *Sunday Times* Book Fair:

Whenever you see a book that you really like, buy it, even if you have no time to read it at the moment. That happy moment may come, or perhaps on a bed of sickness, then you will have a choice of books to suit your mood.

"THE INDIAN NATION"

The conductors of the *Indian Nation*, Patna, have issued a Special Puja Number with plenty of informing articles and interesting pictures. We congratulate the Editor, Mr. C. H. Rao, on the choice selection of matter and illustrations bearing on different aspects of Behar.

THE LATE PANDIT JAGAT NARAYAN

We deeply regret to record the death of Pandit Jagat Narayan, Lucknow's premier citizen, who passed away in his 75th year. He was the first elected



THE LATE PANDIT JAGAT NARAYAN

Chairman of the Lucknow Municipality, Chairman of the Reception Committee of the 81st Indian National Congress, member of the Hunter Committee to enquire into the Punjab disorders, Minister for Local Self-Government and Public Health, U. P., in 1919 and Vice-Chancellor, Lucknow University. He resigned his office of Minister along with Mr. Chintamani in 1928. He was a great scholar and a very polished and effective speaker in Urdu.

DR. C. L. KATTAL

The highest civic honour has been accorded to Doctor C. L. Kattal, when he was elected the Mayor of Finsbury. He is the first Indian to hold such an office in an English borough.

THE NEW LINLITHGOW WARD

The new Linlithgow Ward in the Government Tuberculosis Hospital, Tambaram, was opened on December 17, by Lady Marjorie Erskine.

Rao Bahadur G. A. Natesan, Sheriff of Madras, welcoming the gathering, said

that as a result of the public entertainment organised in connection with the Viceregal visit to Madras early in January, Rs. 1,905 was realised and Dr. T. S. S. Rajan, the vigilant Public Health Minister, made a personal appeal that the amount should be spent in constructing a ward here. The suggestion was approved and the ward was considered a fit memento of the Viceregal visit to Madras. The design of the ward was drawn up by the Government architect and was approved by the Surgeon-General of Madras. The ward would accommodate 10 patients. It was fitted with sanitary arrangements and provided with a septic tank.

Though the building was estimated to cost Rs 2,100 and they had only Rs. 1,900 with them, the contractor agreed to accept that amount out of consideration for the fact that the work was for public benefit. The speaker had been anxious that the building should be completed before he laid down his office as Sheriff of Madras. His wish was fulfilled although the work was put in hand only two months ago.

He paid a tribute to Dr. Vasudeva Rao, Superintendent of the Hospital, who was doing good work here and at Royapettah.

He felt that nobody could be better fitted to open this new ward than Lady Marjorie Erskine, who was taking such a keen and sincere interest in this movement and her presence there that morning would serve as a stimulus to everybody interested in this noble work.

Lady Marjorie Erskine, declaring the ward open, said that it was a great pleasure and privilege to open the ward. It was, indeed, a pleasure to come and help in anything that did so much good and to help those unable to help themselves. She congratulated Rao Bahadur Natesan on the extreme public-mindedness in the suggestion that the money might be utilised for this object.

The Hon. Dr. Rajan accepted the building on behalf of the Government.

HEALTH

MADRAS PUBLIC HEALTH BILL

In the Madras Legislative Assembly on November 29, Dr. T. S. S. Rajan, Minister for Public Health, introduced the Madras



HON. DR. T. S. S. RAJAN

Public Health Bill, 1938, making provision for advancing the public health of the province and moved that it be referred to a Select Committee with instructions to the Committee to submit its report as early as possible.

He gave a *resume* of the public health work done in the Presidency. Referring to medical treatment, he said that there were 1,288 medical institutions under the control and management of the Government. About Rs. 81,84,562 was spent annually on those institutions, which gave treatment to about 17,459,484 patients. Treatment of the sick was the duty of the State. They should also prevent the people from falling sick. To-day the policy of the Government was not so much to multiply hospitals as to direct its energies to the prevention of diseases. Among the provinces in India, Madras had the unique distinction of possessing a perfected and well-equipped sanitary staff.

An amendment that the Bill be circulated for eliciting public opinion was rejected. The motion that the Bill should be referred to a Select Committee was carried.

THE LONDON SAVINGS BANK

The remarkable fact that during the recent crisis, instead of withdrawing their money from the Post Office Savings Bank, small investors in the country continued to save on an increased scale was mentioned by Lord Mottistone, Chairman of the National Savings Committee, in a statement on October 25.

So far from there being a panic and withdrawals in the critical week-end in September, the deposits in the Savings Bank increased by £400,000, and the total investments in National Savings Certificates, the Post Office Savings Bank, and the Trustee Savings Bank for the month of September rose by nearly £1,500,000. It was a proof of the country's remarkable steadiness in the hour of danger.

BANK OF MYSORE

"One constant factor that goes back to the days of the *Arthashastra* is that the beginning of any undertaking is finance, and banking is the heart of finance, pumping the life-blood into the arteries of commerce and the veins of trade. When the heart beat is slow, steady and regular, all is well with the body politic. If the pulse is sometimes rapid and sometimes slow, if the bank shares show sudden fluctuations up and down, then it is time to call the doctor in," said His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore, speaking at the Silver Jubilee celebrations of the Bank of Mysore on December 8.

In another sense, continued His Highness, the banks formed the conscience of the body politic.

TRAVANCORE NATIONAL BANK CASE

The Privy Council has granted special leave of appeal in the Travancore National and Quilon Bank case. Mr. Jowitt appeared for the District Magistrate of Trivandrum, and Mr. Pritt for the Appellant. The India Office was also represented. The Court, granting leave, asked the hearing to be expedited next term on technical grounds connected with the form of warrant.

RAILWAY EMPLOYEES AND TRADE UNIONS

The All-India Railway Employees' Conference, and the All-India Trade Union Conference, were held at Lahore on November 27, under the chairmanship of Dr. Nandial, and adopted many resolutions.

Opposing the introduction of the Federal Scheme as envisaged by the Government of India Act 1935, the Conference demanded the convening of a constituent assembly on the basis of an adult franchise with the object of framing the Indian constitution guaranteeing the minorities their just rights.

Their other demands included a forty hour week without reduction of pay, one month's leave with full pay after a year's employment, a minimum wage of Rs. 80 for every adult worker, unemployment insurance of the working classes, maternity benefits, old age pension, family allowances at the cost of State and employers, and setting up of a joint conciliation machinery for all trade disputes on the lines recommended for the railways by the Royal Commission on Labour.

The Conference also urged compulsory recognition of organised unions in every industry, prohibition of the employment of children under the age of 16, compulsory free Primary education, provision of workers' houses by municipal bodies, district boards, or the State at nominal rates of rent, schemes for slum clearance, and compulsory health insurance of the entire working class and provision of free treatment and free medical consultation for workers and their families.

EARNINGS FROM RAILWAY PASSENGERS

An indication of the proportion of earnings to outlay on First, Second and Third class railway carriages was given by Mr. A. G. Clow, Member for Communications, who, replying to Mr. Manu Subedar in the Central Legislative Assembly, said that certain figures which were worked out showed that the actual broad gauge earnings per seat available during 1936-37 were:

Rs. 281 for First Class, Rs. 255 for Second Class, and Rs. 266 for Third Class.

An approximate estimate showed that earnings per seat during 1936-37, expressed as a percentage of capital outlay per seat, were 11 per cent. for First Class, 16½ per cent. for Second Class, and 80 per cent. for Third Class.

MUSIC AS UNIVERSAL LANGUAGE

Mr. Sampurnanand, Minister for Education, U. P., opened the Prayag Sangit Sammelam at Allahabad on November 5. Speaking on the importance of the study of Music, Mr. Sampurnanand said:

"The language of Music is universal. Its alphabet consists not of letters but of shrutis and swaras, which are the same all over the world. You meet them in the speech of men, in the cries of birds and beasts, and in the humming of insects. They are present where a wave ripples or a leaf murmurs or a bud bursts its calyx and blossoms forth into a flower.

It is for this reason that we can appreciate sounds uttered by other creatures and enjoy instrumental music, not only our own, but of other countries as well, where no question of following the meaning of words can possibly arise."

Music, the Minister added, lifted man from the plane of beasts. Poetry and music enable us to rise above our own failings and to sublimate our impulses.

"As we approach our political independence," Mr. Sampurnanand said, "our cultural life is also changing. It is, therefore, natural that there should be a revival of music."

MUSIC IN SCHOOLS

"A knowledge of music is essential to culture, and it is a mockery that the gramophone or the wireless should bring the great Masters of Music and their only less great interpreters into our homes if we have not the education to understand or appreciate them," said the Governor, Sir Andrew Caldecott, at the annual distribution of prizes and certificates of the Associated Board of the Royal College of Music (London) held in the Royal College Hall, Colombo.

The Governor said that Ceylon was very much to be congratulated on an Education Department that had rescued the folk-song and folk-dance from obsolescence and woven them once more into the living tissue of the nation.

SPORT

PATIALA SPORTS STADIUM

A stadium specially equipped for all athletic games and meetings and large enough to accommodate over 30,000 people is expected to be opened at Patiala by March 1939. It is to be named the Yadvindra Olympic Stadium. Among its features will be a cycle track which, it is understood, will be used by the Indian Olympic Association. It is learnt that the Indian Olympic Association may not now proceed with their earlier plan to construct a similar track at Lahore.

The details of the scheme for the cycle track were considered by the Executive Committee of the Indian Olympic Association, which met at Patiala recently. The Executive Committee, it is understood, had decided to nominate H. H. the Maharaja of Patiala as the President of the Association. It also considered the question of extending the jurisdiction of the Association so as to include the various Sports Associations in India.

KENYA'S INVITATION TO INDIA

There is a possibility of the All-India Lawn Tennis Association sending out a strong team to Kenya in the near future.

It is learnt that the Kenya Lawn Tennis Association have addressed the Indian Association inviting them to send a team consisting of at least two players who played for India in the recent Davis Cup matches. The Kenya Association, it appears, are willing to meet a part of the expenses.

The matter is now under the consideration by the All-India Lawn Tennis Association and should the tour come off, this will be the second time that an Indian team will be taking part in the Kenya Championships. It will be recalled that three years ago, a strong team consisting of Messrs. N. Krishnaswami Captain, Ghaus Mahomed, S. L. R. Sawhney and D. Poornachandra Rao took part in the Championships and came out with credit.

WORLD'S LIGHT HEAVY-WEIGHT CHAMPION

At Newhaven, Connecticut, Lewis (12 st. 6 lbs.) retained the World's Light-Heavy-Weight Boxing Championship defeating Al Gainer (12 st. 2 lbs.) on points.

SCIENCE

THE ACADEMY OF SCIENCE

The 4th session of the Indian Academy of Sciences met at the Madras Medical College Hall with Sir C. V. Raman in the chair.

The Hon. Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar, Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcoming the delegates, said that Sir C. V. Raman and other great scientists were like the *rishis* of old who led a life of utter selflessness.

Sir C. V. Raman, who spoke for over an hour, stressed that the true role of scientists was the discovery of Truth and that they had no concern either with the application or misapplication of the results of scientific discoveries. All the same, scientists owed an obligation to society of which they formed a part and would do their best to promote its welfare.

Dr. T. S. Tirumurthi, Secretary of the Conference, read messages wishing the Conference success.

SIR SHAH MD. SULAIMAN

Sir Shah Md. Sulaiman, the eminent Indian Scientist and Federal Court Judge, has



SIR SHAH MD. SULAIMAN

been unanimously elected President of the National Academy of Science.

FILM WORLD

LADY VENKATASUBBA RAO'S ADVICE

Presiding over the party given in honor of Miss Shanta Apte at Hotel Connemara, Madras, recently, Lady Venkatasubba Rao said that the Film industry had made of late amazing strides in India. If properly organised, she said, it promised to become a major force in moulding the lives and thoughts of the people. Already several crores of rupees had been invested in the industry in India. A duty, therefore, had been cast on those interested in their welfare to utilise this industry to increase their national wealth and reduce unemployment.

The screen more than the stage could be made to play a wonderful part in working great transformations whether in social, moral or political spheres. A good film might be a means of raising the moral tone of the people and a bad one of corrupting their tastes and lowering their standards. It was incumbent upon every lover of the country to see that all their resources were mobilised with a view to producing good pictures. There was a great need for producing films with the object of putting an end to the social evils and bringing about a better social adjustment.

MADRAS FILM CONFERENCE

The Third Madras Provincial Film Conference met on December 22, at the Gokhale Hall, Madras, under the presidency of Mr. Nalajanam. Delegates from the various important centres of the province and those interested in the film industry attended the Conference.

Mr. C. R. Srinivasan, Editor, *Swadesamitran*, declared the Conference open.

MISS SHANTA APTE ON ACTING

"People are inclined to think that the life of Cine Star is free and easy. As a matter of fact, we artistes are far more overworked than you may believe. We have to be continuously in training and it is by no means easy to leave the studio for any length of time," said Shanta Apte broadcasting from the Madras Station of All-India Radio during her recent visit.

AUTOMOBILE INDUSTRY IN INDIA

The necessity for the establishment of an automobile factory in India cannot be over-stressed. At present, says Mr. P. N. Mathur, Superintendent, Open Hearth, Jamshedpur, in the *Tisco Review*, a medium power car manufactured in the United States costs about Rs. 1,800 ex-works, or about Rs. 2,450 in India, including Inland and Ocean freight, sea insurance, import duty of 87½ per cent. and Bombay Port Trust charges. Adding one-third of this amount for gross profit to dealer, the total approximate sale price of an American car, delivered at Bombay, works out to Rs. 3,250, as against a price of about Rs. 1,800 in America, the cost to the Indian consumer thus being pretty nearly double the price paid by the American consumer.

It will be seen from the foregoing figures, continues Mr. Mathur, that capital invested in this industry in India ought to bring in a very handsome return even after a full allowance is made for depreciation and replacements. At the present price level, the gross profit per car should work out to Rs. 1,000 approximately, and even if 50 per cent. of this figure is taken as representing the ultimate net gain, the total probable profit on 12,000 vehicles will be in the region of 60 lakhs per annum, which works out to 40 per cent. on the initial capital outlay. Mr. Mathur concludes:

All that is needed to get the automobile industry started in this country is a spirit of enterprise, a business capacity and the desire to go ahead and be abreast of the rest of the civilised world.

NOISELESS MOTOR HORN

A motor-horn has been produced which warns other motorists effectively, though apparently it is silent. The hark of this noiseless motor horn, beyond the scope of man's hearing, can be picked up by a microphone installed near the seat of the driver of any car in the vicinity. The device has been introduced in Germany.

ISMAILIA TO PORT DARWIN

The recent R. A. F. flight from Ismailia to Port Darwin, says the *Whip*, has other than a spectacular aspect. The surpassing of the previous long distance record, till now held by Russia, is certainly an achievement to be proud of and the R. A. F. about which Britain had recently not been particularly enthusiastic or proud, may be said to have staged an effective come-back. The significance of this flight lies in the visible proof that it has afforded to observers, that international boundaries are shrinking.

PROGRESS OF AVIATION IN INDIA

It appears from the report on the progress of civil aviation in India and Burma for 1987-88 that the import trade in aircraft and aircraft parts and accessories advanced from Rs. 14 lakhs in 1986 to Rs. 41 lakhs in 1987. Complete aircrafts imported rose from 90 valued at Rs. 6·4 lakhs to 62 valued at Rs. 81·4 lakhs. The growth of civil aviation in India will result in a further increase in these imports and will become another source of economic drain unless steps are taken to establish aeroplane factories in the country.

WIRELESS RESERVE FOR R. A. F.

A new civilian wireless reserve of the Royal Air Force has been announced. The reserve in which it is hoped wireless amateurs will serve is intended to build up an adequate efficient reserve behind the signals branch of the Royal Air Force which will be immediately available in an emergency. Training will mostly be undertaken by volunteers at their homes on their own sets and consists of regular exercises broadcast from the Air Ministry.

JAMES WILLIAMS

James Williams, the world's champion parachutist, was killed at an aviation meeting at Louis-le-Saunier, France, on August 15. An aeroplane took him up about 3,000 ft., and he had arranged to broadcast his impressions while dropping through space down to about 1,000 ft., at which level he was to have opened his parachute. The parachute failed to open until he was within 800 ft. of the ground, and the horrified spectators watched him crash to death.

INDUSTRY

THE GOSPEL OF SWADESHI

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, declaring the All-India Khadi and Swadeshi Exhibition open at the Congress House, Madras, on December 18, said:

"Swadeshi means the re-birth of our hearts that have exiled themselves for three or four generations from our own



MRS. SAROJINI NAIDU

inheritance. It is when we return—we, exiles and children of exiles—to our own birthright of beauty created by our own hands—beauty which is the synonym of bread for the starving that we can be said to be Swadeshi. Swadeshi is a benedictian that brings to all without discrimination of sex, label, caste or community, the resources of bread, of national pride, and the ability, imagination, talent and application to supply their own needs."

THE NATIONAL PLANNING COMMITTEE

The National Planning Committee met at Bombay on December 17th. Among others who attended the meeting were: Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, President of the Committee; Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Mr. J. B. Kripalani General Secretary of the Congress; Mr. Jamnalal Bajaj, Treasurer of the Congress; Mr. V. V. Giri, Minister for Industries, Madras; Mr. L. M. Patil, Minister for Industries, Bombay; and Mr. Barua, Minister for Industries, Central Provinces.

Inaugurating the meeting of the Committee, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose outlined the industrial possibilities of the country and emphasised the need for the Committee seeing that in whatever suggestions it made for the industrial regeneration of the country, the interests of the smaller village industries were strictly safeguarded.

AGRICULTURE

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AGRICULTURAL MARKETING

"In India, an important stage has now been reached, for many marketing surveys have been completed or are well advanced, and broad conclusions have emerged which call for application on a large scale," said His Excellency the Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, addressing the Conference of Ministers on Agricultural Marketing, which opened in New Delhi on November 28.

At a comparatively early stage the necessity of certain lines of improvement became clear. The standardisation of weights and measures, a wide adoption of the system of regulated markets, which had already proved its value in some parts of India, are recommendations common to all the reports. It was also apparent that grading and standardisation would offer a fruitful field for development.

Standardisation, said His Excellency, the determination of, and strict adherence to, grades was a key to distant markets, and given improved world conditions, it is a sure road to expanding business. Lord Linlithgow expressed his confidence that the labours of the Conference would end successfully.

JEWS IN BIHAR SERVICE

The *United Press* learns that the Bihar Government have decided to employ on Rs. 250 to Rs. 500 per mensem each four expelled Czechoslovakian Jews in the Industries Department of the Government in response to the request of Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru.

One of the Jews will be in charge of the scheme for controlling floods and rivers in Bihar. The second will be an expert in electricity or agriculture. The third will be an industrial organiser, while the fourth will be an industrial chemist.

INDIA'S AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE

Consequent on the passing of the Agricultural Produce (grading and marketing) Act by the Central Legislature in February 1937, grading and marketing stations have been established in different parts of India by the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research during the year 1937-38.

The successful experiments carried out by these organisations, says the Report issued by the Council, amply justified the hopes entertained by the framers of this Act.

LABOUR IN INDIA

Mr. Harold Butler, Director of the International Labour Office, who toured in India recently, has published a report entitled "Problems of Industry in the East" recording his personal impressions of social and economic conditions of India. Reviewing labour standards in India, the Report points out that the conditions prevailing in large-scale industry do not compare unfavourably with those in many European countries and that, except in respect of wages, employment conditions are in reasonable correspondence with the stage of industrial development reached by the country. Conditions in small factories and unregulated workshops leave much to be desired in respect of health, sanitation, lighting, ventilation, safety, etc. The report makes a plea for the further reduction of hours in large and small-scale factories and points out that a shorter period of more intensive work is more profitable from both the employers' and workers' points of view.

BONUS TO WORKERS

Mr. Abdul Bari, labour leader and Deputy Speaker of the Bihar Assembly, in a statement in Calcutta recently, said that the management of Tatas had agreed to introduce a sliding scale of payment regarding the departmental production bonus. The bonus would now be distributed among 8,000 workers in addition to the 8,000 already receiving it. The decision was taken at a meeting of a Committee consisting of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, Congress President; Mr. Bari, himself the President of the Tata Workers' Union, and Mr. A. R. Dalal, the managing director of Tatas.

HOURS OF WORK IN U. S. A.

The new U. S. A. Wages and Hours Bill came into operation on October 24 for all industries engaged in inter-State commerce. It is estimated that one-and-a-half million workers in the country will be directly affected by the increases in wages and shorter hours or both. President Roosevelt signed the Act on June 31.

MR. S. SRINIVASA IYENGAR

A public exposition of the main reasons which made him retire from public life was made by Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar at the anniversary of the Reading Room conducted by the Jawabarnagar Congress Sabha, held at Madras. He stated that he would re-enter the political arena if he felt that there was a crisis.

It is not want of request on the part of friends all over Tamilnad and the Andhra desha that has prevented me from coming back to public life. There is no false sense of dignity about me. If I think any crisis requires my presence, whether you ask me or not, I will force myself on you. If, on the other hand, I think my coming will be the harbinger of discord amongst the people, being a strong man naturally and not being able to adjust myself and say one thing at one time and another at another, which is the lot of politicians here and elsewhere, then, I am afraid I cannot come.



MR. S. P. RAJAGOPALACHARI

First Member of Council, Mysore, who has just retired from service.

TEA IN RELIEF OPERATIONS

Referring to the special relief work conducted by the Indian Tea Market Expansion Board's field party in the district of Gorakhpur, United Provinces, during the recent floods, Mr. H. A. Ansari, Sub-Divisional Officer, writes:

The arrangements made on behalf of the Indian Tea Market Expansion Board to distribute tea to all the refugee camps during floods at Colonelganj were extremely satisfactory and it added a bright spark in the arrangements made for the comfort of the refugees. I found the tables clean and the tea supplied was immensely liked by the refugees. I am grateful to the organization for having made arrangements so nicely and for a continual period of about a week for the benefit of the refugees exclusively.

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THE COMMUNITY AND THE NATION

BY PROF. U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

(*Bengal Educational Service*)

NO one denies that India's political future depends on the political unity of the different communities of the country. Of the communities, the Hindus undoubtedly constitute the majority. The next largest community is, of course, the Mussalmans. There are other minor communities such as the Indian Christians, the Anglo-Indians, and the Sikhs. All these are groups according to religion, and not according to political or economic interests. Ordinarily, in democracies of the West, parties are formed according to political and economic ideals, but not according to the religious persuasion of the members. In India, economic ideals have not yet taken root to the extent of supplying a basis for party organisations; and political ideals have up till now been very timidly defined and, therefore, only vaguely understood; and even now, outside the Congress, they mean little more than a share of the political power, which, again, is nothing more than appointment to offices. Hence in India we still have the unfortunate spectacle of most of the politically active groups being held together by no other bond than the religion into which their members were born.

Taking things as they are, the political unity of India must necessarily mean the unity of these religious groups. Of these

groups, again, the unity of the Hindus and the Mussalmans is the most important, and up till now has been found to be the most difficult to achieve. Past experiences have shown that the other communities can more or less easily work together with the Hindus for political purposes; but the Mussalmans generally hold aloof. The number of the Mussalmans is not negligible. If it were so, they might be left out of account in the political struggle of the country. But since this is not the case, those who think of India's political future, have to think of Hindu-Muslim unity also.

Why is this unity so difficult to bring about? Some of the recent speeches and writings of men of different shades of opinion, e.g., the correspondences between the Muslim League and the Congress, supply the clue to the answer to this question. So far as the Hindus are concerned, they are striving for a free India and have never professed anything but friendship for the other communities in this future India. Communal Hindus there undoubtedly are, but leaving them aside, the rest of the Hindus do want a united India.

As for the Mussalmans, quite a number of them have joined the Congress and are striving to realise the Congress ideal. But a much greater number of



them hold aloof from the Congress—nay, even oppose it. They betray a nervousness about the security of their religion and culture and are frankly hostile to a possible Hindu *Raj*. They want all sorts of guarantees, although one seldom knows who will give these guarantees. The nature of the guarantees also does not appear to be clearly understood; for, though during the past months there has been a good deal of publication on the subject, no one has ever defined the nature of these guarantees and the sanction behind the guarantees.

One thing, however, is clear: these Mussalmans do not want to live under a Government in which the Hindus will preponderate. They make no secret of this. But they also say, perhaps as a justification for this attitude, that they want the safety of their cultural and religious unity to be guaranteed. The Mussalmans dislike a Hindu Government, because such a Government, it is alleged, will be hostile to their religion. But the two things are not the same; it is one thing to refuse to accept a particular Government; it is another to ask for safety of religion and culture. The form of Government that you do not like may not be hostile to your religion; yet you may not like that Government because of other reasons. The two questions should be kept separate. But we almost always find them mixed up. The reason for this is not far to seek. The cry of religion in danger adds a zest to the hostility against any particular Government. We may, however, treat them separately. And since religion figures more prominently, we may take that up first.

Culture and religion are not necessarily an object of attack by a Government, even though the Government is not our

own. The Hindus have lived under Muslim rule for several centuries. Although occasional outrages against the religion of the Hindus must have taken place, still it was not the routine work of any Muslim Government; and the fact that Hindus have survived Moslem rule of India for nearly a thousand years, proves the general proposition that an ordered Government must be tolerant of the religious faith of their subjects. And the Christian rulers of today have certainly been highly tolerant both to the Hindus as well as the Muslims. Is there any reason to think that the future democratic Government of India will be intolerant of any faith or culture? Except for those whose mental framework is still mediæval, religion, one may be permitted to think, is after all an individual's private affair and the less State thinks about it, the better. Of course, we are not talking of morality, which is another matter.

Even outside India, there are examples of a religion and culture left untouched by a State entirely controlled by men of another religion. Inquisitions have been there. Religious persecution is not unknown to history. Yet such things belong more to a period of frenzy and bigotry than to the normal life of a country. The Jews are an example to the point. They have no country of their own. They do not speak the same language even. A German Jew does not know English, and an English Jew is not expected to know French. Yet, is it not a fact that they have as yet maintained their racial and cultural unity? If they had not, what is the significance of the anti-Semitic movement in Germany? If they had been submerged in the dominant population of the country of

their adoption, the anti-Semitic agitation would have been meaningless. The Jews are rich, they are intelligent, but they are politically unimportant in the country of their domicile. Their intellectual superiority is beyond cavil. Spinoza, Alexander, Bergson, Einstein, Freud—to take a few names at random—are all Jews. In England, a Jew can rise and has risen to the highest position. Disraeli was Prime Minister. In more recent times, there were Lord Reading and Edwin Montagu. But even in England, as Jews, they are politically unimportant and it cannot be said that owing to their religion, they do not suffer any disadvantage. But in spite of that their cultural solidarity is not broken. In other countries, they are much less important. But in spite of the drawbacks of their political situation, have they not maintained even in those countries their cultural and religious unity?

Their present persecution in Germany is regretted by the world's public opinion. But could any political guarantee prevent this treatment of a small minority by a strong majority? Besides, it is not for their culture and religion that the Jews are being persecuted; they suffer because of their political views and activities. Ordinarily in modern times in a decent civilised society, any minority can retain its culture, provided of course this culture is not itself a handicap to the country's social, moral and political life.

Eighty millions is not a negligible number. If these 80 millions of Mussalmans in India want to retain their culture and religion intact, they certainly can, even if they have little or no political power to back them. But whatever form the future Government of India may take,

even if British connection is severed, the Mussalmans in India are bound to have very much more share in it than the Jews as such have in any country in the world.

The Mussalmans of India ought to know that leaving a few Asiatic countries of the world they are a minority. In England, in Russia, and even in China, they are a minority. But we have yet to know that their religion is in danger in these countries. On the contrary, only the other day, a Chinese Musselman came to India to enlist India's sympathy for the cause, not of Islam in China but of China itself, and he wanted the sympathy not of the Mussalmans of India but of India itself. The cry that Islam is and will be in danger if the Hindu majority begin to rule India is, therefore, baseless.

But if all signs are not misleading, there is a subtler psychology at work. The Mussalmans would prefer British rule to the majority rule of the Hindus. And the cry of culture and religion is raised probably only to conceal the real issues. The Mussalmans were the rulers of India before the British came, and Britain wrested the political power from them. If Britain ever leaves India, to whom should the legacy of her political power go, except to the Mussalmans? In plain language, there are many Mussalmans who aspire to be the unequivocal rulers of India again; not in partnership with men of other religious persuasion, but absolute rulers. If there is to be a democracy or representative government, then it also must be of such a character that their voice must predominate.

At one time, many Moslem leaders dreamt of a Moslem kingdom, consisting of N. W. F., Kashmere, Punjab, Sind, and

slices from other neighbouring Moslem provinces. It was christened "Pakistan". With the decay of British power in India, and with the help of neighbouring Moslem kingdoms, the realisation of this dream was considered perfectly feasible.

Just at this moment, this idea of a separate Moslem kingdom in India does not appear to be openly in the field. It was part of a Pan-Islamic movement, which had its headquarters outside India. But the dismemberment of the Moslem kingdoms and principalities on the west of India, the downfall of the Caliphate and the establishment of mandates and zones of influence by European Powers in western Asia—all these have shattered the foundation of any such hope.

But certain recent events in other parts of the world may have a repercussion on the Moslem World also. Palestine looms large in the horizon. Italy's anti-British propaganda in Egypt and Arabia, and Germany's undisguised hostility towards Britain's hold on Moslem countries are factors to be reckoned with. They are bound to produce effects which we can but dimly visualise at this moment. There is another event which may serve as an exemplar to Moslem countries. It is the absorption of Austria by Germany and the active interest taken by Germany in the affairs of the Sudeten Germans of Czechoslovakia. If the tie of race and language is so strong as to encourage one country to interfere in the affairs of another, then will not the tie of religion do the same? If the Mussalmans of India require it, will not military help be forthcoming from the Moslem countries outside India—from Afghanistan, from Persia, from Iraq, from Egypt, and from Turkey? If such help does come, not

only across the Hindukush as of old but also across the sea and the air, then why should not the Mussalmans of India be able to regain their former position of power and prestige in India which they lost to the British? We shall consider ourselves very much mistaken if this psychology is not working in any mind. As a matter of fact, very recently, expression has been given to such a feeling of hope by some prominent leaders of Muslim India; readers of newspapers must recollect their names. Besides, the utterances of some of the Muslim leaders in respect of certain army legislation also indicate the same mentality. The Mussalmans, we have been told, constitute nearly 70 per cent. of the Indian army in India. Any opposition to recruitment to the army would mean keeping these Mussalmans out of the army; and support of recruitment means keeping them in. And the meaning of keeping up a predominantly Muslim army is obvious; when a revolutionary change of Government comes, power will apparently pass to those who command the army.

Is a Muslim *Raj* in India again possible? Need we discuss the possibilities of the establishment of such a Muslim *Raj* in India with the help, if necessary, of Muslim Powers from outside India? If Muslim Asia can concentrate its attention on India, non-Muslim Asia also may do the same; and if the establishment of Muslim *Raj* in India can be the dream of some, an opposite of it may be the dream of others. There is Japan in the East; and if poet Noguchi has not misled us, Japan has started a pan-Asiatic movement. For the communities of India to hope for outside interference in order that their communal superiority

may be established is, to say the least, suicidal. No sensible and patriotic Indian will like India to be the battle-ground of Western and Eastern Asia. And what is more, no patriotic Indian—he be a Hindu or a Muslim—would like to change one foreign master for another, whether that other be Muslim or Buddhist. Let us, therefore, think of India as a self-contained country, aspiring to be a free nation and having a place in the comity of nations.

If we rule out the possibility of an exclusively Muslim or an exclusively Hindu India, and if we genuinely disapprove of such a desire, then what can be the reason for Muslim hostility to the Congress ideal?

The danger to religion is imaginary; if it does not exist in China, it ought not to exist in India. Cultural solidarity, again, is an undefined and ill-understood expression. In dress, manner, and language, the Chinese Mussalman has little in common with a Mussalman of Bengal or Tripoli. The Mussalman's aloofness from the national movements of India, therefore, must be otherwise explained. In most cases, it is political, though the policy underlying is ill-disguised. But unfortunately this attitude of aloofness is due to a misunderstanding of the whole position in India. There are certain obvious facts which are not always stressed. The Hindus constitute the majority of the population of India. And of the minorities, when artificial barriers and third-party interference are removed, all except the Mussalmans will gravitate more easily towards the Hindus than towards the Mussalmans. In any final readjustment, therefore, the Mussalmans cannot expect anything more than minority rights.

At the present moment, there are some provinces which are predominantly Muslim, e.g., Bengal and Punjab and N. W. F. Province. Sind has been constituted a province for no other reason than to have another such predominantly Muslim province. There are thus a few Muslim provinces so to say against a few other Hindu provinces. And Muslim leaders think, and they do not conceal this thought, that if any injustice is done to the Muslims in the provinces in which they are a minority, then they will retaliate against the Hindus where the Hindus constitute a minority.

To say the least, this is an unfortunate attitude of mind. It does not foster democracy—it discourages friendship and co-operation and provokes bitterness. It has actually done so. But apart from these results, such retaliation is not a permanent possibility. The presence and the protection of a third power may guarantee it for some length of time; but that is about all. If Great Britain be imagined out of India, the provinces can certainly be re-formed. Even with Great Britain's presence, such a contingency is not unthinkable. The eastern provinces of Bengal, Behar and Orissa and Assam have been twice remodelled within living memory. And one already hears talks of a reshuffle of provincial boundaries on a linguistic basis. Now, if there is a redistribution of provinces, cannot the number of Muslim provinces be confined to one, viz., N. W. F. Province? After all, a majority is a majority, and the non-Muslims are the majority in India.

But an overbearing majority will mean a discontented and distracted India. And the Mussalmans are not a negligible minority. If they cannot reconquer India,

they can certainly make impossible their conquest by others. They can make smooth administration difficult, if not impossible. Does any one want that? If not, the Mussalmans have an assured place in any future Government of India.

It is not untrue that we have in India what is often described—perhaps rightly—a militant Islam. But it is equally true that there is a militant Hinduism. Considering the probabilities of the situation, both these must be considered as futile and as a handicap to progress. The Hindu ambition to make India exclusively *Hindusthan* or a land of the Hindus only, will not materialise. And the Mussalmans' ambition of a 'Pakistan' or purely Islamic India as in the days of Aurangzeb is equally doomed to failure. Why not, then, think of a united India?

Why can we not unite? Barring a few religious customs which need not be emphasised, are not there plenty of causes upon which unity is possible? Bengal is one of those provinces where the Hindu-Muslim problem is acutest. Even there, on plenty of occasions, united action by Hindus and Muslims had been found possible. In the common life of the schools and colleges, united action has been found possible, though lately the virus of communalism is being injected there also. When famine and pestilence rage over the country, the Hindus and Mussalmans can and do combine to fight their common enemy.

A decent, comfortable, peaceful life of economic sufficiency and political prestige is an ideal for which all Indians can co-operate. If they do not, then that means that minor issues receive more importance than they deserve.

Barring cow-sacrifice, there is nothing in the Mussalmans' religion which a Hindu cannot tolerate; and cow sacrifice is not obligatory for a Musselman. And in the Hindus' religion, only minor observances give offence to the Muslim. If good sense prevails, there is no earthly reason why an adjustment should not be possible. And if the rigidity of the theory of untouchability is relaxed, the communities ought to come closer together. To consider a man untouchable is, to say the least, to be offensive to him. An educated untouchable always takes offence at being considered such. When this ban is lifted, the communities may come closer together and have more intimate social intercourse. We are making ourselves the laughing-stock of the civilized world by keeping apart.

It is an unnatural situation that the community feeling is allowed precedence over the feeling of nationality. It is a misfortune for the communities themselves; it is a greater misfortune for the country. No one will deny this simple truth; but when we return to actual life, the ancient embers of hatred are rekindled and the community is considered more important than the country we live in. Will not India be able to rid itself of this pernicious poison?

A discussion like this would be considered useless and platitudinous if concrete proposals are not put forward. The most simple yet most effectively concrete proposal that one can make in this connection is to repeat the Mahatma's formula of *Ahimsa*. Let us purge our mind of hatred of others. This is the golden key that will open the temple of unity. In addition, let us get rid of acknowledged social evils like untouchability; let us rationalise our individual and communal life. The rest will follow as a matter of course. If the heart is pure, pacts or agreements are unnecessary. And if the will to be pure is there, all else is assured.

THE COLONIAL PROBLEM

BY SARDAR RANBIR SINGH, B.A., LL.B.

THE recent statement in the House of Commons by Mr. M. Macdonald on the subject of Colonies has plunged the whole question into the mystic-realm of uncertainty. He said that nobody in England wants to hand over any colonial or mandated territory, that His Majesty's Government doesn't want to hand over any territory, that the Government is not at the moment contemplating or discussing the transfer and that if ever the problem is opened, then Britain is not the only country which has assumed additional territorial responsibilities after the war. It is in the last clause that the seed of doubt is nurtured. Mr. Bonnet from France has also declared that Herr Von Ribbentrop on his Paris visit had limited himself to the statement that Germany intended to remain loyal to the Berlin-Rome-Axis, but had no direct interest in the Mediterranean. He further added that he had not been acquainted with any Italian claims, but if they were made, there would be no question of France giving up an inch of territory. The claims to the colonies have been made and, even though they might not have yet reached White Hall or Paris in the form of a diplomatic document, they are a reality.

This problem is a very thorny one, and the following survey will bring home the extraordinary difficulties and complications of the situation to those who glibly demand an immediate colonial settlement, and rather irresponsibly accuse the Chamberlain Government for not having been able to achieve it so far. In order to create a clear and candid atmosphere for a successful solution of the problem, certain facts should be frankly stated and

sincerely accepted by all concerned. In the first place, it must be acknowledged that the ultimate aim is not merely a bilateral bargain, but a return to some kind of international order, possibly based upon a reform of the League. Négociation would be quite unprofitable unless it was clearly accepted that Herr Hitler's offers of 21st May 1935 and 7th March 1936 to re-enter the League still hold good. A pact with Berlin, much as it may be desirable, would be too dearly bought at the price of sacrificing the ideals of international arbitration and collective security. Minor reservations or amendments if insisted upon may be discussed. But the whole question will ultimately depend on Germany's readiness to re-enter the collective system, to renounce war as an instrument of policy to abandon the armament race and to accept some general system of limitation and control. A colonial understanding cannot be effected piecemeal. Concessions in one field must be contingent upon agreement in other fields and the structure stands or falls as a whole. In other words, colonial concessions are only possible on a basis of world order and international, as opposed to, bilateral discussions.

Secondly, it must be made clear that in the anxiety of preventing the gulf between rival political tendencies from becoming unbridgeable, it is impossible for Britain to transfer allegiance, or friendship from France to Germany; and that any Anglo-German understanding is inconceivable and of not much value either, except on a triangular basis. Indeed, Britain could neither be so perfidious nor so mad as to abandon France or to leave her interests out of the reckoning.

Lastly in order to meet the German grievance based on sentiment and prestige, to which German opinion has all along attached great importance, an entirely voluntary and frank recantation of certain errors connected with Versailles Treaty should be primarily made, which will be a very good prelude to the successful discussions of the major issues. The covenant of the League should be detached from the peace treaties. The economic clauses should be declared to be inoperative. The so-called War Guilt Clauses should be specifically defined as aimed solely at establishing a legal basis for claims of damage.

With these axioms established, let us consider the main grounds on which the German claim is based. It is impossible to admit that Germany has any legal claim to the lost colonies; they were conquered from her and she ceded them unreservedly to the major allied powers, who, of their own accord, undertook to administer them under mandates supervised by the League, but a moral claim must be admitted in view of the terms of the fifth point of President Wilson.

It is contended that a great nation like Germany is entitled to what Hitler calls "Colonial Equality" and that it is highly derogatory to withhold from Germany the advantages which small countries like Holland or Portugal possess. This is clearly an appeal to prestige which naturally weigh with a dictatorial regime. But by once accepting this argument that every continental great power has the right to be a great colonial power also, we are landed in a completely hopeless situation, since such arguments are based on the idea that the colonies are merely properties to be exploited and not

administrative responsibilities. That might have been the old 18th century view, but during the last generation the principle of trusteeship of the backward races had made such strides and won such full acceptance that it is impossible to go back upon it now.

The second argument is that the restoration of their colonies is a necessary step towards removing the shortage of raw materials from which she is suffering. No serious evidence has yet been adduced for this claim. On the other hand, Lord Lugard has pointed out that in the post-War period, there has been no restriction whatsoever upon exports from British territories in Africa, and that owing to the fall of the prices of primary products, they are more than ever eager to sell to any buyer. German trade with Tanganyika amounted to close upon 10,00,000 dollars (one million pounds) in 1934-35, and Italy was able to purchase in British colonies large quantities of food for her army in Abyssinia. Mr. Amery in his public reply to Herr Von Ribbentrop's demand for colonies at the Leipzig fair in 1937, very rightly pointed out that in 1935-36 Germany imported as much raw material as in 1929 on the eve of the great depression, and that a large part of these imports, which should have supplied peaceful German industry, was directed to intensive armament. While the German Government continues to arm at the present fantastic scale, it cannot expect others to facilitate the supply of material which might at any moment be directed against those who supplied them.

Thirdly, the Germans contend that the recovery of their lost colonies is rendered essential by the pressure of population at home. During the decade preceding

the War, the German colonies only accounted for 0·18 per cent. of the total German emigration, and when the War broke out there were only 20,000 Germans in all their colonies combined. In Tanganyika, which alone offers serious openings to white settlers, the number of new white settlers, whom it might be possible to place there during the next 10 years, would not possibly exceed 40,000. Similarly, the Italians in the hilly country of Eritrea have in 50 years settled only 400 unofficial adult Italians, and the prospect of settlement in Abyssinia on a scale likely to affect Italy's population problem are extremely slight. To quote Lord Lugard: "It is to the temperate zones in North and South America, in Siberia or in the Pacific, that the surplus population of Europe should look for colonisation." Moreover, this claim of an oversea's outlet for the German population cannot be solved in Africa alone and, therefore, it is not a matter merely between Germany and Britain. Obviously no such solution is possible without consulting and obtaining the consent and, presumably, the co-operation of France, Belgium, Portugal, South Africa, and, perhaps, Spain—a co-operation which it will not be easy to obtain.

The disinclination of the Allied Powers to part with the colonies is also due to certain other *sine qua non* conditions for a colonial settlement with Germany, upon which British Public opinion would probably insist, and Germany might be reluctant to yield. Firstly, Germany should in taking over such colonies give the most explicit guarantees to maintain the existing legislation in

favour of a native population and to ensure that their status should not deteriorate. There are some who argue that Germany's record of treatment of natives ought to debar it for ever from any colonial possessions. More serious is the argument that a nation which is engaged in reducing to helotry and utter ruin a section of its own home population and deliberately branding them as second class citizens before the law for purely racial reason irrespective of conduct or of cultural standing, is not fit to be entrusted with the government of subject races in any continent. The second condition is that such colonies as Germany might acquire by agreement should under no circumstances be converted into Naval stations or Military Air Ports and that the black population should not be armed save on a diminutive scale for local police purpose.

But, above all, even if such understandings are forthcoming in the most solemn terms, where is the guarantee that they will be scrupulously adhered to. The crux of the whole situation, then, is whether to secure a compromise with the Allied Powers, Germany is prepared to damp down the frenzy of her militarism and is ready to re-enter the international fellowship.

We are, therefore, forced back upon the alternative of organising a "Peace-Front" of the peace-loving nations, sufficiently strong to deter any would-be aggressor from war-like adventure and of holding out grimly until the aggressive countries either explode from within or their financial disorders bring them to a more reasonable frame of mind.



AN UPANISHADIC ANTHOLOGY

BY PROF. M. HIRIYANNA, M.A.

THE Upanishads and the Bhagavadgita contain the very essence of Hindu thought. They are the recognised sources of the Vedanta, which not only represents the philosophic belief of the cultured but is also the basis of popular religion. These two scriptures or *Prasthanas*, as they are called, belong to different ages and accordingly present some divergent features. But the divergences are of a minor character, and the scriptures essentially agree in their teaching. This fundamental unity of their teaching is very well brought out in a book by the Hon'ble Mr. C. Rajagopalachari which has been published recently.* It is an anthology of selections carefully made from seven out of the dozen Upanishads, which are all pre-Buddhistic and are commonly regarded as classical. The selections, in the case of each Upanishad, are very skilfully utilised as connecting links in a continuous discourse on it; and attention is drawn more than once in these discourses to the sameness of the teaching in the Upanishads and the Gita. The passages chosen are sometimes translated literally; but, more often, we have only a free paraphrase of them. The exposition of the thoughts of the Upanishads as well as the rendering of the passages culled from them is in the simple, clear and attractive style, which we are accustomed to find in the speeches and writings of the distinguished author.

The intrinsic excellence of the passages has, of course, been the chief criterion for their inclusion here. But, from what

the author states in the Introduction, he seems to have been influenced by another consideration also in choosing them. Although the truths taught in the Upanishads are eternal, they are sometimes expressed in terms of the life and circumstances of a remote age, and Mr. Rajagopalachari rightly thinks that for a proper appreciation of the Upanishads to-day, their antique background is, as far as possible, to be eliminated. This probably accounts for the omission from the book of some passages which one who is conversant with these gospels expects to find in it. But many of the best passages are there, and none but the best finds a place among them. They are also varied enough to give a clear and adequate idea of the main points of the Upanishadic doctrine—the nature of Brahman or the universal self, the relation of the individual to it and to the physical world, the goal of human life and the way to reach it. The book, considering the wealth of its contents, should, indeed, be deemed an achievement in compression.

We learn from the Publishers' note, prefixed to the book, that the author's work *Bhagavadgita* is now in its third edition. The present publication deserves to be equally popular. It is very well printed, and is small enough in size to be easily carried in pocket by those who want to make it their constant companion. We trust that, by the freshness and lucidity of its treatment, it will help to spread widely a knowledge of the outlook on life for which the Upanishads, as a whole, stand. Never was the need for it greater than at the present time.

*UPANISHADS FOR THE LAY READER. By C. Rajagopalachari. 'Hindustan Times', New Delhi.

PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARIES

BY MR. P. RAJESWARA RAO

THE Working of Provincial Autonomy has given rise to some constitutional questions regarding the details of the manner of administration. A new political organism naturally develops characteristics and needs of its own during the first and most important phase of its growth. The future course of development depends upon the method of treatment. These issues should be critically examined with impartiality and detachment in the light of experience gained so far. Amicable settlement of these issues facilitates the smooth and sound working of the administrative machine.

One of the conspicuous questions that have come to the forefront concerns the precise nature of work and status of the Parliamentary Secretaries. In this connection it is important to note the historical background of this problem. The proposal that such appointments should be made in India was first put forward in the joint report on Constitutional Reforms by Mr. Montague and Lord-Chelmsford. They suggested that parliamentary secretaries in India should be entrusted with the same functions and responsibilities which were performed in England by the parliamentary under-secretaries. The Simon Commission also recommended that Assistant Ministers or Parliamentary Under-Secretaries of the British type should be appointed to assist Ministers in the discharge of their parliamentary or executive functions. Sir Samuel Hoare supported this recommendation in his evidence before the Joint Select Committee.

Coming to details we find that some provinces like Bengal, Frontier, Assam, and C. P. have not seen it fit to make

provision for these appointments. The reasons for omission are understood to be partly financial. Any attempt to dogmatise on the question whether parliamentary secretaries should be appointed or not and to establish and to enforce a dreary uniformity of practice engenders some obvious disadvantages, since the requirements and resources of each province differ markedly from one another. When this subject was briefly touched upon by the Joint Parliamentary Committee, Sir Samuel Hoare, the then Secretary of State for India, declared that it would be undesirable to fetter the freedom of choice of Provincial Governments and to involve them in avoidable expenditure; the matter should be decided by the Provinces themselves in accordance with their own conditions.

In the provinces where they are already appointed, there is no unanimity regarding their functions and position. They are neither politically active nor constitutionally conspicuous in Bombay. Madras also does not provide the facilities and opportunities to vindicate their utility and importance. Mr. Karant, one of the parliamentary secretaries, who was attached to the Public Work Minister, resigned in disgust to escape the shackles of paid idleness. Since then the Minister concerned did not complain of overwork or the absence of an assistant. Even the rest of them, we are told, are busying themselves with comparatively minor and unimportant activities. A political appointment with a constitutional role naturally loses its significance as soon as it becomes a sinecure. Apparently there is a growing tendency to regard them as politically unnecessary and constitutionally

superfluous. In Bihar as well, they are working under restraints and limitations. When Mr. K. B. Sahay, the most active and vocal of all the secretaries, was deputed to Wardha to join the deliberations in connection with the Bengali-Bihari controversy, he had to confess that he did not and could not represent the Premier in spite of his being the Chief Parliamentary Secretary; he was present there only to note the proceedings and observe the developments. It makes one think that the position is apparently synonymous to that of a glorified clerk. In the Punjab, where the salary scale for the ministers and parliamentary secretaries is high compared with that of most provinces, the tendency has been to limit the range of activities of the latter. Whereas in the United Provinces their number and importance is greater than anywhere else in India. The practice has apparently grown up that they should examine and if they think fit note upon the files passing from the Permanent Secretary to the Minister, though without passing orders. No doubt such assistance rendered by a parliamentary secretary of ability and experience is likely to be of great value to a busy and overburdened Minister, not only in the Secretariat but also in the Legislature. Recently the Premier of U. P., while replying to an interpellation, declared that the parliamentary secretaries helped the Ministers in the discharge of duties and the Ministers had full powers to arrange with them the manner in which they should conduct the business. This statement merely emphasises the power and authority of the Minister over his Parliamentary Secretary, and the position and status of the Parliamentary Secretary is still doubtful and uncertain.

As the question is of great constitutional importance and has been engaging the attention of the various parties concerned, the following note describing the status, functions, and duties of Parliamentary Secretaries or Under-Secretaries in United Kingdom by Prof. A. B. Keith, the eminent authority on Constitutional Law, is of special value and should tend to dispel the misconceptions prevalent in various quarters:

Roughly speaking, the position is that Secretaries are entrusted both with the administrative work in the departments and with the representation under the Minister of the interests of the department in the House of Parliament to which he is assigned.

Thus in the office of the Secretaries of State, the Parliamentary Secretaries are normally given a substantial share in the administrative work. Very often certain spheres of work are assigned to the Under-Secretary, who normally becomes the final authority for the subjects so assigned. He, of course, exercises his discretion and sees that the Minister is duly informed and he assists for and obtains his decision in any issue : (1) involving principles not already decided by the Minister, or (2) likely to be raised in the Legislature. But there is usually a considerable amount of business with which he can deal finally. Moreover, it is usual to keep him informed of important business in branches which are not under his close supervision, so that he may be able to deal with the issues if and when they arise in the Legislature. In effect the Under-Secretary should, whenever the mass of work permits (i) relieve his chief of as much of the lesser business as is practicable; and (ii) keep himself *au fait* with all matters of importance even though they have to be decided by the Minister. An Under-Secretary, therefore, often looks at important papers without necessarily attempting to form any final judgment thereon, while in special spheres he may normally decide, submitting only the matters above referred to the Ministers. In these matters it is impossible to lay down any fixed rules. If, for instance, the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies happens to have specialised on economic issues, he may be given the function of dealing with them, his chief merely approving formally important decisions; if the Under-Secretary for the Dominions is interested in emigration, he may virtually take charge of that branch of business. The Secretary of State must, of course, be kept informed of all matters of importance; and all those which go beyond the scope of a single department, either by reason of importance or because other departments are concerned and, therefore, must be subject to Cabinet approval have to pass through him. But a good Under-Secretary can help in many ways, specially if he is in effective touch with Permanent Secretary of the Department.

If they agree on any matter, it may often be unnecessary to trouble the Minister at all, or the issue may be virtually decided by them with the Minister homologating with a minimum of personal action on their findings.

In some cases finance is specially assigned to the Secretary, while in the Foreign Office the Minister has one Under-Secretary specially for League of Nations Work. But the point of importance is that normally the Secretary is expected to do a substantial amount of administrative work. The Parliamentary Secretary to the Treasury is one of the busiest of the administrators.

The principle involved, of course, is simply that no effective aid can be rendered in Parliament by a Secretary unless he is fully *au fait* with the work of the department, and he can become *au fait* only by the process of actually working in it and taking decisions on minor matters and writing minutes and making proposals on other questions. While, of course, some Secretaries do not work hard, others are whole-heartedly devoted to the business of administration, and as a rule these are the men who are later successful as Ministers, provided, of course, they possess Parliamentary skill.

In this connection it is very necessary to note the distinction between a parliamentary under-secretary and parliamentary private secretary. Again to quote Prof. Keith:

The parliamentary private secretary of a Minister in Britain is in a quite different position. He is not given any share in the administrative work in the department but merely aids the Minister in minor matters connected with his parliamentary duties and, for instance, works for him outside the House at political meetings and so on. The post is not paid and it is usually given as a compliment rather than anything else. It enables a promising young man to become familiar with the members of the Ministry personally; but the office is quite distinct from and much less important than that of a parliamentary secretary.

But the Indian Constitution unlike the British Constitution is a written one. It contains no specific provision for the exercise of administrative functions by the parliamentary secretaries. Moreover under the Act, they are not required to take the oath of secrecy. Besides in the initial stage they are inexperienced in the art of administration. Under these circumstances it is no wonder that some permanent officials are perturbed and display some amount of nervousness about

the range of activities and authority of these parliamentary secretaries; it is surmised that there is a tendency to look upon them as political intruders and constitutional misfits. Sometimes minor problems of precedence and procedure precipitate matters and even create delicate situations. When a parliamentary secretary, in the unavoidable absence of the Minister, leads an official delegation to an All-India Conference on some technical subject, naturally the seniormost departmental official may feel it to be derogatory to submit to the authority of one who has no technical competence and constitutional standing. It is, of course, unwise to think that friction is likely to arise regarding such trivial matters in the ordinary course. Though there is abundant evidence of co-operation and co-ordination, tactlessness or momentary lapse of good-will lodges them in an awkward position. In order to avoid such troubles, it is highly desirable to make a careful and dispassionate examination of the issues involved and to evolve a workable practice and procedure.

It cannot be said that this problem can be ignored even by those provinces that have so far escaped their necessity. Once a decision to appoint them is taken, as in most provinces it has been, there is urgent necessity for general understanding. Conventions should be established to guide and regulate the political procedure and constitutional usage. Orissa had no parliamentary secretaries in the beginning, but appointed them later presumably having felt the necessity. Political exigencies should be taken into consideration in deciding these appointments. Some time ago there was speculation about the appointment of parliamentary secretaries

in Bengal and even the personnel was forecast. There is no reason to believe that even petty provinces like C. P., Sind, and Frontier with slender resources and greater demands will be able to postpone this issue for all time to come.

In view of the growing pressure of work and the considerations of practical convenience the urgency of removing the obvious and disquieting potentialities of friction, which is inherent in the present state of affairs, is imperative. What is needed is a clear definition of their status and functions and a correct estimate of their powers and responsibilities. Indecision is more harmful than an unfavourable decision; the sooner it is finally decided the better. The British experience is already before us. Of course, nobody suggests blind imitation. Necessary modifications can be made to suit the national requirements. Political institutions grow of their own accord in course of time. The prevailing atmosphere, mentality and temperament influence the character and composition of the future tradition. Constitutional conventions based on political morality cannot be established overnight.

They are gradually evolved and take their final shape in the fulness of time. Therefore, it is obvious that if the present state of things continues, it is not possible to get out of the impasse in the near future. Besides as the Indian Constitution is rigid with no provision for automatic advance, there is little scope for the early establishment of sound and stable conventions. This problem deserves the earnest attention of the Congress High Command, which is directing the activities of the Congress Cabinets in eight out of eleven provinces, and their lead at the present juncture will be greatly appreciated. Hence it is essential that the Provincial Governments in their own interest should co-operate and collaborate in deciding this problem. The politicians and publicists as well can contribute to its solution by focussing the public attention on the varied aspects of this question. The value of such an unbiased and impartial appreciation of the implications is inestimable in arriving at a right understanding of the whole question and ultimately effects an early solution.

China : The Foster-Mother of Japan

BY MR. ABDUL GHAFUR, B.A. (Hons.) (London), M.A., M.Sc. (Alg.)

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CHINA has been the progenitor of human culture and civilisation in certain branches and her influence has been deep and far-reaching. In one wide sweep, her cultural contact embraces the East and West, and there is hardly a nation that should not claim allegiance to her leadership in the world of art culture. To take a few examples, Muslim art and learning would have remained

sealed in the bosom of the Bedouin, who, with all his marvellous faculty of memory, could hardly be expected to preserve the ever-increasing volume of Muslim lore and religious traditions by word of mouth. It was the establishment of a few paper factories at Baghdad in the second century that led to the blossoming forth of the written word, the foundation of the universities and the sumptuously

furnished libraries of the Muslim World; and paper came from China. Can any Western scholar allege with confidence that the Witten Berg Printing Press was not inspired by the Chinese woodcuts printing? The travels of Marco Polo, and some of the wonderful inventions that he brought back along with him, revealed to Europe for the first time a civilisation rich with cultural and social attainments that has blazed the glory of a self-luminous radiance and not the reflected moonshine of other cultures. Then there is their ceramic industry, their amazing technique of painting, their originality of perspective and colour schemes, and silk that was being produced in such abundance that when Ibn-Batuta arrived in China, he writes, that it is so common that it is worn by the poorest there and that for a single piece of cotton cloth, one can have several pieces of silk.

But our specific aim here is not to evaluate the Chinese contribution to the world of cultural and social amenities. Our object is to discover the debt that Japan owes to her foster-mother, to the country that gave her what was worth having in art, literature, social order, administration, religion, ethics, and philosophy. It does not stop here. The Japan of the sixties of the last century and Japan in the essentials of her social and cultural life to-day is as truly a part of China, the flesh of her flesh and the blood of her blood as Ceylon is that of India. The bluest blood of Japan has trickled into the archipelago from the Continent, the Japanese art and literature are inspired by Chinese ideals, their domestic ethics is based on the teaching of Confucius and Taoism, Shintoism being a product

of the close and intimate contact of these schools of thought and their welding into one uniform whole in the blazing forge of Japanese nationalism. In waging a war against China, Japan is not fighting against her own kith and kin, she is striking at the very root of that cultural and aesthetic superstructure, those social and civic ideals that have inspired the Japanese and in which the thoughtful visitor to Japan discovers her fruitful contribution to the world and significant potentialities of development for human progress and happiness. And we should rest satisfied that China won't be swept away and a culture that has survived the inroads of the fierce-looking Tatars under Kublai Khan and the Manchus, that has stood the splendid test of forty centuries of glorious and colourful life will conquer after all the conqueror. But one cannot help visualising the decrepit, heart-broken figure of the fratricide, Oedipus blind and miserable, making a pathetic but nevertheless ignominious exit from a stage where he had killed his father. A profound reverence for the parents has been exalted to a creed by the Japanese, but strange to say, like most other nations the virtue has been limited to domestic life and it has never been exercised in fields where it will be really beneficial and fruitful in bringing about better understanding and a keener appreciation of mutual obligations among nations. In Bertrand Russel we have a philosophic student of the Far East problem, who had the additional advantage of working for some time as the Professor of Philosophy at the Pekin University, and his words have a pointed significance when he writes: "They have a civilisation superior to ours in all that makes for

human happiness" and "when I went to China, I went to teach, but every day that I stayed I thought less of what I had to teach them and more of what I had to learn from them". But what is more relevant for our purpose is his statement that throughout Japanese history, "one seems to see two opposite forces struggling for mastery over people's mind, namely, the ideas of Government, civilisation and art derived from China on the one hand and the native tendency to feudalism, clan government, and civil war on the other".

Chinese language and literature were introduced in the archipelago in 284 A.D. when the Corean ruler, who was a tributary to the Japanese king, sent a celebrated scholar, Wani, to instruct the Crown Prince in the Chinese language and the teachings of Confucius. The Japanese had no conception of the art of writing and the great human invention of preserving the records of history in black and white. They had a recourse to the storing of history into their memory and relying on oral traditions which, not infrequently, confused historical figures with mythological or legendary heroes and stretching reigns of certain rulers into marvellously extensive length. The art of writing borrowed from China implied the wholesale introduction of the ideographic script, which has remained, with very minor changes here and there, the main form of writing for the Japanese language up to the present day.

In the sixth century, Buddhism was introduced into Japan from Corea, which at first adopted experimentally, soon found for itself a place in the heart of the people, may formed the very web and woof of their social and cultural life, which henceforth came under the potent

influence of the Chinese civilisation, sponsored and propagated by zealous Buddhist missionaries, who not only gave to Japan a cult of the highest ethical significance but also developed that artistic and aesthetic sense in her people that has become the very soul of their national life. The temple at Horiyaji contains some of the finest specimens of fresco painting in Japan, painted by Buddhist priests, noble and glorious works that represent, like the Ajanta Frescoes, the highly idealised phase that intrigued itself into the blood stream of the social and religious life of the country from China. Dr. Cousins, the well known art critic and theosophist, befittingly styles the Horiyaji Temple as the fountain-head of Japanese culture, splendid proof of the fact how Japan rediscovered herself through Corean hands trained by the priests artists of rock-temples of Ajanta, who had breathed into Japanese art the breath of immortality.

The introduction of Buddhism opened the flood-gates of Chinese influence in Japan, and we find it sweetening the saline brackish waters of an inland sea with the life-giving springs of continental influence in every department of Japanese life. We meet radical reforms in social orders, political institutions, and in the motifs of sculpture, architecture, in the social usages of cuisine, costume and social etiquette. The family came to be patterned after the five cardinal virtues of Confucianism—loyalty, filial piety, marital fidelity, brotherly order, and friendly solidarity. "The teaching of the great Chinese sage is so widely diffused and deeply rooted in Japan that it must be considered to be part and parcel of Japanese culture." The Chinese division into four

classes, which seems to have a peculiar similarity with the classification of the caste system, was adopted by the Japanese and had quite a strong hold of the social structure up to the recent times. This influence was deeper and far-reaching in ceremonials and court etiquette. The ceremonial division of the court and of the administration into left and right, the dresses, the swords of the courtiers of left and right were differentiated into true Chinese style, while the ranks conferred upon the nobles were borrowed from the Chinese officialdom, and the Imperial sacrifices are still reminiscent of the corresponding Chinese ceremonies. Looking to these blessings and resuscitating influences in the domain of culture and social life, it is no exaggeration to state that "Japan owes to China a debt comparable perhaps with that which Great Britain owes to the Greco-Roman World".

The Chinese influence is as pronounced as ever in literature and poetry and general system of education. Early historiographers and poets set before them the literary ideals of China and sat at the feet of Chinese masters to learn the art of self-expression and to discover those hidden springs of inspiration and lofty idealism that help a nation to realise her destiny in the progress of human culture and happiness.

China has been the master-painter of the world and even in the Persian, Turkish, and Urdu literatures, the Naqqashi Cheen indicates the last word in the technique of the brush. The best Persian pieces of art display a significant affinity to the Chinese art, and when Ibn-Batuta visited the Court of the Chinese Emperor, he was agreeably surprised to find his

portrait, faithful to the very turn of the hair, displayed in the main bazar of the town. The artists had been scheduled to this work by the Sultan, and they had drawn the portraiture with a few broad sweeps of the brush during the very short time that he stayed for an audience at the Imperial Court. The Chinese are of all people the most skilful in the arts possessed of the greatest mastery over them. There is none other who can match them in precision whether Greek or any other; for in this art they show a marvellous talent. According to Brinkley, "Japanese pictorial art is permeated with Chinese affinities. The one is, indeed, the child of the other, and traces of this close relationship are nearly always present in greater or lesser degree". Although some of the best results of the Japanese artistic attempts are where the Chinese ideals and native originality are harmoniously combined in the service of the religion of beauty, yet the earliest and greatest Japanese painter—Kose no Kanoaka—is an unalloyed product of Chinese inspiration and stands at the crest of the flood of Chinese influence that inundated his country in the eighth and the ninth centuries.

But a more interesting development is that of the Japanese ceramics, an industry now organised on a gigantically mechanical scale, has flooded the world markets with cheap glossy nicknacks. Here the Chinese held once the lead in the world and the first great Japanese master was Shirozemen, who went in the thirteenth century to China and learnt the exquisite skill and craftsmanship from Chinese masters in the course of six long years. He was the first to transplant the ceramic processes from China and

produced noble specimens of the art in the form of rich, lustrous and brilliant vases. By the nineteenth century, the Japanese disciples of Chinese art-masters had forgotten their lesson and the graceful touch, and the charming delicacy had become a lost art. The Japanese producer had very often the necessity to make stains on new pieces and make them look like old work in order to palm them off on the European collector. But it could not continue for long, and we find, once more, Miyagawa, like his illustrious progenitor of the 18th century, revolting against the meretricious products of the decadent art and reverting to the Chinese ideals in colour, scheme, and design. By this reversion they have once more paid a singular tribute to the perennial

supremacy of China in ceramics and vindicated the Japanese claim to the principle of eclecticism that has been the relieving feature of Japanese culture.

China has given to Japan literature, religion, philosophy, a social structure, has inspired her more than once with renewed life in the political and artistic field. But she had bestowed upon her more precious gifts. She has given to her the O CHA (the tea and her *sake* (a beverage) without which every Japanese social function would remain lifeless and without colour. And in return, Japan has not done a little to fill the cup of Chinese misery, a nation that has done, perhaps, more than any other single nation to advance the cause of human happiness and social amenities in the world.

"FORD" IN FICTION

"MOM," said little Abner, "thero's a fellow down the street says



MR. UPTON SINCLAIR

he's "goin' to make a wagon that'll run without a horse."

"He's crazy," said Mom.

The first of these two prophetic utterances has been abundantly fulfilled, but whether the second contains a measure of truth, the reader of "The Flivver King" by Upton Sinclair (T. Werner Laurie) may discover for himself.

Interwoven with the record of Henry Ford's industrial success is the story of one of his workmen, Abner Shutt, a sharply contrasting picture of two men's lives, vigorously exposing abuses which lie at the root of most of the world's misery and unrest to-day.

To most men of Henry Ford's generation, when they think about economics at all, unrestricted competition is the healthiest check on industry, and the supermechanic with the mind of a stubborn peasant, according to the author, is no exception, for he has learnt nothing

that does not immediately affect the production of his car.

Up to the end of the War, Ford was a model employer. In January 1914, he threw a bombshell into the industrial world by announcing an eight-hour day and dividing a bonus of ten million dollars with his workers, making five dollars a day a minimum wage. His Social department undertook to help the fourteen thousand employees in their personal problems, while wages and conditions steadily improved until the Post-War slump.

Afterwards labour-saving machinery threw thousands on to the streets and "speeding up" made work in the plant a physical adventure possible only for the fittest until his workers wiped their boots on articles under his name in the *Saturday Evening Post* telling the world of ideal conditions in his plant and that the use of machinery did not cause unemployment.

Reorganisation sounds an innocent word. To Henry it meant a tremendous effort to reduce costs after losses which were staggering until compared with the profits amassed in previous years. To his workers it spelt hardship and unemployment. Two such periods, 1920 and 1931, are described both from Henry's and Abner's view-point.

The Social department was the first to go. Many workers had another name for it—the "Snooping" department. Henry grew embittered. "Gratitude?" he would say. "There's no gratitude in business. Men work for money." In its place came the "Service department" with spies, spotters, and private police. Competition in the whole industry became so acute that by devices known as "the speed-up" and "the stretch out", every worker

had to be strained to the utmost limit of human capacity, leaving the factory "grey and staggering with fatigue. . . . empty shells from which the last drop of juice had been squeezed".

If this is a true picture of conditions in Detroit's motor industry, it is not surprising that the workers should feel the need for Trade Unions. In his early days Henry did not object to Unions. Now he feared and fought against a combination of his workers into one large Union. He caused a former Judge and then Mayor of Detroit to state of his own knowledge that "Henry Ford employs some of the worst gangsters in our City". How much of all this does Henry know personally? He is an old man now and his grandchildren are growing up. Meanwhile Abner's children have found their precarious niches in the life of Detroit. The struggle with the Unions is graphically told and involves the whole Shutt family. According to the Author, Henry who had once been the best of employers, has now become the worst, paying the lowest wages in the industry, his speed-up the most ruthless. He is the richest man in the world, but the billion dollars is a golden fetter stronger than the hardest steel used in his plant. His declining years are spent in guarding it.

Upton Sinclair's latest novel as a literary effort does not rank with "The Jungle" or "Oil", but as a picture of the evils of a highly competitive industry, it should be read by all those whose social conscience is not blunted by the love of money, success, or power. The questions which it asks challenge an answer, and if our civilization is to survive, they must be answered without delay.

PINK INDIA AND YELLOW INDIA

By DEWAN BAHADUR K. S. RAMASWAMI SASTRI

TWO famous sentences—separated by a long interval of time but linked by an inward kinship of spirit—give us a revelatory light on an obscure subject. Lord Canning said soon after the Mutiny: “The territories under the suzerainty of the Crown became at once *as important and as integral a part of India as territories under its direct dominion. Together they form one care.*” Quite recently the Butler Committee Report stated: “Geographically India is one and indivisible, made up of the pink and the yellow. *The problem of statesmanship is to hold the two together.*” All of us have, therefore, to realise that the accidents of history cannot bisect or multi-sect India which is a unity, not only from a geographical point of view but also from the economic and political and cultural points of view.

Both pink India and yellow India have had continuous touches of pigment since the time of the Mutiny, and the two primary colours are no longer in such sharp and vivid contrast as they were before. Before the Mutiny, British India treated the Indian States as allies or as rivals or as enemies. But during the Mutiny a new situation arose. Lord Canning’s famous admission shows that the patches of native rule acted as breakwaters to the wave which threatened to sweep away England from India. After the Mutiny, British India became welded into a unit, while the Indian States continued to be a disconnected mass of units, great and small. But yet both of them have been feeling the breath of United India, which is not yet in being but is struggling to be born.

The Great War of 1914 brought the Princes together into a unique field of common action for the defence of democracy and civilisation. A new policy loomed above the horizon in August 1917. The Indian Princes, who had been dealing till then in a spirit of isolation with the Paramount Power, felt the urgent need of common deliberation and united action. They felt that till then they had no voice in the determination and formulation of All-India policies. They felt also that in disputes between them and the Government of India, the latter was both party and judge and that this fact brought about inconvenient situations and that hence there was a dire need of an impartial tribunal. They felt also that the Political Department of India went on often in an arbitrary manner without ascertaining and knowing and respecting their points of view. It was under these conditions that the Chamber of Princes came into existence. It had but little power. But it gave them a new experience resulting in a new power. They tasted the new experience of joint deliberation and determination.

Meantime, British India had gone far ahead. The Great War of 1914 had released new ideas into active operation. The bright star of self-determination shone high in the political imagination. A new passion to make the world safe for democracy was surging in the heart of the East as well as in the heart of the West.

It is with this background in our memory that we must visualise the inter-relations of pink India and yellow India to-day. It will be worth while to chronicle and evaluate some of the resolutions

passed by the Indian States at Bombay in March 1928:

"This meeting of rulers and representatives of State Governments

(d) affirms the intention of the Indian States to join with His Majesty's Government and with the Government and people of British India in working for a solution which shall secure protection for all interests and progress for all India;

(e) reaffirms the abiding determination of the rulers of Indian States, as recorded in the last Session of the Chamber of Princes, to ensure the rule of law in their States and to promote the welfare and good government of their subjects; and

(g) reaffirms on the one hand the loyalty of the Indian States to the Crown and their attachment to the Empire, and on the other hand their sympathy with the aspirations of British India, which they regard as legitimate."

Thus we see clearly the power of new ideas over both pink India and yellow India. As already stated by me in my article on Paramountcy and Federation,* paramountcy is becoming less and less truly paramount, and Federation is becoming more and more truly federal. Paramountcy was once upon a time full federal overlordship having as a legal consequence renewal and annexation and lapse. It then became subordinate co-operation and is now said to be co-operative partnership. Even now the Government of India talks and behaves as the dominant partner. It has been well said: "The whisper of the Residency becomes the thunder of the State."

The Butler Committee has not given much help towards the new and inevitable consolidation of India. Sir Tej Bahadur

Sapru has said well that it has tried to build a Chinese wall between British India and Indian India. It recommended the transfer of the control of the States from the Governor-General-in-Council to the Viceroy alone. It used to be said of the Viceroy, Sir John Lawrence, that he looked upon the Provinces as his sons and on the States as his step-sons, but was not a sympathetic parent to either. Such a possibility is not pleasant to contemplate. Another recommendation of the Committee is to leave the Paramountcy conception in a nebulous state. It says: "Paramountcy must remain paramount; it must fulfil its obligations defining or adapting itself according to the shifting necessities of the time and the progressive development of the States."

The time is now come for the Princes and the British Indian leaders and the British Government to arrive at a formula which would be agreeable to them as being in the best interests of India as a whole. Earl Winterton's pronouncement in the House of Commons shows that the Princes have freedom to introduce democratic responsible self-government in their States. The leading statesmen in British India are profoundly dissatisfied with the impotent Federation as envisaged in the Government of India Act, 1935. The British Government has pledged itself explicitly to responsible Government in British India and implicitly to Dominion Status for India as a whole. It may be that, as Lord Lothian says, it is difficult to envisage a marital union between autocratic Indian India and democratic British India. But there can be no difficulty in the bride becoming a little more educated in democracy and in the bridegroom completing the education after the happy union.

* *Indian Review*, July 1938.

SCHOOLS OF PACIFISM

BY

MR. P. NAGARAJA RAO, M.A.

THE one great problem that has been engaging the attention of the great savants of humanity is the problem of *peace*. They are all out to do away with war and violence. They are devising ways and means to secure peace. No serious minded humanitarian questions the imperative need and value of peace. Over and over again in the past, the greatest civilisations have been either destroyed or degraded by war. The fighting which Homer taught the Greeks to regard as glorious swept away the Mycenaean civilisation and was succeeded by centuries of confused and barbarous conflict. The speech of Pericles to Athenians at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War has been a model for recruiting appeals. That very war spelt the end of the Athenian empire. The Athenians born after that war added nothing permanent to the world. The Roman civilisation perished completely in the Barbarian invasion. The remnant, out of which the modern world has grown, was preserved, not by the men who fought against the barbarians, but by the monks who retired from the strife and devoted their lives to religion and study.

A clear study of the existing literature on the subject resolves itself into four distinct schools of thought: (a) the collective security view; (b) socialist solution for peace; (c) the absolute pacifists; (d) the constructive and creative pacifism of Mahatma Gandhi.

a. The most practical-minded statesman of the West and their great idealist leader, Wilson, wanted to establish peace and make the world safe for democracy after the great and terrible War of 1914. So they established the League and through it enunciated the principle of collective security, which assured that if any State used its aggressive force in an immoral fashion against a weak nation, the League Powers would join hands and use its collective force against the aggressor. Short of this the League had other solutions also, such as the imposition

of sanctions and the organisation of economic boycott. The principle of collective security was the first practical engine of peace devised by European statesmanship. They thought that it would not turn out to be a mere piece of idealistic nonsense. They hoped it would work well. There is no use blaming the failure of this institution. The morality of the nations has not come up to its level. Constitutions are not born out of rocks, but are born out of the dispositions of men.

Besides this, there were certain inherent defects in the Constitution of the League which affected its efficient work. There is no denial that it was a first-class mechanism of peace after the Great War. It could not work because the statesmen, who participated in its debates, proved to be national agents and not cosmopolitan statesmen. Outside Geneva, each nation competes independently and at Geneva they compete in closer contacts. "It is too much to expect a Sir Samuel Hoare or an Eden working habitually in Downing Street, salaried to serve the British interests, to acquire the cosmopolitan mind necessary to plan for the prosperity of the distant Chinese or the dark Ethiopan." Their parish is England or Poland or Peru, but not the world.

Thus the League as a peace mechanism failed at all crucial points. It could not effect just political settlements. What little it achieved in the field of politics was within the scope of any international machinery that existed before the war. To quote the words of Brailsford, the League operated nothing and controlled nothing. It is a superfluity, a functionless fifth wheel in the chariot of history that spun ineffective in the air. It has merely contented itself to register mere pedantic and ineffective censures. The major failures of the League are staring before the vision of the realist in politics. The Corfu murder, the Manchurian, the Abyssinian, the Spanish and the present Sino-Japanese question are a few of the ignominious failures of the League.

Besides the absence of the right democratic temper in men, the Constitution of the League is also defective. It does not facilitate the effective use of collective security. The League, as created at Versailles, has left the national sovereignties intact and has provided no machinery to compel respect for the Covenant. The League is not a government. Government has a legislative, executive, and judicial function. It does not require unanimity but can act on majority votes. Neither the Council nor the Assembly can compel dissentient members, nor can they revise the unjust provisions of the Treaty without the consent of the signatories. The League has not an executive. The only force at its disposal is the member-state, which is used to withhold as national governments decide, and not as the League may demand.

b. The Socialist stands for peace, but he believes that it can only be achieved by liquidating the existing class-relations. The Socialist believes in a violent revolution. Violence is the midwife of a new social order, says Lenin. Non-violence they say, is not an effective and immediate remedy for peace. They declare in unerring terms 'that the society today rests on violence, and in order to set it right we need nothing short of Revolution. It must be a violent revolution, not the democratic process of progressive taxation suggested by capitalist economists. Marx declared that there is no use interpreting the universe and he insisted on our changing it. Revolution, they say, is above all a theory of action proclaiming education through action.

Peace, the Socialist says, is a function of an equitable social order and not the silence of the grave, nor the contentment of the beggar in his rags. Peace is the consequence of the nature of society in which we live. It can only exist in a just economic order. Such an order of society can never be achieved except by violence. Prof. Harold Laski in his eloquent book on the "Parliamentary Government in England" argues at great length that Revolution alone can usher in an era of peace. The nerve of his argument is as follows: The so-called democratic institute parliament successfully

functioned in the nineteenth century, because it rested, on a community of interests among those who, in practice, control its operations. Throughout the nineteenth century, the government of the two parties, Conservatives and Liberals, could get on well, because of the fact that both the sides were fundamentally in agreement. Their quarrels were mere sham family quarrels. The end of the nineteenth century saw the rise of a political party which did not believe in the principle of private profit. So the issues that were faced in the Parliament are no longer mimic battles but they are real wars. If the party which stands for economic equality and socialism is returned to power at an election and if they put their programme into practice, there is no place for compromise, because there is no community of interests between the different parties. The party in power, i.e., the Socialist, will not be allowed to establish the just economic order of society through the legislative process, because such an enactment would endanger the position of the capitalists. Under such circumstances, the party of the capitalists will make use of all its key-positions, such as the King, the Church, the Judiciary, the Police, the Civil Service, the Press, and the B. B. C., which are under their control and destroy the constitution as well as democracy. This is the Fascist phase of capitalism. Hence the need for the revolution. This, in short, is the case of the Socialist.

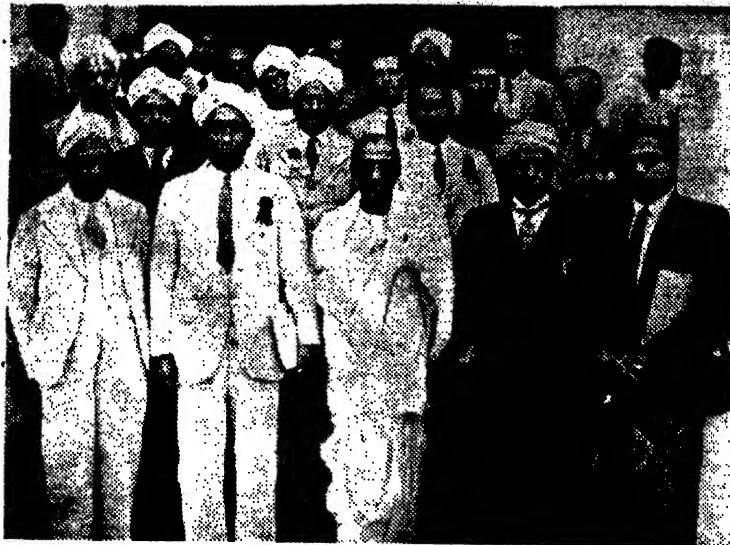
c. Some of the great men of the West found that the cause of peace cannot be adequately advanced nor effectively realised by the principle of collective security. Their despair is confirmed by the monumental failure of the League in every first-class political crisis. So they formed themselves into a powerful organisation called the Peace Pledge Union. They go under the name of *absolute pacifists*. The great representatives of absolute pacifism are the late Dick Shepherd, Aldous Huxley, George Lansbury and the War Resisters' International. The absolutist pacifists contend that the use of violence in any form is bound to end in disaster. They are not

utilitarians. To them individual life is most sacred, and it should not be flung away without any consideration or for trifles. They do not even approve the use of violence for just purposes. The Means to them must be as sacred as the Ends. They say that their purpose is peace, and the way to achieve it 'we will not fight'. They shudder to contemplate the possible effects of any war between the scientifically perfected nations, trained in the use of the explosives, the thermite, the incendiary, and the gas bombs. They very well know that within a few hours expert air bombing can reduce London to just cinders. They believe that violence is intrinsically bad, and never can be the midwife of a new social order. It will perpetrate the old order and inaugurate the age of violence. Huxley clearly points out that the end does not justify the means. The means condition the end. Just war is a contradiction in terms. War and violence can never be justified on any account, be it for an empire or for colonies or to establish a classless society or to punish an aggressor, not even in self-defence. So they do not believe in the doctrine of collective security, and gibe at it and style it as *collective insecurity*. They are for a prudent and wise resignation and refuse to use violence in any form.

This school of thought has great merits. It is a sound ethical position answering the needs of morality. Politics and moral are put together here. The practical-minded statesmen of the modern world feel the solution of the absolute pacifist a long term remedy and not of great help for immediate danger. Some have characterised this pacifism as the alluring doctrine of despair of the famous character in Dostovesky's novel "Karmazov".

d. The constructive pacifism of Mahatma Gandhi is a great and a definite advance on the absolute pacifist school of thought. The Gandhian pacifism is a constructive and a creative creed. He has not merely proclaimed a programme like the visionary but he has also fashioned

a technique. This technique goes by the famous name of *satyagraha*, non-violent resistance. It is a new machine for establishing peace. It has for its background Christian ethics and Upanishadic outlook. It is not the same as the *Gita* doctrines. *Gita* in fact is *frankly sanctionist and not pacifist*. It stands for a just war. The *Gita* ideal is more in line with collective security. The Gandhian doctrine of non-violence is not mere acquiescence, nor is it a cowardly retreat, nor the cool deliberations of a calculating diplomatist. It is an effort and a challenge to the opponent and a resistance to evil. The term violence in the compound non-violence is non-militaristic in its significance. The negative element in the compound is not a bare negation, it is significant. Non-violent resistance is the application of soul-force. It is not the comfortable love of life for life's sake. It does not like a coward count the cost in the hour of trial. The Mahatma exhorts all the soldiers of his army to rush and resist evil, but not to inflict violence on the opponent. He does not advocate a base utilitarian love of life. Before we go to the scrap heap, he wants us to exert every nerve of ours to resist evil. He does not want us to shape our tongue to any lie; he would rather have it plucked out. Whether this doctrine of the Mahatma is practical is a matter left to the future historian and to the forces of politics. There is no denying that this scheme of pacifism is constructive and creative at once. It is not as mild as absolute pacifism. It is dynamic in its force. Politically this doctrine has just this unique advantage. In a struggle between an individual and a State, there are more chances for the individual to convert the State to his opinion if he practised non-violence more than violence. Non-violent resistance is the great educating medium between the honest citizen and the oppressive State. This, in short, is the constructive pacifism of the Mahatma. It is not an impossible and an austere discipline to follow, but its adoption will turn Earth into a Paradise.



C. R. who inaugurated the Fourth Session of the Indian Academy of Sciences, snapped with Sir C. V. Raman, Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyer, Dr. T. S. S. Rajan, Mr. G. A. Natesan etc.



Sarojini Devi, Dr. Pattabhi and "C. R." at the Hindi Convocation, Madras.

THE ANNUAL GATHERINGS

THE LIBERAL FEDERATION

SIR COWASJEE JEHANGIR welcoming the delegates to the 20th Session of the National Liberal Federation of India, held at Bombay on December 30, reaffirmed his faith in the Liberal creed. "Our ultimate political goal," he said,

is the attainment by constitutional means of *Swaraj*, that is to say, responsible self-government and Dominion Status for India at the earliest possible date. The Congress creed of complete independence implies that India must be left to her own resources to fight against external aggression without hope of reinforcement from Britain or the Empire. Our creed will entitle us to a measure of protection from foreign aggression which otherwise will not be available to us.

Sir Cowasjee also sounded a note of warning to those who believe in direct action and mentioned that direct action would not lead them to the goal of their ambitions, but only to suffering and disorganisation would follow in its hardship. He contended that it was a triumph of Liberal foresight that the Congress had abandoned, even if temporarily, the direct action. He believed

that if the Congress abandoned its present method of Constitutional Government and resorted to civil disobedience, as threatened by its President, large numbers of thinking people in India, who, while approving of the present constitutional Congress policy, would be most unwilling to subject this country to a fresh spell of political confusion. Such people would then naturally turn to a political party which has no communal basis and which can afford a common rallying centre for the bulk of political opinion, which does not belong to the direct action school.

He then criticised the Federation Scheme and said that it was

quite unlike any other Federation that exists in the world. It would be illogical to have a Federation, some of the component parts of which are based on Democracy whilst the others are based on Autocracy.

In conclusion, Sir Cowasjee referred to the cult of Communism and warned the country of the danger of following the Russian example.

MR. SAPRU'S PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

The Hon. Mr. P. N. Sapru, in the course of his presidential address, reviewed the present world situation which, he contended, was due in a great measure to "Britain and France, who have followed policies which have weakened definitely

the forces of Liberal and Social democracy and strengthened those of Fascist reaction". After making a comprehensive survey of problems, national and international, he prescribed Liberalism as the cure for all the maladies from which the modern world is suffering.

Referring to the Indian problem, Mr. Sapru stressed the need to endow India as speedily as possible with Dominion Status and made a plea for greater Indianization of the army and the reduction of British troops.

Viewing the world situation in its proper setting, bearing in mind what these new imperialisms are and mean for the weaker races of mankind, I think we were wise in fixing as our objective Dominion Status as defined in the Statute of Westminster. No one disputes that a country has a right to aspire to be independent. It is equally true that the British Commonwealth is not an achievement of the Indian race and that the Indian people cannot take pride in it as Britishers, and those who are of British stock can. But Dominion Status, which is a dynamic conception, is hardly distinguishable for any practical purpose from virtual independence. It is a free association of free peoples in no way subordinate to one another. In a world full of menace to the democratic states, we have in the British Commonwealth of Nations an organization which can provide the base for a system of collective security. And surely democratic states must pull together. In a world full of menace to the Asiatic and African races, it would give to India a sense of security, which an entirely independent existence cannot. But if forgetting the dark chapters in our relationship, it is wise for us to accept it loyally and unreservedly as our objective; it is equally the duty of those who control British policy to endow India as speedily as possible with Dominion Status; for Indian thought is running in channels which threaten to make an Indo-British Commonwealth an unacceptable ideal.

After criticising the financial and other matters of Congress Provincial administrations, Mr. Sapru referred to the control of the Congress High Command as undemocratic.

He reiterated his opposition to the Federal Scheme. He pointed out the directions in which the Scheme must be revised, and uttered a warning against the dangers of carrying out the threat of mass civil disobedience in order to wreck the Federation.

Not by refusing to handle the machinery set up at the Centre, but by utilizing it in an independent, courageous and constructive manner for the removal of those obstacles which the Act has unfortunately

placed "in our way, shall we be able to build up a mighty force, which even this extraordinarily rigid Constitution will not be able to resist.

Referring to Indian States, Mr. Sapru emphasised that it was imperative that genuine representative government, as a prelude to responsible government, should be established in all the States.

Pointing out the various disquieting aspects of Congress policy, he deprecated the tendency of the Congress Spokesmen to identify it with the nation and stated that there was too much intolerance in the Party, and even its leaders were not free from it.

After dealing with the economic problem and Indians overseas, Mr. Sapru enunciated the principles and programme of Liberalism and emphasized that the truths enshrined in Liberalism are eternal and they cannot die.

RESOLUTIONS

One of the most important of the resolutions passed at the Session reiterated its opinion that the Federal part of the Government of India Act of 1935 was utterly unacceptable and in several respects retrograde. The resolution, as moved by Kunwar Sir Maharej Singh and adopted at the Session, ran as follows:

The National Liberal Federation reiterates its opinion that the Constitution, especially as regards the Centre, as embodied in the Government of India Act 1935, is utterly unsatisfactory and in several respects retrograde.

While the National Liberal Federation accepts a federal form of government for India as the only natural ideal for our country, the Federation considers that vital changes are required in the form of the Federation as laid down in the Act, especially in the direction of

- (a) clearing up the position of the Princes and securing the subjects of States the right of election of States representatives;
- (b) doing away with the safeguards regarding monetary policy and commercial discrimination;
- (c) introducing direct elections for the members of the Federal Assembly by the Provinces, and
- (d) making the Constitution sufficiently elastic so as to enable India to attain Dominion Status within a reasonable period of time.

The National Liberal Federation considers that the present position, when there is an irresponsible government in the Centre coupled with responsible governments in the Provinces, is altogether untenable and earnestly urges on Parliament to make immediate changes in the Federal part of the Constitution so as to make it generally acceptable.

The Federation is further of opinion that these modifications are essential for the successful working of the Federal Constitution.

Sir Maharej Singh, in moving the resolution, pointed out various objections to the Federal part of the Government of India Act, and stoutly challenged the motion that it was not possible for Parliament to make amendments now. He could not say what sort of opposition the Liberal Party would adopt if the present Federation was forced on India.

But he was sure that the Liberals would be opposed to anything in the nature of mass civil disobedience.

The resolution was supported by Mr. N. M. Joshi, Dr. G. S. Mahajani, Mr. B. N. Gokhale, and Mr. L. G. Sabinis. It was passed unanimously.

Other resolutions dealt with the working of provincial autonomy, reform in Indian States, Indian military policy and Indians overseas, and expressed disapproval of the appointment of civilians as Governors, demanded the appointment of Indian Consuls, suggested a scheme for economic development and urged educational reform, and separation of the executive from the judiciary.

Dr. R. P. Paranjpye of Poona moved the resolution on Provincial Autonomy. It reads:

The Federation expresses satisfaction that in all Provinces, Provincial Autonomy, as consistently advocated by the Liberal Party, is being worked on constitutional lines without any undue interference from the Governors and trusts that this atmosphere will continue and lead to the establishment of complete autonomy in the Provinces and early introduction of responsibility at the Centre.

The Federation strongly deprecates the Congress Working Committee's attempt to impose its will and decisions on the Provincial Ministries, as such interference is calculated seriously to hinder the growth of a healthy democratic system of government.

Winding up the proceedings, Mr. Sapru said that though the Liberal Party was a small one, it would yet play an important role in the country's affairs.

One of the major issues confronting the country to-day was the threatened imposition of the Federal Scheme, which had already been rejected by all parties. He was convinced that the Scheme in its present form would retard the progress rather than advance the cause of Indian freedom.

ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

THE 26th Session of the All-India Muslim League met at Patna on December 26, under the presidentship of



MR. M. A. JINNAH

Mr. M. A. Jinnah. It was attended by a huge concourse of Muslim people from different centres, and among those who participated in the proceedings were: Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, Premier of the Punjab, and Sir Fazlul Huq, Premier of Bengal. The Session was characterised by the virulence of its attack on the Congress and the Hindu community, unsurpassed even in its own annals in the past.

Syed Abdul Aziz, Chairman of the Reception Committee, accused the Congress of duplicity and tyranny.

On assuming office, the Congress has not hesitated to act in contravention of many of the important provisions of the Karachi Resolution on fundamental rights. In Bihar, the Congress Government are trying to whittle it down by putting wholly unjustifiable and exasperating restrictions on the exercise of the rights of Muslims. Under the pretext of maintaining law and order and of preventing breaches of peace, the Congress has in reality been seeking to deprive Muslims of some of the legitimate rights and basic privileges.

He further accused the Congress of fomenting disturbance in Muslim States,

particularly in Hyderabad, and warned it of the consequences of such activities.

MR. JINNAH'S ADDRESS

Mr. Jinnah's speech was even more vituperative. It was full of bitterness and fury. He went a step further and accused Gandhi himself. "It is Mr. Gandhi alone," he said, "who destroyed the very ideals with which the Congress started its career and who has converted it into a communal Hindu body with a view to a revival and propagation of Hindu culture."

Mr. Jinnah attributed motives to the Congress in its different moves. In creating agitation in the States, the Congress wanted to establish an alliance with the States' people in opposition to the present alliance with the British Government and the States' rulers and thus secure numerical strength in the Central Legislature and continue to dominate Muslims. Mr. Jinnah would have to come to the rescue of Muslims in the States if the other body exploited them. The Congress, he said,

had dashed every possible hope of arriving at a settlement of the Hindu-Muslim question on the rocks of Congress fascism. In fact, it did not want a settlement with Muslims on equal terms.

Congressmen's claim that they alone represented the entire country was preposterous. The League and Muslims did not want any gifts or concessions from the Congress. Muslims wanted to advance as a nation.

The Congress might go on saying that it was a national body, but it was not a fact. It was only a communal Hindu body and it knew it. That a few Muslims had been misguided into joining it did not mean that the Congress represented Muslims. The Congress did not represent any community properly, least of all Muslims. It was intoxicated with the power it had so far obtained.

He added that "the League would never be an ally of any one except the Muslim nation". Congressmen would not oppose Federation if they had their own majority at the Centre. They wanted to establish an authoritative, totalitarian, and Fascist Hindu Raj. By means of Federation, the Congress would be able to reduce the four Muslim Provinces into mere feudatories.

RESOLUTIONS

At the open Session of the League the next day, resolutions condemning Britain's policy in Palestine, and the agitation in

the Indian States, as adopted in the Subjects Committee, were adopted.

Federation was the subject of considerable discussion in the Subjects Committee, where it provoked a strong debate. A compromise resolution was decided upon and adopted by the League. The text of the resolution runs as follows :

The All-India Moslem League reiterates the view that the scheme of Federation as embodied in the Government of India Act is unacceptable, but in view of further developments that have taken place or may take place from time to time, it hereby authorizes the President of the All-India Moslem League to take such steps and adopt such a course as may be necessary, with a view to exploring the possibility of a suitable alternative, which would completely safeguard the interests of Moslems and other minorities in India.

A resolution advocating direct action by Muslims following the "atrocities" committed on them in three Congress Provinces and the suppression of their legitimate rights and interests was moved by Mr. Aziz Ahmad Khan (U. P.).

Strong criticism of the British policy in the North-West Frontier Provinces was made during consideration of the next resolution, which was moved by Mr. Zafar Ali Khan of Punjab, who said that the British policy was futile in the Frontier since the tribes against which it was directed had been independent from time immemorial. He asked the Government to change the present policy to one of conciliation.

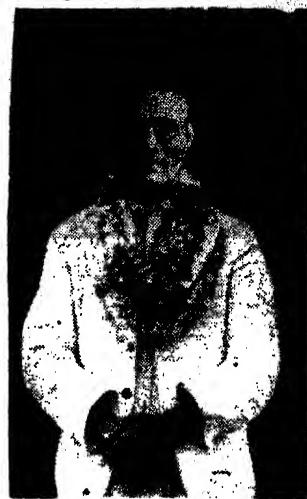
The resolution was passed.

Three more resolutions were passed. One related to the present Provincial League Parliamentary Boards. Another urged Muslims strictly to discard all un-Islamic customs in conducting meetings, while the last one, which was of a technical nature, related to the payment of subscriptions by members.

Winding up the proceedings, Mr. Jinnah said that the League had laid down during the present Session a fundamental principle of a revolutionary nature, which was a departure from the past, namely, the decision to adopt direct action if and when necessary. All along, he said, the League had been wedded only to the policy of constitutional progress.

THE HINDU MAHASABHA

THE claim "that the Hindus were the nation and the Muslims were a mere community" was made by Vinayak



MR. V. D. SAVARKAR

Damodar Savarkar, presiding over the 20th annual session of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha at Nagpur on December 28. The Session was an impressive demonstration of Hindu unity as the Muslim League was of the Mahomedans.

WELCOME ADDRESS

Mr. M. G. Chitnavis, M.L.A., Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcoming the delegates, said that the Mahasabha could no longer confine itself to religious and social problems. One lesson they had to learn from the recent events in India was that they must make it perfectly clear that Hindustan was not only for Mahomedans, but mainly for the Hindus. If the Mahomedans continued to non-co-operate with the majority community, the Hindus single-handed would fight for their rights both against the rulers and the Mahomedans. He deplored that sincere efforts at reconciliation between the two communities had proved a failure, and declared that a solution of the communal problem was possible only if the Hindus redoubled their efforts and strengthened their organisation. So long as they were weak and disorganized, they could not hope to command the respect of other communities. He hoped the

Mahasabha would take effective measures early for the fusion of all Hindus, which was their ultimate aim, and make it representative of all sections of Hindus.

Dr. Moonje, in proposing Mr. Savarkar to the Chair, attacked Mr. Gandhi for giving "gratuitous advice" to the Jews and Czechs while he would not say what he would do for the Hindus in India.

MR. SAVARKAR'S ADDRESS

Mr. Savarkar in his address traced the growth of Indian nationalism and accused the British of depriving the Hindus of a political predominance, which was their due as the overwhelming majority in India. "We Hindus made the Congress what it is to-day," he declared,

but it has suddenly turned against us who raised it to a position of power over some seven provinces in India. Now the very concept of a Hindu nation stinks in its nostrils. It has already declared the Hindu Maha Sabha a communal and reprehensible body and ordered a million Congressite Hindus not to have anything to do with it. But the Congress has now grown too strong for us to dislodge it from its present position and compel it to yield back the political power which, as a right, was due to the Hindus alone.

Mr. Savarkar characterized the Muslims as Muslims first, Muslims last and Indians never. They sat on the fence as long as deluded Hindus kept struggling with the British to wrest political rights for all Indians alike, going to the prisons in lakhs, to the Andamans in thousands, and many to the gallows. But when sufficient pressure had been brought to bear on the British Government and it had been compelled to hand over some substantial power to Indians, the Muslims jumped down the fence and claimed their pound of flesh.

"It is absurd to call us Hindus a community in India," he said.

The Germans are the nation in Germany and the Jews a community. Even so, the Hindus are the nation in India, and the Muslims a minority.

Mr. Savarkar reiterated the Maha Sabha's opposition to the communal award. The Hindus will never tolerate," he added,

the absurd and the unheard of claim of the minorities to have any preferential treatment, weightages or special favours over and above what the majority community obtains. The Hindu nation will go so far as to accept the equitable national principle of 'one man one vote', irrespective of religion or race or culture in the formation of a common Indian State. But it shall knock on the head any political demand that claims 'one Muslim three votes' and 'three Hindus one vote' or any cultural demand that antagonises

or insults or suppresses Hindu culture in its historical, linguistic or racial aspect. The minorities will be free to follow their religion, speak their language, develop their culture amongst themselves, provided it does not infringe on the equal rights of others or is not opposed to public peace and morality. If the Muslims join us on these equitable conditions and bear undivided loyalty to the Indian State and Indian State alone, well and good. Otherwise our formula holds good: 'If you come, with you; if you don't, without you; but if you oppose, in spite of you.' We Hindus will fight out the good battle of achieving the independence of India and herald the rebirth of a free and mighty Hindu nation in the near future.

He warned the British

to take serious note of the fact of the open declaration of the Muslim League to divide India into two parts, inviting the alien Muslim nations from outside India to form a Muslim Federation and raise an Independent Muslim Kingdom in India. The British may find in the end that in their attempt to encourage the Muslim separation movement just to spite the Hindus, the British have but succeeded in splitting themselves.

Regarding the foreign policy of the country, Mr. Savarkar said that no academic and empty slogans of Democracy or Nazism or Fascism could be its guiding principle, but it would be guided from an outspoken and unalloyed Hindu point of view.

Mr. Savarkar concluded with a parting shot at the Congress. He advised Hindus to boycott the Congress so that it will come to its senses in no time. If Hindus made it a point not to vote for the Congress, not a single Congressman could be returned either to local bodies or the legislatures.

They (Congressmen) stand on Hindu shoulders and as soon as they raise themselves to high places they kick the Hindus back, disown them, call their organization communal, betray Hindu interests at every turn and keep dancing attendance on the Moslem League.

RESOLUTIONS

The Maha Sabha concluded after adopting a dozen resolutions, two of which related to Federation and the Communal problem.

In its resolution on the Federation, the Mahasabha, while emphatically reiterating its opinion that the federal scheme as adumbrated in the Government of India Act of 1935 is highly inadequate and unsatisfactory, felt that the Federal scheme should be worked so as to secure and maintain the integrity of the entire country.

The resolution further stated that considering the present situation, it was essential that British India and the Hindu States should send to the Federal Legislature only such representatives as would protect Hindu rights and interests, thus ensuring that the legislature was not misused by anti-Hindu and anti-national reactionary forces in the country.

Dr. Moonje, speaking on the resolution, strongly pleaded for an early inauguration of federation even though the scheme was not satisfactory.

The Mahasabha strongly condemned the Muslim League leaders' demand for two federations which, in its opinion, was not only a serious menace to the growth of the Indian nation, but also a clear indication on the part of the Muslims to establish Muslim Raj in certain parts of the country, leaving the door open for the future domination of the whole of Hindustan.

The Mahasabha protested against the recent declaration of the Congress that the Hindu Mahasabha, like the Muslim League, was a communal organisation and warned the Congress

that in view of this declaration, the Congress had forfeited its claim to represent the Hindus. The Mahasabha further made it clear that any communal agreement between the Congress and the Muslim League would not be binding on the Mahasabha or the Hindus generally.

Another resolution of the Mahasabha reiterated its condemnation of the communal award

as being grossly unjust to Hindus and advised the Hindus to carry on persistent agitation to get it annulled.

A comprehensive resolution on the Indian States adopted by the Mahasabha objected to the Indian National Congress policy of interference in the internal administration of the States, as Congress activities were restricted to, and concentrated only in, Hindu States to a practical exclusion of the Muslim States.

The Mahasabha decided

to constitute a Hindu national parliamentary board in order to form effective opposition parties in the Central and Provincial legislatures and also to prepare to fight the next elections, and appealed to all parties who agreed with its policy to co-operate with this Board. In the opinion of the Mahasabha the existence of at least two parties was essential for democracy to function and without an effective opposition party the Government was converted into the tyranny of one party. Therefore, to combat the evil effects of the policy hitherto followed by the Congress, the Hindu Mahasabha resolved to appoint a parliamentary board.

INDIAN CHRISTIAN CONFERENCE

In refreshing contrast to the proceedings of the Muslim League and the Hindu Maha Sabha, the Indian Christian Conference, which met at Madras on the 80th December, stressed the need to merge the interest of the community in the larger interests of the nation. The Conference condemned separate electorates and urged its adherents to give up all claims to preferential treatment.

MR. RANGANATHAN'S ADDRESS

Dewan Babadur S. E. Ranganathan, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Madras, and Chairman of the Reception Committee, in his welcome address stated that he had always condemned the system of separate electorates and had expressed his opinion in favour of joint electorates with reservation of seats.

There was complete freedom among the members of their organization to join any political party they chose, but it must be said that all sections of the community were in sympathy with the national effort to achieve self-government for the country by constitutional means.

He said that in Madras, they viewed with satisfaction

the assumption of office by the Congress Party last year, and he was glad that their confidence in the Congress Ministry had been so far justified.

DR. MOOKERJEE'S ADDRESS

The key-note of the President, Dr. H. C. Mookerjee's address, was a strong plea for orientation of the Indian Christian Community. Referring to the opportunities for service for Indian Christians, Mr. Mookerjee said that they should give up of their own accord all claims to preferential treatment as a minority, that is to say as a weak and helpless community, as the only means of preserving their separate entity.

In other words, they should merge their interests in the larger interests of India as a whole. They had to demonstrate by their actions that they had such confidence in the sense of justice of their countrymen that they refused the special protection offered by their rulers, that in order to occupy their rightful position, they relied solely on their efficiency.

He said that for real unity among diverse elements and conflicting interests, the one thing necessary was, that all minority communities including theirs should be absorbed into and made an integral

part of the Indian nation so as to form a homogeneous whole.

And he passed on to observe:

The Congress with its policy of maintaining Law and Order combined with the programme of bringing about progress and improvement in every department of Indian life has an undeniable claim to our loyal support. No attempt should be made from any direction either individually or through any Christian organisation to discourage those members of our community whose inclinations lead them to join the Congress openly. That seems to me the only way to influence the Congress and to help it in shaping its policy towards our community.

To stand outside the Congress organisation and then to accuse it of injustice without making any effort to set matters right seems neither just nor fair. If the views I have expressed above regarding our attitude towards the Congress are accepted by the All-India Conference of Indian Christians, then it is incumbent on this body to make a definite pronouncement for the information of the Congress on the one hand and for the guidance of those members of our community who wish to join the Congress on the other.

RESOLUTIONS

The Conference adopted important resolutions touching the social and educational uplift of the community. But attention must be drawn to the following resolution moved by Mr. Rallia Ram, outlining the aims and purpose of the organisation:

It is hereby resolved that, in the opinion of the Conference, the following statement accurately states its position: (1) The Conference is not an organisation pledged to a policy of communalism but, on the other hand, it desires to throw its influence, on the side of eradication of all forms of communalism. (2) The Conference is not a separate political party. It does not wish to advocate the formation of a separate political party of Christians in India. It leaves its members free to join the various political parties in India, according to the individual convictions exercising their influence within these parties. (3) The Conference recognises, however, that Indian Christians are given a separate position in the Constitution of India as a minority group. This and other circumstances have unfortunately made it a separate social and economic entity.

This Conference is, therefore, primarily concerned (a) to see that Christian citizens are not debarred or restrained from having their due share in the service of India in all spheres of life on account of their faith and as a minority group; (b) to strive to improve the economic and social status of Christians; and (c) to inculcate in them an abiding love for their Motherland and a determination to serve her, uplift her, and to join with their countrymen in making her free and great.

By another resolution, the Conference appointed a Committee of Five to discuss

with the Congress High Command and negotiate on an All-India basis all matters of interest to the community.

The resolution on the Communal problem is characteristic:

This Conference deeply regrets that no solution has yet been found for communal divergences. It humbly and respectfully urges the leaders of the Nation to renew their efforts towards a just settlement in the larger interests of the country. For its own part as a small but otherwise important minority in India, it is prepared to accept joint electorates with or without reservation of seats as may be decided upon for India as a whole.

A resolution was adopted approving the proposal for the appointment of a joint committee of Roman Catholics and Protestants to deal with such matters as were common to the Christian community as a whole.

In this connection mention must be made of the celebration of the Golden Jubilee of the Indian Christian Association, Madras. Sir David Devadoss, presiding over the celebrations, recalled the achievements of the Indian Christians of this Presidency by their united efforts and appealed to them to unite so that they might be able to accomplish much and serve not only their own community but also their countrymen in the future.

THE CATHOLIC CONGRESS

The All-India Catholic Congress, which met at Mangalore on December 80, with Mr. A. Soares in the Chair, passed a resolution reiterating the sympathy of the Church with the principles of genuine nationalism in India, and urging educational institutions to promote the study of Indian languages. The following is the text of the resolution:—

This Congress reiterates the general principles which govern the attitude of the Church to genuine nationalism, which has ever been blessed and fostered by her, and expresses its full sympathy with the nationalist aspirations of the country.

The Congress takes this opportunity to express its pride in the glorious cultural heritage of India and denies that the Catholic Church is in any way opposed to her national culture.

That with a view to enabling Catholics to assimilate and enrich this culture, this Conference urges Catholic educational institutions all over India to take the necessary steps to promote the study of Indian languages and their literature, both ancient and modern.

THE PHILOSOPHICAL CONGRESS

THE Indian Philosophical Congress, which met at Allahabad under the presidency of Rev. C. F. Andrews, was



REV. C. F. ANDREWS

attended by some 50 delegates from all over India. The proceedings opened with an address of welcome by the Chairman of the Reception Committee, Prof. Amarnath Jha, Vice-Chancellor of the Allahabad University. In the course of his address, Dr. Jha stressed the need of the philosophic mind in these days. He said:

Those of us who spend our time in pursuits that are not considered philosophical, feel that the future welfare of mankind depends on the increasing recognition of the truth that the principles of right action are identical for individuals as well as for States, and that the philosopher alone can be trusted to lay down what these principles are.

If one may venture to diagnose the cause of the present disease, it is the decline of religious belief; not of faith in dogma, in effete formalism, in superstition, but of real, abiding, burning devotion to the highest good. I am aware that in thus emphasising the supreme necessity of religion in life, I am treading on dangerous ground. But I recall the words of Bacon: 'A little philosophy inclineth man's mind to atheism; but depth in philosophy bringeth man's mind to religion.'

Rev. C. F. Andrews chose an appropriate subject for his presidential discourse—the Philosophy of *Ahimsa*—which might be translated into Christian term as "the Word of the Cross". He referred to the amazing spiritual potency of early

Buddhism as a vital force in the history of Asia and its wonderful influence through the ages on the thought of mankind. He went on to explain how Mahatma Gandhi in recent times had been showing to the world more and more truly the amazing power of this principle (of *Ahimsa*), not only through individual life but by corporate moral resistance. The East, Rev. C. F. Andrews concluded, had already found

a commanding moral genius in Mahatma Gandhi, who had been able to put this corporate power of *satyagraha* into effective action. What was needed in Europe, if the West was to be saved from another internecine strife, was that some personality should arise over there of such calibre as to be able to organise the various sporadic efforts for world peace into one overwhelming movement of society, which might sweep away for ever the awful menace of a world war.

At the second day of the Session, a symposium on "Philosophy and Mysticism" was held. Thereafter, Mr. M. V. V. K. Rangachari, Advocate, Cocanada, and Dr. P. T. Raju, of the Andhra University, delivered their presidential addresses to the Ethics and Social Philosophy section and the Logic and Metaphysics section, respectively. Dr. S. C. Chatterjee, presiding over the Indian Philosophy section, spoke on the "Indian Conception of Philosophy".

THE THEOSOPHICAL CONVENTION

In his presidential address to the 63rd Annual Convention of the Theosophical Society at Benares in the closing week of December last, Dr. George S. Arundale referred in strong language to the savage persecution of the Jews in Germany and Austria. He called upon every member of the Theosophical Society to cause the light of Theosophy so to shine upon his life that he should leave an example of the wisest understanding of his fellow-men and should prove a noble warrior to defend the oppressed, to fight tyranny and cruelty, and to succour the weak.

The Convention lasted a week during which representatives of different nations, who had gathered together, presented reports and delivered addresses on different aspects of international affairs emphasising the need for brotherhood among the nations.

ALL-INDIA STATISTICAL CONFERENCE

HIS EXCELLENCY Sir Henry Craik, Governor of the Punjab, declared open the second session of the Indian Statistical Conference at Lahore on Jan. 5. It was attended by a large number of statisticians from all over the country, besides many prominent persons in the world of business, banking and insurance.

The Hon. Mr. Manohar Lal, Minister of Finance, and Chairman of the Reception



HON. MR. MANOHAR LAL

Committee, in welcoming the delegates, spoke of the function.

You are the light-bearers that show the way to life's adventures. At your touch, Nature's apparent confusion can present intelligible order. . . . It renders true description possible, because that complete statement of facts called "enumeration" is not within our competence and prediction, which is necessary to plan and progress, is dependent on accurate and adequate description.

His Excellency in his opening remarks stressed the need for statistical investigation, particularly in the present circumstances of India.

The changes, which in the space of less than 100 years transformed England from an agricultural country into a modern industrial state, were carried through unplanned and almost unperceived; No statistician was at hand with a mass of carefully tested and selected figures to advise or warn. But now we have conceived the idea of controlling or even planning economic and social changes and India, which to-day visualises with hope and expectancy the possibility of transforming herself from a poor agricultural country into a wealthy and semi-industrialised State, may perhaps be thankful that this transformation has been so delayed that the modern science of statistics is available to guide its execution. May she have wisdom to equip herself so that this science may be availed of to the full.

Prof. P. C. Mahalanobis, General Secretary, submitted a brief report on the activities of the Statistical Institute and the progress of statistics in India.

Dr. T. E. Gregory, Economic Adviser to the Government of India, delivering the Presidential address to the Conference, discussed the relation between statistics and the other social sciences and concluded with a plea for educating the public in the elements of statistical knowledge.

We need a class of popularisers of the calibre of Gaton, Fiffen, Chiozza Money, Lord Stamp and others, who are both scientists and educationalists. What was need was a thorough process of education. The public needed to be trained to think in terms of scale and proportion. At the same time the urge for standardisation would be assuaged if such statistical concepts as the mode, the decile and the quartile could replace the concept of the average in political and popular thinking. Statistical teaching of a simple kind could thus help to impose on the average man's mind the idea that variation was natural—a fact which certain schools of thought were only too anxious to make him forget.

Thanking His Excellency for opening the Session, Dr. N. K. Bose referred to statistics as the science of kings.

The Conference then divided itself into different sections.

Prof. P. J. Thomas read a paper on the "Economic Results of Prohibition in Salem", and Mr. A. R. Sinha on the "Distribution of Expenditure of Working Class Families in Bombay and Madras cities".

Messrs. N. Sundaram Sastri and N. T. Mathew presented a paper on "Trends of Foreign Trade in India, 1875-1935". Dr. D. C. Ghose read a paper on the "Statistical Estimates of Internal Trade", and Dr. H. Sinha on "Economic and Business Statistics".

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

By "CHRONICLER"

President Roosevelt's Message

SELDOM has the authentic voice of the American Democracy—as indeed of all democracies in the world—been so well expressed as in Mr. Roosevelt's message to the Congress. It recalls some of the most pregnant passages in President Wilson's memorable utterances during the Great War. Addressing the American Congress, President Roosevelt said:

There are storm signals from across the Seas. War which threatened to envelop the world in flames has been averted, but it has become increasingly clear that peace has not been assured. All about us rage undeclared wars, military and economic. All around grow deadlier armament, military and economic. All around are threats of new aggressions, military and economic. Storms from abroad directly challenge the three institutions indispensable to the Americans—religion, democracy and international good faith.

No longer is it possible to shut our eyes to the doings of the Dictators. They are corrupting the morale of society, and we must suffer them only at the price of all that is dear and worth preserving.

A dictatorship involves the costs which the American people will never pay—the cost of our spiritual value and the blessed right of being able to say what we please, the cost of freedom, the cost of our capital being confiscated, the cost of being kept into concentration camps and of being afraid to walk down the street with a wrong neighbour, and the cost of having children brought up not as free human beings but moulded and made by machines.

We cannot be passive spectators of this evil. It calls for determined resistance. So urging, that the American nation should make up its mind, the President said:

There comes a time when men must prepare to defend not only their homes but the tenets of faith of humanity on which their churches, governments and their very civilization are founded. The defence of religion, democracy, and international good faith is one and the same fight. To save one we must save all.

At least we should avoid action or lack of action likely to encourage the aggressor. Our neutrality laws may operate unevenly and unfairly and may give aid to the aggressor and deny it to the victim. The instinct of self-preservation warns us not to let that happen any more.

Concluding, the President emphasized:

If the solution of the problem was the price of preserving our liberty, no formless and selfish fears could stand in the way.

Doubtless the speech has created the greatest sensation of our time.

Mr. Lloyd George on Chamberlain's Policy

Judging from his recent denunciation of Mr. Chamberlain's foreign policy, Mr. Lloyd George, the veteran statesman, seems to have lost none of his old-time vigour and pugnacity. Speaking at Lilaududu the other day, Mr. George made a bitter attack on Mr. Chamberlain. He accused the Premier of "cringing and crawling before Dictators for months", declaring that his Rome visit had only intensified the apprehensions and stark fears of war.

The truest and grimmest comments on the results of Mr. Chamberlain's visit to Rome and Munich were found in two sequels, said Mr. Lloyd George. One was that which immediately followed the Munich pact when after announcing that he had brought peace for our lifetime, he created a new Ministry to take prompt measures for protecting cities against air-raids from Germany.

The other was that when he returned from Rome, the first two colleagues the Premier summoned for consultation were the Minister for Air-raid precautions and the Minister for military aeroplane production.

Japanese Policy in China

Grave anxiety regarding the Japanese policy in China is expressed in the strongly worded note which Sir Robert Craigie, British Ambassador in Tokyo, recently handed to Mr. Arita, Foreign Minister of Japan.

The Note says that the British Government are at a loss to understand how Prince Konoye's former Premier's assurance that Japan seeks no territory and respects the sovereignty of China can be reconciled with the Japanese Government's declared intention forcibly to compel the Chinese people to accept conditions involving the surrender of their political, economic and cultural life to Japanese control; indefinite maintenance of considerable Japanese garrisons in China, and the virtual detachment from China of the territory of Inner Mongolia.

England and Spain

In vain has Mr. C. R. Attlee, Leader of the Opposition, appealed to the Prime Minister to summon the Parliament without delay as the Spanish situation is now so serious that urgent action on a large scale is imperative if the wholesale starvation of women and children is to be avoided.

A demand for immediate action with a view to ending the policy of non-intervention in the Spanish War is also contained in a letter sent to Mr. Chamberlain by the National Council of Labour, representing the Labour Party, the Trade Union Congress, and the Parliamentary Labour Party. The letter states:

The continued denial by the democratic governments of the right under international law for the Spanish Government to purchase arms while the dictator governments continue to assist the Spanish insurgents constitutes a flagrant one-sided benevolence to the Fascist rebels.

The Prime minister has declined to move in the matter "in view of the very grave consequences".

German Warning to Britain

What virtually amounts to a warning to Britain that Germany would stand by Italy in case of an Italo-French conflict over Tunis is contained in the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, which writes:

"In comparison with the cumbersome deliberations regarding the degree of British obligations in case of a conflict over Tunis, one can point to the fact that in the relations between Germany and Italy, no such deliberations are necessary. We know our relations towards one another."

Herr Hitler's Proclamation

Herr Hitler, in a proclamation issued from Berchtesgaden, has defined the tasks before Germany in 1939 as follows:—

1. The training of the people towards national socialist unity.

2. The expansion and strengthening of armed forces.

3. The execution of the four-year plan and the economic incorporation of the new Reich territories.

The Prime Minister's Broadcast

The Prime Minister, Mr. Neville Chamberlain, in a broadcast on January 28, inaugurated the Government's drive for



THE RT. HON. NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN

volunteers in every branch of the country's defence services. The Premier said;

It is a scheme to make us ready for war. That does not mean I think that war is coming. You know I have done and shall continue to do all I can to preserve peace for ourselves and others too.

We in this country would never begin war, but we might be forced to participate in a war begun by others, or we might be attacked ourselves if the Government of some other country were to think that we could not defend ourselves effectively.

The better prepared we are to defend ourselves and resist an attack, the less likely is it that any aggressor will try an adventure in which the chances of success will be so unpromising.

The Prime Minister emphasised that modern war was not like wars of the past.

The development of air forces had deprived us of our old island security, and in our case, as in the case of continental countries, civilians would be victims of the attack as much as soldiers, sailors, and airmen. Indeed, they might very likely be the first victims.

Therefore, if we wished to protect our civilian population in war time, we must prepare the necessary organisation in peace time. Moreover, we must train it in peace, for there would be no time to train after a war had started.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

Dec. 28. The Hindu Maha Sabha meets at Nagpur under the presidentship of Mr. Savarkar.

Dec. 29. All-India Economic Conference meets at Nagpur.

Dec. 30. The National Liberal Federation meets at Bombay with the Hon. P. N. Saprana in the Chair.

Dec. 31. The Conference of Indian Christians meets at Madras, Dr. H. C. Mukerjee presiding.

Jan. 1. The Primate broadcasts on New Year's Day.

Jan. 2. Addressing All-India Students' Conference at Calcutta, Pandit Nehru expresses himself strongly against students going on strike.

Jan. 3. Prof. J. C. Ghosh presides over the Indian Science Congress at Lahore.

Jan. 4. Mr. K. Raman Menon, Minister of Courts and Prisons, Madras, is dead.



PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT

President Roosevelt's historic address to the Congress.

Jan. 5. Mr. Jayakar is appointed to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

Jan. 6. Major Bazalgette, Political Agent in the Orissa State, is fatally assaulted by a crowd in Ranpur.

Jan. 7. Two serious clashes are reported on the Czech-Hungarian border.

Jan. 8. Pandit Nehru suggests an impartial and independent enquiry into Mr. Jinnah's charges against Congress Government.

Jan. 9. A splendid reception is given to H. E. The Viceroy and the Marchioness of Linlithgow at Trivandrum.

Jan. 10. The Dewan of Rajkote, Sir Patrick Cadell, resigns. Mr. Maneklal Patel, Senior Member of the Council, takes charge.

Jan. 11. Mr. Chamberlain and Lord Halifax arrive in Rome.

Jan. 12. Congress Working Committee meeting at Bardoli discusses Gandhiji's new draft on the Minorities' question.

Jan. 13. The Viceroy and Lady Linlithgow are welcomed at Mysore.

Jan. 14. A strongly worded British Note is handed to Japanese Government regarding Japanese policy in China.

Jan. 15. H. H. The Aga Khan meets Mahatma Gandhi at Bardoli.

Jan. 16. Gruesome reports of Dhanbad Railway disaster.

Jan. 17. An appeal for an embargo on aeroplanes and petrol is made by Dr. Wellington Koo at the League Council.

Jan. 18. Nationalists force their way to the heart of Catalonia.

Jan. 19. Mr. C. R. Attlee's appeal to the Prime Minister to summon Parliament to consider the Spanish situation is turned down.

Jan. 20. Mr. Lloyd George, speaking at Llaudoduo, accuses the Premier of "crying and crawling before Dictators".

Jan. 21. Herr Hitler releases Dr. Schacht of the presidency of the Reichsbank and appoints Dr. Walter Funk.

Jan. 22. Nationalists in Spain capture the town of Villafranca, which is only 22 miles to the west of Barcelona.

Jan. 23. H. E. The Viceroy inaugurates the Tenth Industries Conference in Bombay.

Jan. 24. A statement issued by Congress Working Committee Members deprecates controversy over the presidential election.

The WORLD of BOOKS

MARKETING OF RAW COTTON IN INDIA.

By M. L. Dantwalla. Published by Longmans, Green & Co., Ltd. Price Rs. 5.

The Royal Commission on Agriculture drew our attention to the importance of the economics of marketing. The present book is an attempt, the first systematic one to our knowledge, to study the marketing of cotton, one of the most important commercial crops of the country, from the farm to the Exchange. It is not often recognised that the structure and organisation of internal trade, and the working of the Cotton Exchange, have an important bearing on the price paid by the ultimate buyer and the price received by the primary seller. India has about 25 million acres of land under cotton, producing nearly 6 million bales valued at about 60 crores of rupees. These facts alone are sufficient to emphasise the importance of the subject.

After describing clearly the present organisation of cotton marketing, the author proceeds to examine the usefulness of middlemen. While no definite conclusion is possible, the author brings out the glaring defects and evils and pleads vigorously for greater vigilance by the public and the Government. The enumeration of existing defects and malpractices of the trade is, indeed, an eye-opener and leaves one in no doubt about the necessity for Government intervention. In the opinion of the author, most of these defects and evils arise out of over-competition, which forces every cotton dealer to adopt the methods of the worst ones or get out

of the business. The remedies indicated are the adoption of stronger measures and the suggestion that the Government should not hesitate to make frauds punishable by law. But many of these malpractices could, we think, be stopped by better organisation, especially on the sellers' side. As matters stand to-day, the ill-organised and comparatively ignorant producer-seller has very little chance against the well-equipped buyer.

The author's two main suggestions are: co-operative selling and the regulation of up-country markets. The chapter in which they are surveyed is both exhaustive and critical.

Mr. Dantwalla's examination of the problem of the marketing of cotton is both critical and suggestive. The schemes of improvement that he has suggested, in the light of the experience of the other countries, deserve careful consideration.

TWISTING THE LION'S TAIL. By B. Attem.

Frederick Muller. 5sh.

The British Lion in its lair is an accommodating beast and enjoys the twisting of its tail by foreigners although in a supercilious manner. So Mr. Attem's book will amuse many of his English readers. His remarks are based on several years' stay in England and his knowledge of English life and history. But much of what he says has already been said and said better by other writers. The Lion will probably be bored and no amount of twisting its tail will rouse its interest.

INDIAN STATES

Hyderabad

RELEASE OF PRISONERS

The following *communiqué* has been issued by H. E. H. the Nizam's Government:

In view of the unconditional suspension of the movement for sending individuals or batches into the State from outside its borders for the purpose of committing *satyagraha* in sympathy with the body styling itself 'the Hyderabad State Congress', His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Government have decided unconditionally to release all prisoners and under-trial persons from outside, convicted or arrested in connection with the above movement. Orders in this regard have already been issued.

PROGRESS OF HYDERABAD

"Hyderabad has progressed to its highest standard during the reign of the Nizam," observed Sir Duncan Mackenzie, the Resident at Hyderabad, at a farewell dinner. H. E. H. the Nizam said that while they regretted the departure of Sir Duncan, they would always continue to remember him.

NIZAM'S GIFT TO HINDU UNIVERSITY

An announcement of the donation by H. E. H. the Nizam of Rs. One lakh to the Benares Hindu University was made by the Vice-Chancellor at a special Convocation of the Osmania University recently, when the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred on the Maharaja of Bikaner, who was on a visit to Hyderabad last month.

This donation is for an endowment to found a chair of Indian culture to promote Hindu-Muslim unity.

Baroda

RELIEF TO BARODA RYOTS

Agricultural relief amounting to over Rs. 21 lakhs has been sanctioned by His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda, in view of the depression caused by the fall in prices of agricultural produce, states a recent Press Note issued by the Government of Baroda.

A Committee was appointed a year ago by the Government of Baroda to investigate the manner in which relief should be distributed, and His Highness has now sanctioned all the recommendations.

These provide for a relief of 2 annas in the rupee to be granted to settlements introduced up to 1908-09, 8 annas in the rupee in the case of settlements introduced from 1909-10 to 1919-20 and 4 annas in the rupee in the case of settlements introduced from 1920-21 to 1930-31.

Every settlement, it is stated, is based on the average of prices prevailing for 15 to 30 years preceding the year in which it was made. This relief plan will operate for a period of five years, irrespective of any rise in prices that may occur in this period. At the end of the five years, however, the question will be examined in the light of the prices prevailing at that time.

BARODA FISHERIES

The Baroda Government have sanctioned Rs. 10,000 for working the Mulvel Fisheries departmentally. Last year, says a Baroda correspondent, the experiment of working the fisheries departmentally proved successful and was found to afford great relief to the backward community of Vaghers of Mulvel and other surrounding villages of Okhamandal in Kathiawad.

Mysore

THE VICEROY IN MYSORE

The public of Mysore accorded a rousing reception to H. E. the Viceroy and Lady Linlithgow on January 18. The Viceroy, in his reply to the Municipal address, congratulated Mysore for having a Ruler,

who has laboured so well throughout his rule for the welfare of his subjects and who has done so much to embellish the natural beauties and extend the amenities of the City. He felt glad to find a band of men in the State who, by their labours and by their generous benefactions, were doing much for the advancement and welfare of their fellow-men and said: "There are many cities in India which may well look to Mysore City as an example in the provision of amenities and in the work for improvement of the health and environment of the citizen."

SIR MIRZA AND HINDU TEMPLES

Dewan Sir Mirza Ismail presided over two public functions in connection with the laying of the foundation of Hindu temples at two places in Mysore.

The places were the Sri Ram Mandir at Hoskote and the Sri Choudeswari temple at Upparahalli, where he presided over the functions at the request of the Hindu population of the towns.

Sir Mirza observed on the occasion:

All religions exist for the service of God who is one and indivisible. Those who are aware of the real significance of religion ever live in mutual friendship and regard while others in utter ignorance of what real religion really stands for, revel in strife and ill-will.

At Hoskote, the Dewan hoped that the Ram Mandir he was inaugurating would be contributing to the moral, social, and cultural progress of the community.

MR. N. MADHAVA RAO

Mr. N. Madhava Rao, Second Member of Council, Mysore, has been appointed as First Member of Council vice Mr. S. P. Rajagopalachariar granted leave for four months preparatory to retirement.

Mr. K. V. Anantaraman, officiating Second Member of Council, Mysore, has been confirmed as Second Member of Council.

Travancore

THE VICEROY IN TRAVANCORE

H. E. the Viceroy and the Marchioness of Linlithgow were given a splendid reception at Trivandrum during their visit to the State. At the Banquet in honour of Their Excellencies, H. H. the Maharaja said :

That he regarded the visit of the Crown Representative to Travancore as a symbol and manifestation of the close and friendly tie between His Majesty and the successive rulers of the State. He recalled the personal acquaintance which he had had with His Excellency early in his Vicereignty and gave expression to the indebtedness of India to Lord Linlithgow for the interest he had been evincing in her welfare and progress.

Proposing the toast of His Highness, the Viceroy expressed appreciation of the changes that had been effected in the administration of the State in the last five years, particularly the steps taken by His Highness's Government to safeguard the position of the backward communities, and said :

Travancore has great natural resources and a well-thought out scheme for their development will, I trust, produce results of real and lasting benefit to your State. I was struck in particular by the progressive character of the scheme which, you tell me, you have in contemplation, of exploitation by means of careful planning of great forest wealth of your State.

This is indeed, as Your Highness has remarked, a period of crucial importance in the history of this country as of the world as a whole. And I welcome the assurance which you give me of the readiness of your ancient State to play its due and adequate part in that co-operation between Indian State and the Paramount Power, the importance of which you so rightly underlined.

Rajkot

SIR P. CADELL AND THE NEW DEWAN

Sir Patrick Cadell has relinquished the Dewanship of Rajkot State.

Mr. Maneklal Patel, Senior Member of the Council of Administration, has taken charge of the Dewanship from Sir Patrick Cadell temporarily.

Kashmir and Jammu

FEDERATION SECRETARY

The Council has sanctioned the creation of a temporary section in the Chief Secretariat for a period of six months in the first instance for dealing with the questions relating to Federation.

Mr. M. A. Shahmiri, Additional District Magistrate, Jammu, has been appointed as Federation Secretary.

NEW KASHMIR MINISTER

His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur has sanctioned the appointment of Rai Bahadur P. C. Mogha, of U. P. Government service, as Law and Revenue Minister for a period of two years.

THE KASHMIR MINISTRY

Sir Lalgopal Mukherjee, Law and Revenue Minister, has resigned due to ill-health. His Highness has appointed Major-General Janak Singh, retired Revenue Minister, in his place. The State Assembly passed a resolution praising the services of Sir Lalgopal.

Patiala

CORRUPTION IN PATIALA

The Patiala Government are planning to purge the State of corruption within a short time. "The Maharaja views the bribe-giver and the bribe-taker as guilty of as heinous an offence as murder. The services of the bribe-taker will be summarily dispensed with on reasonable suspicion," said Dewan Bahadur S. Pindi Dass Sabherwal, the State Minister for Law and Justice, addressing officials, members of the bar, clerks, petition-writers and litigants in the High Court compound. He also assured the officials and non-officials that any help given by them in rooting out corruption would be recognised and appreciated.

Cochin

POPE AND COCHIN CATHOLICS

Sir Shanmukham Chetty, the Dewan of Cochin, during his visit to Rome conveyed to the Pope the greetings of His Highness the Maharaja of Cochin, who rules over a large number of Catholics. The Pope has now replied repeating his gratitude to the Maharaja for the good disposition he has always shown to the Catholics of Cochin.

COCHIN AND THE HINDU UNIVERSITY

The Cochin Durbar have endowed a chair to be called "Rama Varma Chair" and have been pleased to donate a sum of Rs. 9,000 as yearly recurring grant to the Benares Hindu University.

Jaipur

THE JAIPUR BAN

Commenting on the ban on Seth Jamnalal Bajaj, a member of the Congress Working Committee and President of the Jaipur Praja Mandil, prohibiting his entry into Jaipur State, Mr. Gandhi writes in *Harijan* that Mr. Bajaj and the people of Jaipur are in honour bound to resist it with all the strength at their command, no doubt consistently with the Congress creed of non-violence and truth.

Bikaner

THE MAHARAJA OF BIKANER

The Honorary Degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred on His Highness Maharajadhiraja of Bikaner at a Special Convocation of the Osmania University, held recently. The Rt. Hon. Sir Akbar Hydari, Chancellor, presided.

INDIANS OVERSEAS

Indians Abroad

OVERSEAS INDIANS

Kunwar Sir Mahaj Singh, ex-Agent-General to the Government of India in South Africa, moved the following resolution on Indians Overseas at the last Session of the National Liberal Federation of India held in Bombay.

The Federation deplores the recent Burma riots and urges the Government of India to protect Indians in Burma and hopes that the question of compensation to Indian victims will receive the careful attention of the Burma Government.

The Federation deplores the Village Committee Ordinance Amendment Bill of the Ceylon Government which denies franchise to the Indian estate labourers and urges the Government of India not to reopen recruitment of labour for Ceylon or enter into any trade pact with Ceylon until a satisfactory settlement of the franchise question is reached.

The Federation opposes the transfer of Tanganyika to Germany, as it would retard the economic progress of Indians in Tanganyika and requests His Majesty's Government to make an unequivocal declaration against the rendition of the territory to Germany.

The Federation emphatically opposes the proposed Order-in-Council, which will permanently and legally debar Indians from holding land in the Kenya Highlands.

The Federation disapproves of the proposal to settle Jews in Kenya and objects to preferential treatment being given to foreigners in Kenya which is denied to Indians resident there.

The Federation feels that the time has come when the Government of India should compel the South African Union Government to grant political and municipal franchise to Indians resident there.

Kunwar Sir Mahaj Singh declared that a full measure of success and equality to Indians overseas was not possible until India herself secured full responsible government. The time had come when something tangible should be done as the time for protests had already passed.

Captain Paymaster of Bombay suggested a more concerted action on the part of India to secure justice for her nationals abroad. The resolution was passed unanimously.

Tanganyika

INDIANS IN TANGANYIKA

"I appeal to all politicians and statesmen in this country to support the cause of Tanganyika Indians through the Tanganyika Defence League," says Mr. Durga Das, Secretary of the Federated Chamber of Commerce, Tanganyika, and organiser of the Tanganyika League, in the course of a statement.

"The Indian interests involved in Tanganyika amount to roughly £9,000,000. This includes 17 per cent. of the agricultural land alienated to non-natives, 90 per cent. of township property, 70 per cent. of ginning interests, 80 per cent. in the cotton industry, 80 per cent. of the sisal production, and 50 and 60 per cent. respectively of the import and export trades and 80 per cent. of the transport services."

FUTURE OF TANGANYIKA

That the future of Tanganyika should be decided on the principle of self-determination by the peoples residing in the territory, and in the meantime the *status quo* should be maintained, formed the text of a resolution passed by the East African National Congress at its fifteenth session held at Nairobi early last month.

The Congress, representing the opinion of the Indian community in East Africa, urged that the British Government should not bargain with Germany on the fate of Tanganyika.

Germany

INDIAN STUDENTS IN GERMANY

Good relations between India and Germany were the subject of speeches delivered by Baron Dufour Ferencz and an Indian student at a tea party given by the Indian Commission of the German Oriental Society.

It was stated that the number of Indian students in Germany had decreased somewhat and hope was expressed this would be remedied in the near future.

Fiji

INDIANS IN FIJI

Indians in Fiji, who met in conference under the presidentship of Pandit Hirdayanath Kunzru, have passed a resolution expressing the opinion that an inquiry into the economic condition of the Indians in the Colony is essential and urging the Government to appoint such a commission of inquiry as early as possible, consisting of representatives of the Indian community in Fiji as well as the Government of India.

Another resolution has urged the need for the appointment of Indians to the Fiji Governor's Executive Council. With problems of serious import before them, it is necessary that our countrymen should be in a position to safeguard their interests. After their substantial contribution to the progress of the Colony, it would be extraordinary, says the *Hindustan Times*, if any one in the islands, be he a Fijian chief or a Britisher, should be in a position to make conditions even irksome for the Indians. The recent development over the renewal of leases to our nationals will not have assumed the serious shape that it had but for the absence of our countrymen in the Councils of the Governor of the Colony. Questions regarding passport and domicile are also causing serious difficulty, and the report of the Committee that had been appointed last year to consider the question is still unpublished.

It is hoped that Pandit Kunzru's presence in the Colony will have brought about a change in the outlook of the anti-Indian elements.

British Guiana

INDIANS IN BRITISH GUIANA

H. E. Sir Wilfred Jackson, Governor of British Guiana, opened the Indian Centenary celebrations of the British Guiana East Indian Association. Mr. C. R. Jacob, M.L.C. presided. The following resolutions were passed:

Loyalty to the Throne.

Change of the British Guiana Constitution to provide for an elected majority on a wider franchise.

An Indian Agent-General for British Guiana as recommended to the Governor-General of India by the Indian Legislative Council.

Repatriation and return passage—provision to be made to settle on suitable lands Indians who are entitled to return to India under the terms of their contracts.

Indians on Public Boards—larger number of qualified persons to be appointed by the Governor.

Indians in the Civil Service—larger number of qualified applicants to be appointed by the Governor.

Compulsory Education Ordinance to be rigidly enforced.

Government school to be freed from denominational control.

Literary societies to be established throughout the Colony for the social, moral, and educational improvement of the community.

Philippines

DR. KALIDAS NAG IN PHILIPPINES

Dr. Kalidas Nag, of the University of Calcutta, delivered a series of lectures at the University of Philippines in October last. Among the subjects on which he delivered his lectures were: (1) Gandhi and the rural economy of India, (2) Tagore as a pioneer educationist, (3) India and the Pacific world, (4) Art and Archaeology of India, (5) Gandhi and World Peace, (6) Women movement in India, (7) Economic philosophy of Gandhi, (8) Makers of Modern India: Tagore and Gandhi, (9) Tagore: his mind and art, and (10) Political and Social progress in India.



TOPICS From PERIODICALS

THE CONGRESS HIGH COMMAND

A writer in the *Round Table* for the last quarter of 1938, reviewing the activities of the Congress now in office in nine provinces, recounts the various problems with which Congress leaders had to contend. The left wing of the party was bent on trial of strength on several issues, and the right wing, which dominates the Working Committee, was equally determined to assert itself. There had been some downright criticisms of the leaders' actions.

The use of the old repressive laws to suppress anti-Hindi agitation in Madras and industrial strife in Bombay; the course of negotiation between the Working Committee and the Muslim League; the feeling that compromise on federation was not out of the thoughts of Mr. Gandhi and others; and the humiliating treatment meted out by the Parliamentary sub-Committee in their removal of Dr. Khare from leadership in the Central Provinces were all questions on which the High Command had been put on the defensive. The challenge was met at all points, and appropriate resolutions of confidence were carried by majorities, which showed that the leadership continued to enjoy the confidence of 75 per cent. of the All-India Congress Committee.

At Mr. Gandhi's instance, a move was initiated to purge Congress ranks of undesirable elements not pledged to non-violence and truth and to examine the formation of a non-violent national militia.

This was interpreted in some quarters as designed to prevent the infiltration into Congress ranks of extremist elements, planning to exploit the prestige and, if possible, to capture the local and later the national machinery of the party. A resolution presented to the All-India Committee deplored the abuse of civil liberties as

exemplified in speeches and certain sections of the press and declared that Congress Governments would not tolerate such attempts to provoke violence and hatred. Some remarkable speeches were made, an outstanding contribution coming from the Premier of the much-troubled United Provinces. The Hon. Mr. Vallabh Pant roundly declared that the maintenance of law and order and the security of life and property were synonymous with the preservation of civil liberty. All socialist efforts to amend this resolution were heavily defeated, and in the end some thirty members, headed by Mr. M. N. Roy, walked out.

NATIONAL EFFICIENCY

Gandhiji, writing in the *Harijan*, advises Congress Ministers to conserve their energies and not to weary themselves with overwork. "I have often expressed the opinion among friends," he observes, "that in the matter of capacity for detachment, Englishmen are far in advance of us. No matter how important national affairs may be, they will keep their meal hours and hours of recreation."

He goes on to say that it would be a distinct gain to the national cause if the leaders and workers strictly kept their hours. "No man is expected to do more than he really can. If at the end of the day, there is surplus work left or he cannot go through without missing a meal or encroaching upon the hours of sleep or recreation, there is mismanagement somewhere. I have no doubt if we cultivate a habit of punctuality and act according to programme, the index of national efficiency will go up, our advance towards our goal will be rapid, and workers will be healthier and longer lived."

RESPONSIBLE GOVT. IN STATES

The Federal Scheme, so much discussed about, has developed a new political consciousness in the minds of the people in the Indian States. The State Congresses—the outcome of this new consciousness—with the moral support of the Indian National Congress demand responsible Government. Mr. Appadorai considers some obstacles to the realization of this demand in the *New Review* of January 1939. He says that obstacles in the way of responsible Government may arise from three sources: the Ruler himself, the Minorities, and the Paramount Power.

That the Ruler may be unwilling to surrender power to the people is not surprising; it is in keeping with historical experience. Several cogent arguments are advanced to show that responsible government is unnecessary and undesirable; the traditions of good government by the Dynasty; its obligations to the Paramount Power; the failure of democracy elsewhere; the inapplicability of the example of British India to the States as the latter are not under alien rule; the backwardness of the people and the interests of powerful minorities.

The important minorities, he says, are the second source of opposition, whose power depends partly on their own strength and their organization and partly on the attitude of the Ruler. It is not improbable that an unwilling Ruler may ally himself with powerful minorities in order to put down the movement, or at least retard it. He may say that responsible government has no meaning in a country where the communities are at unequal stages of development and where the minorities have no faith in the reasonableness of the majority. The Ruler represents the State and is impartial. Before granting responsible government, he has to develop those communities which are comparatively undeveloped in education and opportunities.

Regarding the third source of opposition, he adds that the Ruler is bound by

several obligations to the Paramount Power, through treaties, engagements, and *sanads*.

At present the Ruler of an Indian State is able to discharge these obligations, because legally he is the absolute ruler of his State. Under a regime of complete responsible government, he will by assumption be divested himself of his personal responsibility for the administration of his State, but his personal responsibility for the fulfilment of his obligations to the Paramount Power will remain. So long as his ministers respect these obligations, no difficulty will arise but they may not always respect them.

MORAL EDUCATION

The aim of school teaching should be not only the imparting of a body of selected and well digested knowledge; but also the formation of a number of desirable habits of thinking, feeling, and doing which are the true foundations of character. Without this aim, no nation can thrive, says Mr. J. C. Guha in stressing upon moral education as the need of the hour in the December number of the *Calcutta Review*. He says:

Moral instruction should be imparted mainly through the education of the tastes by wielding the potent forces of the instincts, especially those of love and hate and imitation in its three forms, namely, sympathy, suggestion, and imitation (in action). The pupil must be taught to love and hate the right things; true education is just that, as Plato has said. In order to be able to do that, the teacher will not only have to live nobly, but also hold up before the pupils' eyes, whenever the opportunity arises, noble specimens of literature and art, and co-operatively draw from them the ideals of beauty and truth and show by contrast and implication how and why the rotten specimens are to be passed over and looked down upon. Lessons may also be drawn from the rise and fall of nations and dynasties of kings.

He concludes that ideas of clean living and thinking can be built upon the common basis of truth, love, and purity taught by all religions.

MAHATMA GANDHI

"No Moghul Emperor ever had more power in India than Mr. M. K. Gandhi," writes Mr. Richard Freud in the *Spectator*. He holds no rank or post, but his quiet voice plays on the heart strings of a people accustomed to cherish preachers. To show that he is more than a preacher, there is the tremendous fighting machine of the Congress Party, built up and held together by his faith and generalship. At 70, he lives far from the centre of action, as every good Hindu should do in his age, and from his little village hut he rebukes the worldly for their sins like a prophet by the city gate.

When a party is running nine parliamentary governments in a country where that form of government has existed for just two years, things are apt to go wrong in places. There may be corruption in one district and a brawl in another; Mr. Gandhi prints all the facts in his little weekly newspaper, wailing at the depth to which Congress morality has sunk from the heights of truth and non-violence.

When the politicians appeal to him to settle some dispute, he usually replies that he has retired from politics, but he rarely escapes, for they have no one else to turn to for ultimate guidance. If in the past 12 months the fear that Indian self-government would mean bad government has largely disappeared; it is due chiefly to the power of Mr. Gandhi over the consciences of his followers.

The really astonishing thing is his influence with the common people. There is not a village where his name is not known or revered. Even in the distant Frontier Province, where the people profess a different religion and are by no means pacifists like him, he is held in deep veneration.

The upshot of all this is that the villagers all over India are beginning to enter into history, to experience a sense of loyalty beyond the small units of family, caste, and village, which for thousands of years have made their horizon. Unsteadily, tentatively but already visible in outline, an Indian nation is emerging and Mr. Gandhi is its maker.

During the 20 years he spent in South Africa, he developed the technique of civil disobedience as a method of preventing or compelling legislation, which he later applied with success in the wider field of India.

In 1915, Mr. Gandhi returned to India, teaching that passive resistance was India's shortest way to freedom. Three elements, I think, joined to make his agitation successful. Firstly, his doctrine was the exact alloy of mysticism and simplicity that appeals most to the Indian of any class; secondly, he gave new hope of effective revolt to a people still cowed after 60 years by memories of the mutiny; and, thirdly, *satyagraha* was the very thing to disarm the British, who, by some twist of character, cannot easily kill in cold blood.

Mr. Gandhi and his British rulers were made for each other. Had India been ruled by, well, by any other Western nation, Mr. Gandhi would to-day not be a great man, but a dead body. That is worth considering.

Although the vow of non-violence has never been kept by all his followers, many thousands have cheerfully faced police charges and imprisonment without raising a hand,

and such is the trust he inspires that last year the Bengal Government, not a Congress Government, set free hundreds of terrorists simply on Mr. Gandhi's assurance that the lads had promised him to be good.

His language on important occasions, the writer says, can be dreadfully involved, "and if you do not work hard to unravel it, you may think he has said nothing much when he has really made a statement that will change history".

That happened in 1936, when he appeared to be splitting hairs over the special powers of the Governors in the new provincial administrations.

Even Sir Tej Sapru, who has the finest legal brain in India, thought Gandhi's objections were mere quibbles. But when the Government at last met them, it was seen that the re-statement of a few clauses had not only changed formal into real self-government, but had brought home to the Governors, who admitted it, the hitherto nebulous meaning of autonomous government. Gandhi had felt a call, seen a blurr, and groped ineptly for expression, knowing all the time that he was right.

UNIFICATION OF THE MAHARASHTRA

While the Andhra and Karnataka demands for separate provinces on linguistic basis are afoot, there is yet another demand from Rao Bahadur M. V. Kibe for a Maharashtra province. In the December number of the *Triveni*, Mr. Kibe wants a sustained and strong movement to be started by the leaders in the Maharashtra territories. His proposal is that the Maharashtra districts of the Bombay Province, Berar, and the Maharashtra districts of the present Central Provinces should form one Province. To compensate the Central Provinces for its loss of territory, all the districts of the United Provinces west of the Jumna may be given over to Mahakoshal (Hindi C. P.). It will have its capital at Jubbulpore, which will be more centrally situated for the new territories than Nagpur is for the present territories. There will remain some Maharashtra area in the old and new districts to be given over to Mahakoshal; they will have to accept their position of minorities. Even now they are not contiguous to Maharashtra territories and their position will in no way be adversely affected unless it be said with regard to the Maharashtrians in the Hindi-speaking districts of the present Central Provinces that the presence of their compatriots almost in a majority in the united Maharashtra is a safeguard to them.

In the new Maharashtra, there are to be two Universities, one to be newly established at Poona and the other to be at Nagpur. Regarding the question of capital, he says,

like the United Provinces, or as is the case at present in the Bombay Province, there will be two capitals, certain offices and functions being held at Poona and others at Nagpur; or these may be seasonal capitals, the Government going to Nagpur in the cold season. The jurisdiction of the High Court at Poona may extend over the sub-Federation proposed in a previous paragraph, which will compensate it for the loss of Bombay city. The jurisdiction of the University already extends over the Indian States. Therefore, the

extension of the jurisdiction of the Judicial Court over them will not be against any recognised principle and, as a means of the better administration of law for their subjects, this measure may be acceptable both to the Rulers and their subjects. Even the law-making power of the former need not be affected, since the High Court will administer any local laws for those territories.

He concludes that the Congress High Command should be compelled to take up the matter, which could not be achieved without a vigorous agitation.

STUDENT STRIKES

Regarding the wide-spread discontentment among the student population and the frequent strikes in educational institutions, the *New Review* writes:

"Making due allowance for local and personal factors and for the puckish spirit of mischief, we think, the cause lies deeper. The Indian college student of to-day feels a profound sense of frustration. He sees that the education he is receiving is not the kind he needs, but is powerless to change it. Before him, after an examination-ridden course, looms the spectre of long and perhaps endless unemployment. He would like to do something for his country, but does not know what or how."

His parents are as helpless as himself. He turns to his teacher, but they are, in our crowded colleges, scarcely accessible or knowable. The Indian readily attaches himself to persons; he can hardly feel the European's loyalty to institutions. He will do anything for a *Guru*. The want, therefore, of personal attachment to his teachers, which is the only safeguard in a crisis and the only solvent of misunderstanding, is the Indian students' greatest misfortune to-day."

TUBERCULOSIS IN INDIA

The distribution of infection and disease in India presents a complex problem, as the picture varies in different areas from the almost virgin rural and far away places to the highly urbanized and industrialized centres, says Dr. A. C. Ukil in *Science and Culture*.

Tuberculous infection, though increasing in recent years owing to increasing urbanization, industrialization and the introduction of rapid transport facilities, is not yet so wide-spread in India to-day as in Europe and America. The urban population in India varies between 7 to 20 per cent. according to different regions, as compared with 80 per cent. in England and Wales, 52 per cent. in U. S. A. and 53·7 per cent. in Canada. The infection rate in India is yet only half of that in European countries, and it varies from 21 per cent. in rural to 76 per cent. in urban and industrial areas. The mingling of rural populations, which are much less bacillized and of virgin races like the Gurkhas, Bheels, Khonds, and Khasias with people of highly tubercularized areas, presents a complex picture of hypersensitivity and resistance among the infected people.

People who migrate from rural areas into cities and industrial centres, particularly students, women, children, menials, labourers, and mill-hands usually show a low incidence of infection.

When they are attacked with the disease, they show, like the heavily contaminated rural population, an acuter onset and present a more exudative infiltration and a higher death rate than among the urban people. The course of the disease shows an acuter onset and proves more rapidly fatal than what occurs generally in Europe. It has been noticed that both the pulmonary and non-pulmonary forms of tuberculosis attain their maximum age incidence 5 to 10 years earlier than in Europe. The prevailing type of lung tuberculosis in rural and semi-rural areas shows predominantly exudative changes with very fragmentary attempts at localization. A study of pathological materials by workers in different parts of India has shown that only 5 to 10 per cent. of cases studied exhibited any marked

tendency to fibrosis, while the remainder showed predominantly exudative lesions and as many as 60 per cent. showed extensive bilateral lung involvement. The Anglo-Indians and those who have been born and brought up in the larger cities very often show, however, lesions comparable to those met with in Western countries, when other factors causing hypersensitiveness are excluded.

The writer points out that the frequency and dosage of infection influence resistance and susceptibility by their effects on the physique and bodily chemistry.

Nutrition, environment, habits and customs also influence the complexion of the problem. Poverty, overcrowding and badly adjusted dietary operate in a large number of cases. Of habits and customs, those of indiscriminate spitting within dwellings, of eating and drinking from common utensils and of sleeping together in the same room and on the same bed contribute to a large dose of infection, mostly on an imperfectly immunized soil. Fifty per cent. of the cases diagnosed in hospital polyclinics give a history of close contact with one or more previous cases in the family. Besides these, social conditions like the *Purdah* system, early marriage and motherhood contribute to a considerably higher mortality among young women.

INDIA IN PERIODICALS

ASOKA THE GREAT. By Prof. H. C. Seth, M.A., Ph.D. [The Triveni, December 1938.]

INDIA: THE NEXT PHASE. [The Round Table, December 1938.]

ADULT EDUCATION IN INDIA. By S. K. Roy, M.A. [The Indian Journal of Education, December 1938.]

INDIAN NATIONALISM. By J. N. Sarin. [Landholders' Journal, November 1938.]

RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT IN INDIAN STATES. By A. Appadurai. [The New Review, January 1939.]

SOME REASONS FOR REJECTING THE BRITISH-MADE FEDERAL SCHEME. By K. K. Bhattacharya, M.A., B.L. [The Modern Review, January 1939.]

BUDDHISM AND INDIAN RELIGIOUS THOUGHT. By R. J. Jackson. [The Mahabodhi, November 1938.]

THE NEW INDIAN CONSTITUTION. By Hon. Pandit Hridayanath Kunzru. [The Hindustan Review, December, 1938.]

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

Prof. Diwan Chand Sharma, writing in the *Times of India*, endorses the general public plea for religious education in schools. As regards the present attempts, he has a warning to give:

"Is the approach to it legitimate and right? A recent book on religious education says that our approach should be fourfold: historical, moral, emotional, and institutional. It is said further that the students should know something, do something, feel something, and belong to something. Now if we were to examine the various schemes of studies adopted by educational institutions in India, we would find that their approach is only doctrinal and dogmatic and moral. The most unfortunate thing about these institutions is that they represent not so many religions but so many religious sects. The result is that all of them seek to glorify their sects and do not aim at imparting a knowledge of the fundamental truths of their religion of which they form a part. They do not emphasise their points of agreement with other faiths but their points of difference; nor do they generally inculcate reverence for other religions. They seem to say that their truth is the only kind of truth, that their goal is the only right goal, that their scriptures alone are infallible and that their books are the only repositories of wisdom. Thus they turn out students who can repeat what they have read uncritically and blindly."

A PROTEST AGAINST NOISE

In a recent issue of the *London Mercury*, Mr. R. A. Scott James deals with the problem of noise. "The nuisance to-day lies not so much in the loudness of noise as in its ubiquity." He writes:

There is no getting away from it and no effective redress against offenders. In theory the motor-cyclist without silencers on his engine can be prosecuted when he makes excessive noise, but action is rarely taken. Local authorities mending roads are amongst the worst offenders in the abuse of pneumatic drills, yet it is possible at a somewhat higher cost to reduce the noise of these instruments of torture.

There is no escaping, at home or on the road, from the noise of competing radio sets. The main roads of Britain spread the din of traffic far and wide. The noises of motor-horns, which might be standardized and rendered comparatively harmless if not melodious include rasping sounds which violently assault the ear.

Speed-boats on sea and lake and motor-launches on the river disturb the peace of once quiet regions.

During the last year the multiplicity of aeroplanes, military and civilian, has made no remote place in this island safe as a retreat against invading noise. As a nation we have already become motor-minded and radio-minded and we are becoming air-minded. These new habits come upon us quickly and inevitably, producing states of mind at variance with older and still valued states of mind. In the course of many decades they will become reconciled; use-and-wont will create courtesies of the road, the air and the ether. But in the long meantime can we afford to wait? Public opinion demands control and restriction and rules will no doubt be made as in the case of the Highway Code, but only if public opinion is very active will the rules be adequately enforced.



MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS

DEPARTMENTAL

NOTES

Questions of Importance

INDIAN ARMY COMMITTEE

The Government of India have appointed a committee with the following terms of reference:—

To examine the process of Indianisation of officers' ranks of the Indian Army with a view to determining whether the results achieved justify acceleration and if it appears from examination they don't, consider such an alteration in the system of recruitment to the Indian Military Academy as may be expected to lead to the improvement in the number of suitable candidates and to make recommendations.

The Chairman of the Committee will be Lt.-General Sir R. C. Wilson, K.C.B., D.S.O., N.C., Adjutant-General in India, and the following, who have accepted the invitation to serve on the Committee, are the members:—

Sir A. P. Patro, K.C.I.E., Mr. V. V. Kalikar, Nawabzada Khurshed Ali Khan, Capt. Sardar Sir Sher Mahomed Khan, Capt. Sardar Bahadur Dalpat Singh, M.L.A. (Central), Lt.-Col. M. A. Rahman, Mr. P. R. Dazen, M.L.A. (Central), Nawab Muzzaffar Khan, C.I.E., Sir Joginder Singh, Dr. B. S. Moonje, Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie, Defence Secretary to the India Government, and Brigadier R. D. Inskip, C.I.E., Commander, First Abbottabad Infantry Brigade.

Owing to the coming session of both the Houses of the Legislature, it has been decided to convene the Committee later in the year.

COMMUNAL ORGANISATIONS

The Working Committee of the Congress, which met at Wardha last month, passed the following Resolution defining what are communal organisations:—

Resolved that for the purpose of Article 5 (c) the following organizations are declared as communal organizations: (1) The Hindu Mahasabha, (2) Muslim League.

Article 5 (c) reads that no person who is a member of any elected Congress Committee shall be a member of any similar committee of a communal organisation, the object or programme of which involves political activities which are, in the opinion of the Working Committee, anti-national and in conflict with those of the Congress."

GANDHI'S ADVICE TO PRINCES

"If the Congress feels that it has the power to offer effective interference, it will be bound to do so when the call comes," writes Mr. Gandhi in the *Harijan*.

"I am responsible for the policy of non-interference hitherto followed by the Congress," he says, "but with the growing influence of the Congress, it is impossible for me to defend it in the face of the injustice perpetrated in the States."

Meanwhile, the Ministers are morally bound to take notice of the gross misrule in the States within their borders and to tender advice to the Paramount Power as to what in their opinion should be done."

INDIAN SOLDIERS

Replying to Mr. Kailash Behari Lal of Bihar Congress, Mr. Ogilvie gave the number of soldiers in the Indian Army from each of the Indian Provinces as follows:—

North-West Frontier 7,604; Punjab 11,969; Rajputana and Central India 6,208; Bihar 211; Orissa 4; Assam 8; Bengal 10; Central Provinces 40; Bombay 4,986; Madras 4,545; Hyderabad (Deccan) 809; Sind 1; and Baluchistan 56.

MISS LESTER ON INDIA

Interviewed by the *Associated Press*, Miss Lester said that the spirit of defeatism in India was now disappearing and that there was an increase in self-confidence. "I notice," she added, "a new sort of confidence in people, not only in themselves but in each other, and in life."

Utterances of the Day

BRITAIN'S WORK IN INDIA

Lord Hailey, former Governor of U. P., addressing a meeting in London observed that he yielded to none in appreciating the good work done in India, but he thought there were some things which might have been done differently.

Obsessed by the British conception of property rights, Britain had failed to see that the relation between the landlord and the tenant had completely changed with the improvement in economic conditions. The greater part of the peasantry still lived in economic serfdom to the money-lender....

There will be many, "who will readily agree that the conduct of education is one of the less happy features of our rule in India. Britain's mistake lay in the wide expansion of academic Secondary education before she laid a sound basis for Primary education. They had six Universities before they had an Agricultural institute; and he was not sure they would have had even one if an American benefactor had not provided part of the money....

I suppose there are now few who would not join in regretting the reluctance showed for so long in admitting Indians to our higher administrative services. None will honestly say that with the rising standard of living and education it is possible to prevent the spirit of nationalism rising in India. Everything we have done has tended to foster the growth of political consciousness among the increasing class of educated people. Sooner or later we are bound to make concession to that spirit. If we had been willing at a much earlier date to associate Indians more fully with the administration, we might well have found ourselves able to make political concessions in a form more satisfactory both to them and ourselves. We might in any case have avoided that manifestation of racial distrust, which has already done much to impair the value of the constitutional concessions made.

THE BASIS OF DEMOCRACY

Sir Maurice Gwyer, Chief Justice of India and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Delhi, addressing the Convocation of the Punjab University said:

The first difference is the existence in the democratic State of the rule of law; the second is the right in that State to hold and express one's own opinions and beliefs; and the third is this, that a democratic system of the Government is one which is based upon the personality of the individual man and woman; whereas the other system is based upon the conception of a State as an organisation apart from and superior to the individual men and women who compose it, demanding from them complete and uncomplaining subjection asserting all rights and conceding none.

LORD MESTON ON FEDERATION

Lord Meston, President of the Liberal Party organisation, told the Geographical Association's Conference in London that the most difficult problem facing India is, perhaps, the question of Federation.

Federation, said Lord Meston meant a grouping of the provinces with provincial governments characterised by national democracy and a self-governing spirit with the States that had been living under conditions of more than medieval traditional glory and misery. He said that it would not be surprising in view of the great difficulties, if Federation, which they hoped to see so soon, would not be accomplished for some considerable time as so many are opposed to it. It required a good deal of goodwill but he thought that it was beyond their power to bring it about.

A dominating feature was, said Lord Meston, that

India's rush to democratic government had given rise to an enormous growth of nationalist spirit. Its results differed in various parts of India. In some parts it had given rise to impending rising of peasants against their erstwhile landlords, the condition is fomented by the rash promises of the Congress in other parts. There had been strikes and revolts, which required all the skill and patriotism of the Government to cope with and allay.

CHRIST AND NON-VIOLENCE

Dr. H. C. Mookerjee, M.L.A., of Bengal, in the course of an address to the Indian Christians of Madras paid a glowing tribute to Mahatma Gandhi and his gospel of Non-violence. He said:

"It remained for a Hindu, Mahatma Gandhi, to induce his followers on a nation-wide scale to repudiate force and to substitute for it the power of suffering for the attainment of national ends. Apart from its political results, with which I am not concerned at present, India as a whole has at last succeeded in shedding her fears, her inferiority complexes and her slave mentality. Undoubtedly, isolated cases of violence did occur and will, perhaps, occur in the future, but they should not be regarded as proofs of failure in just the same way as Christianity is not a failure because some so-called Christian nations have forsaken the path of Christ."

LOCAL SELF-GOVT. CONFERENCE

The second All-India Local Self-government Conference was convened at Calcutta under the presidentship of Mr. S. Satyamurti.



MR. S. SATYAMURTI

In the course of his presidential address, he suggested that the number of local self-governing bodies should be reduced to a minimum. He said:

We must reduce the number of our local self-governing bodies to the absolute necessary minimum. I say it, first, because our provincial affairs are already managed and conducted by democratically elected ministers responsible to democratically elected legislatures. Secondly, because you will pardon my saying it, we have not yet got abundance of man power, and shall I say of woman power, necessary for running these self-governing institutions justly, honestly, impartially and efficiently. I do not mean my reflection on contemporary Indian public life. But this has been the history of local self-governing institutions in every country including England, and we need not be ashamed that we have not yet made sufficient progress in this direction.

He then referred to the Constitution, the minorities question, and municipalisation.

There was a lively discussion on the "beggar problem in India" and the need of simultaneous action by Municipalities was stressed. A number of resolutions were passed touching joint electorates, adult suffrage and compulsory voting at elections.

SIR A. RAMASWAMI MUDALIAR

Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, who comes back to India from the Secretary of State's Council to be Commerce Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council in succession to Sir Mahomed Zafrullah Khan, has had varied experience as politician and publicist in the Madras Presidency. He visited England in 1919 as a Member of the Non-Brahmin deputation and gave evidence before the Joint Select Committee. He was for several years Editor of the *Justice* newspaper. In 1928, he was elected President of the Madras Corporation and was returned to the Council of State in 1930. He was a delegate to all the three Sessions of the Round Table Conference in London, and subsequently served on the Franchise and Army Retrenchment Committees. Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar was closely connected with educational and other public bodies in Madras and was a Member of the



SIR A. RAMASWAMI MUDALIAR

Legislative Assembly for four years. In 1936, he was appointed one of the advisers of the Secretary of State for India, and he comes back to India with a rich experience of public life of over two decades.

Insurance

LIFE INSURANCE MEDICAL FEES

Dr. K. S. Ray, General Secretary, Indian Medical Association, has issued the following statement to the Press :—

It is a matter of regret that in spite of the offer of the Indian Medical Association to come to an amicable settlement regarding the scale of fees for medical examination of life insurance cases, the Insurance Companies have so far shown very little response. The public are aware that the Indian Medical Association has been pressing for some time past for a proper scale of fees for medical examination of insurance cases and various resolutions have been passed in the open All-India as well as the various provincial medical conferences. All these resolutions were duly forwarded to the Insurance Companies and also published in the papers. The Indian Life Offices Association has lately made a suggestion to introduce a uniform scale of medical fees, but they have recommended at the same time for a further reduction of the already existing low scale of fees. They are trying to get the different insurance companies in India to fall in line in this matter.

POLICYHOLDERS' CONFERENCE

The Andhra Desa Insurance Policyholders' Conference has adopted several resolutions including the following :—

This Conference requests the Government of India to incorporate in the Insurance Act the right of every Policyholder to be a voter in the election of Policyholders' Directors.

This Conference requests the Government of India to provide in the Insurance Act that the Surrender Value of any Insurance Policy should never amount to less than 60 per cent. of the premia paid by the Policyholder, excluding the first year's premium.

This Conference requests the Government of India to provide in the Insurance Act that where it is feasible to pay Insurance premia from the available Surrender Value, and where the Policyholder does not pay the premia for any reason, the Companies should not demand any declaration of good health or short or full medical reports.

This Conference requests the Government of India for the incorporation in the Insurance Act of a provision that no shareholder should be entitled to more than 12 per cent. of the paid-up share value in the shape of Dividend or Bonus.

This Conference requests the Government of India to entitle every Policyholder to vote by post in the election of Policyholders' Directors.

This Conference requests the Life Insurance Companies to extend to older Policyholders all new facilities afforded to the new Policyholders.

This Conference requests the Government of India to arrange for the payment of proportionate bonus on paid-up Policies in the same way as done on ordinary Policies.

BRITISH INSURANCE IN INDIA

Mr. Gordon Cummings, writing in *Indian Finance*, observes :

The year 1988 was certainly a very difficult one for the British insurance companies transacting life business in India. Figures of new life business so far published show for the most part a falling off from the record totals achieved in 1988. Very few companies are fortunate enough to be able to show an increase.

Amongst the most important companies which have published their figures, the United Kingdom Provident shows an increase of £92,882 to £5,116,274 in the net life business transacted. The Pearl Assurance reports total new business of £8,280,510, compared with £8,664,444 in 1987, and Norwich Union states that its new business broke all fresh records at £11,700,000, in comparison with £11,580,120 in 1987.

New life business transacted by Commercial Union Assurance was £5,991,820, or only £85,208 less than in 1987. Total business of Legal and General Assurance was £16,478,756, as against the high record of £18,549,226 achieved in 1987.

THE ECONOMIC CONFERENCE

The All-India Economic Conference, which opened at Nagpur, was presided over by Dr. Gyan Chand, Professor of Economics, Patna College.

Mr. T. J. Kedar, Vice-Chancellor, after welcoming the delegates, probed into the problem of the country to-day—the problem of industrialisation. He said :

It is a sad commentary on the bureaucratic rule that there should have been no reliable statistics of the industries, organised and unorganised, the qualities and values of products manufactured and raw materials utilised. It is regrettable that there has been no systematic survey of natural resources or an analysis of imports and exports. You cannot, however, afford to waste your time in blaming the foreign agency. You have got to put your shoulders to the wheel and prepare the necessary ground for the economic planning.

Dr. Gyan Chand's presidential address was a bold, powerful plea for a new outlook. He observed :

The world to-day is in a state of crisis, which is due to the serious disequilibrium of social forces. The fact makes it necessary to revise the premises of all thought, particularly economic thought; for the malaise from which the world is suffering is primarily due to economic factors and calls for readjustment of social relations and therefore of economic outlook. Disruption of the world economy and with it the Indian economy is well on the cards. But the risks and dangers should stimulate us—the Indian economists—to new and much higher efforts of thought. Scientific outlook in general, and in social sciences in particular, does not mean absence of passion but dispassionate passion, not absence of interest but disinterested interest. India now expects everyone to do his duty, but more than others it expects the economists to do this. His position is one of special trust and responsibility. All sided action is necessary in order that the country may truly and fully awake, in the immortal words of Rabindranath Tagore, 'into that heaven of freedom in which the mind is without fear and the head held high'. Economic freedom must be an essential element in the coming freedom—freedom from alien control and the power of anti-social interests.

We economists have to line up—line up without losing in the slightest degree our autonomy of thought and action. Parallel action of the like-minded men is urgently required. We have to get into step with the nation which is on the march and going with rapid strides towards its goal. If we cannot ourselves set the pace, let us at least keep up the pace which the nation sets for us.

SLUMP IN LANCASHIRE GOODS

The *Manchester Guardian*, discussing last year's trade returns, declares that the slump in cotton goods exports is spectacular and almost incredible. The volume of Lancashire cotton piece-goods exports is the lowest for nearly 90 years and roughly the same volume as in 1850. All the gains of the great Victorian era are gone. Lancashire's export situation is worse than during cotton famine or during the 1931 slump. Proportionately, last year's decline in Indian trade is not so great as it was in the trade with the rest of the Empire.

TRADE AGREEMENTS

Replying to a Deputation of Indian Merchants in Bombay, H. E. the Viceroy said :



H. E. THE MARQUESS OF LINLITHGOW

Whatever the course or outcome of the negotiations, the Ottawa Agreement will not be continued beyond the end of the next budget session. . . . Any agreement reached will be placed before the Legislature for its opinion before effect is given to it.

DR. TIRUMURTI'S CALL TO DOCTORS

Dr. T. S. Tirumurti, Principal of the Stanley Medical College, Madras, in declaring open the new pharmaceutical department and analytical laboratory of pharmaceutical



Dr. T. S. TIRUMURTI

works in Calcutta last month, referred to the growth of the pharmaceutical industry in India, and said that if it was to make further headway, it was necessary that the Government, the Medical profession, the public, and the capitalists should co-operate.

ALL-INDIA MEDICAL CONFERENCE

The 15th Session of the All-India Medical Conference, which met at Meerut on December 27, was inaugurated by Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit.

Dr. Bhupal Singh, Chairman of the Reception Committee, in welcoming the Delegates, urged the Conference to make the medical profession an important unit of the body politic.

Dr. George Da Silva, presiding over the Session, noted with regret that the Association had not received sufficient support from the medical profession in India.

In spite of Congress Ministries taking over the administration of most of the provinces, our brothers in Government service are either not permitted or are not bold enough to become members of this Association.

An exhibition of medical and surgical appliances, organised in connection with the Conference, was opened by Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy.

HEALTH

VALUE OF COLD BATH

Cold baths have the effect of increasing the number of active cells in the blood to a very remarkable extent. The white corpuscles are increased to a much larger extent than the red cells, sometimes being nearly doubled. The increase is observed within half an hour after the bath, writes *Good Health*.

This increase in the white cells, it says, is not due to any new cells. It is due to the fact that cells, which have been idle in some deeply seated part, are brought out into active circulation by means of the bath and thus made useful. The effect, however, is practically the same as though new cells had been formed. This is one of the ways in which the cold bath increases the resisting power of the body.

PHYSICAL TRAINING IN SCHOOLS

As it is now proposed to introduce compulsory military training in the higher classes in schools and intermediate colleges and to make physical training compulsory, the U. P. Government have set up a committee of nine with Mr. Karan Singh Kane, Parliamentary Secretary, as Chairman, to draw up a suitable syllabus of physical culture, to advise the Government how the proposed scheme of physical training can be fitted into the school routine and to devise a syllabus of physical culture for girls' schools.

THE CHILD'S CRY

1. More free air.
2. More sunshine.
3. More and better food.
4. More wholesome drink.
5. More play in right direction.
6. More and better education. Mere increase in knowledge is not enough. He must be made to understand and use that knowledge.
7. Better place to live in.

THE RATIO QUESTION

The Government of India in a recent *communiqué* declare that they have no intention of allowing a lowering of the present exchange value of the rupee. The *communiqué* goes on to say :

" Altogether, the Government of India have no doubt that it is their clear duty in the interests of India generally, and the cultivator in particular, to defend the present ratio to the utmost of their power.

As already stated they have every belief in their ability to do this and they are confident that drastic measures of contraction will not be necessary except to the extent that they are forced upon them by the action of speculators who place their funds abroad in a hope of bringing them back at a profit.

Incidentally, they are convinced that the exchange would be materially stronger to-day were it not for the fact that there have been large movements of funds to the United Kingdom by the same speculative interests during the last year."

Replying to an address presented by a deputation of the Indian Merchants' Chamber in Bombay, H. E. the Viceroy emphatically reiterated Government's intention to defend the present rupee ratio by every means in their power.

BANKING IN INDIA

Mr. B. T. Thakur, Chief Inspector of the Central Bank, lecturing at the Dacca University, explained the difference between money-lending and banking, and how Indian banking and Indian banking habits were still in their first stages. According to him, India was accustomed to tangible and concrete forms of investment securities; and the public still did not fully realize that deposits to be serviceable must form resources for credit.

Mr. Thakur emphasized the imperative necessity of investing short-term deposits in liquid advances, so that in time of need the credit allowed to the public could be reconverted in cash. Failure to observe this principle was responsible for many a bank failure in India.

THE DHANBAD RAILWAY DISASTER

Death and immediate cremation seems to have been the fate of a number of passengers who were trapped in capsized bogies of nine up express, which was derailed on January 12 according to the special representative of the *Associated Press* who visited the scene of accident. Fire continued to smoulder for nearly 88 hours after the accident.

It is understood that the enquiry has established that the accident was caused by malicious tampering with the track. A case under Section 126 of the Indian Railway Act against unknown persons has already been instituted by Government Railway Police for malicious tampering with the track, thereby endangering safety to the travelling public and causing derailment.

The magnitude of this accident is considered to be greater than the last Bhita train disaster according to officials and others, since four of the wrecked bogies were completely smashed and gutted. Public sympathy with the victims of the disaster is coupled with a strong demand for a public enquiry.

RAILWAY OFFICERS' CONFERENCE

The Indian Railway Conference Association under the presidentship of Mr. A. F. Harvey, General Manager, E. B. Railway, held its thirty-ninth session at Maiden's Hotel, Delhi, on November 26.

The Conference was attended by about 60 officers from 24 railways. The Association considered the annual report of its stores, mechanical, medical, engineering, personnel, and electrical sections as well as the periodical reports of its operating, commercial and accounts inter-change committee. Other subjects on the agenda included introduction of station rate registers, revision of general rules for the working of railways in respect of signalling, prevention of fraudulent use of railway tickets and the annual report on the working of the broad gauge wagon pool.

RAILWAY CONFERENCE ASSOCIATION

Mr. J. W. Gordon, C.I.E., O.B.E., Manager, Jodhpur Railway, has been elected President of the Indian Railway Conference Association for 1989-40.

ART AND TRADITION

Mr. Haldar has done an invaluable service by writing this excellent monograph on Art under review. (*Art and Tradition* by Azit Kumar Haldar. With a preface from the Rt. Hon'ble the Marquess of Zetland. Price Rs. 2-8. Publishers: Lakshmi Narayan Agarwal.) It is a very comprehensive account of the different theories of art, i.e., the expressionist, the impressionist, and the realistic theories of art. The concept of harmony in art is brought out in a brilliant chapter. The chapter on Indian Painting is the most readable account we have on the subject. The contribution of the Poet Rabindranath Tagore to art is assessed at his true worth. The different trends of Bengali art are explained and illustrated. The paintings of Bagh caves, Ajanta caves, and Jogimara caves are explained at length. The book concludes with the insistence on the realistic nature of modern art. The book under review is an excellent introduction to the students of art. We commend this book to all those who are interested in art.

MR. J. F. ARORA

Mr. J. F. Arora, of Multan, is now at work in London, where he hopes to establish himself. He has completed a portrait of the Nawab of Pataudi. Mr. Arora is an exponent of modern Indian art, seeking to introduce into his work the more recent influences without losing the background of Indian culture. He hopes soon to lecture on the Continent and he intends to visit the World Fair in America, where he will expound modern Indian art. Mr. Arora was a teacher at the Bombay School of Art.

THE BOMBAY ART SOCIETY

The Golden Jubilee Exhibition of the Bombay Art Society was held in Bombay on the 20th of last month. The Exhibition was open to competitors from all over India, and a list of attractive awards was drawn up by the Managing Committee. Owing to an unusually large number of entries, the number of prizes was appreciably increased.

SPORT

BENGAL OLYMPIC GAMES

The Bengal Provincial Athletic Championships concluded on January 14. Although three new Bengal records were set up, it must be admitted that keener contests resulting in better timings had been recorded in the past.

Sgt. Priestley of the Calcutta Police won the Governor's medal by winning the Individual Championship in a convincing manner scoring 87 points. The Indian Athletics Camp won the Team Championship by a huge margin of 188 points.

Sir Harold Derbyshire, Chief Justice, gave away the prizes.

LADIES' GOLF CHAMPIONSHIP

The final of the Ladies' Golf Championship of India was decided at the old course of the Royal Calcutta Golf Club when Mrs. J. V. Baxendine beat Miss Eileen Homan by 2 and 1.

Mrs. Baxendine fully deserved the honour by steady and consistent play. Miss Homan was runner-up for a second time, last year being beaten in the final by Miss Wharton.

Lady Brabourne, who had tea with the Captain and Committee of the Ladies' Golf Club, presented the prizes.

MOTOR RACING

Francesco Cortese, of Italy, driving a Maserati, won the Grosvenor motoring Grand Prix in the time of 2 hours, 38 minutes, 41 $\frac{1}{2}$ seconds at an average speed of 76 $\frac{1}{2}$ miles an hour.

Peter Aitken, son of Lord Beaverbrook, was second driving "Era". Time: 2 hours, 44 minutes, 39 $\frac{1}{2}$ seconds; average speed: 74 miles an hour.

South African Chiappini, driving Maserati, was third. Time: 2 hours, 44 minutes, 52 $\frac{1}{2}$ seconds.

INTER-VARSITY TOURNAMENT

The Benares University won the final of the Central Zone in the Inter-Varsity cricket tournament beating the Lucknow University by an innings and 50 runs. The winners have qualified for the semi-final of the Championship proper, which will be played at Lahore, their opponents being the Punjab University.

SCIENTIFIC UNCERTAINTY

Sir Shah Sulaiman, the eminent Indian Scientist and Federal Court Judge, who has been unanimously elected President of the National Academy of Science, said in a recent Simla lecture:

That our scientific theories must of necessity be uncertain would become patent when one realizes that, according to calculation, the radius of an electron may be five million millionth part of a centimeter and the electron may be revolving round its nucleus several thousand million times per second. If such is the extreme minuteness of its dimensions, it is impossible to be certain of its structure. Human vision is limited within a very narrow range and there can be no knowing whether there are not even smaller worlds within such microscopic worlds which may never be discovered by man.



DR. SERGE VORONOFF

Dr. Serge Voronoff, famous for his rejuvenation experiments, claims to have perfected a method of making intelligent people from idiots and of curing children whose development has been arrested either physically or mentally.

INDIAN FILM DEPUTATION

The urgent need either to enhance the import duty on exposed films or increase the assessment value was represented to Sir Mahomed Zafrullah Khan, the Commerce Member, Government of India, by a deputation of the Indian film industry at Bombay, on January 10.

The deputation was led by Sir Rahimtoola Chinoy, member of the Council of State, and consisted of the members of the Executive Committee of the Indian Motion Picture Congress and Silver Jubilee of the Indian film industry.

The deputation drew the attention of the Commerce Member to the handicaps under which the Indian film industry worked and indicated the directions in which the Government of India could encourage and support the industry. The deputation urged the Commerce Member to persuade the Government of India to give effect to some of the recommendations of the Cinematograph Committee of 1927-28.

NEED FOR NATIONAL FILMS

In the course of a speech at Madras, Mr. Sambanda Mudaliar expressed the opinion that Puranic films should give place to really useful national films bringing out the character and qualities of Indians. These films should disseminate the teachings and ideals of the Indian national leaders. The speaker pleaded for a greater element of realism in South Indian films and eradication of certain anachronisms which had crept into some of them.

Srimathi Kothainayaki Ammal, who also spoke on the occasion, in the course of her remarks said that films could depict family life with advantage and drive home morals to children and the masses.

THE BOMBAY FILM CENSORS

We learn the Bombay Board of Film Censors will, in future, submit a comprehensive report to Government on films bearing on Indian life and will issue certificates only after the Government's approval.

GENERAL MOTORS INDIA LTD.

An interesting function took place recently at General Motors India Limited, Sewri, Bombay, when a large number of the Company's employees gathered together to receive gold and silver lapel buttons in commemoration of their completion of 10 and 5 years' service, respectively.

Mr. Halsted, the Managing Director, in congratulating the men, said that their loyalty to the Company through the good and bad years was a matter for satisfaction to all concerned. He made no secret of the fact that it was largely due to their individual keenness and effort that General Motors in India had reached the paramount position it now holds in the industry. These members of the organization were in at the birth of this great assembly plant in June 1928, when the first real and organized effort to put India on the motoring map began. Assembly operations actually began in December 1928, and in the following 10 years 92,888 General Motors cars and trucks have been assembled and sold, of which Chevrolet alone accounts for 71,401 units.

The Bombay Factory employs 850 Indians, who have become thoroughly skilled in an industry which a decade ago was entirely new to them.

IMPROVING CAR PERFORMANCE

Prof. A. M. Low, writing on "The Perfect Car" or "What shall we see at the Motor Show of 1948?" in the *Madras Mail*, says:

Probably the most promising way to improve the performance or life of the small modern car is to improve the power-weight ratio by reducing the weight rather than by increasing the power. In view of the high cost of the lighter materials, which can be employed in the body or chassis, however, progress along these lines presents very practical difficulties.

Improvement is being effected by the extended use of plastic materials in place of metal, not only for body parts but for certain parts of the engine, such as valve covers, but the greatest hope of weight reduction appears to lie in departure from the conventional design of bodies and chassis frames, and several makers are experimenting along these lines. In this connection, there is undoubtedly much to be said for employing the body frame as a stress member.

AVIATION

AIR SERVICE OVER SPAIN

Following General Franco's refusal to permit British planes to fly over the territory under his control, necessitating the postponement of planes for the new London-Lisbon air service, it is understood that the question of a link between London and Lisbon is now being considered by the Department of Civil Aviation and the Air Ministry which has before it several alternatives, one of which is to cover the journey by flying boat instead of aeroplane.

It is authoritatively stated that General Franco's attitude in no way affects the arrangements for the British service across the Atlantic from Bathurst to Brazil, of which the London-Lisbon service was to have been the first link.

It is understood that General Franco has expressed himself unwilling to afford facilities to countries which have not accorded him full *de jure* diplomatic status.

AEROPLANES FROM MOULDS

The production of aeroplanes from moulds—like cakes—may permit high-speed manufacture of thousands of war planes in the event of national emergency in the United States. This development proposed by American aeronautical research engineers has had initial tests in at least four aircraft factories, though its details remain secret. Two aeroplanes now being tested in a flight are completely constructed of plastics, the same material often used for moulded motor car steering wheels, clock cases and table ware. The United States army air corps is highly interested in the process, and one of the two aeroplanes, which has been flying for several months, is described as being on the government secret list. Extensive research on the same material is being done in Europe.

AIR FORCE OF INDIA

The Royal Air Force of India will henceforth be known as 'air force of India'. It is explained that there are in India units of the R.A.F. and also India Air Force. The new name is intended to cover both.

A. I. S. A. AND KHADDAR

At its meeting at the Harijan Colony, Delhi, the Council of the All-India Spinners' Association decided, under the lead of Mahatma Gandhi, to apply for a loan of Rs. 8 lakhs from the Imperial Bank of India, Bombay, for further development of khadi production in the various provinces, to increase further the wages of spinners and to carry all business surpluses that might accrue in actual work to the Spinners' Benefit Fund.

The Council, while thanking the Congress Ministries for the assistance they have so far rendered in the cause of the spread of khadi, suggested the provision of a capital advance and the purchase of khadi for the requirements of State departments.

The A. I. S. A. has been pursuing a policy of progressive rise in wages for the spinners and other artisans since 1935, and considerable advance has been made. The work in this direction has, however, been hampered by the baneful activities of producers and dealers, who are trying to push the sale of uncertified cloth in the name of khadi.

The Congress Working Committee adopted a resolution urging the public and, particularly Congressmen, to use only khadi produced by the A. I. S. A. and the certified organisations.

The Council of the A. I. S. A. passed a resolution thanking the Working Committee and other Congress organisations which have rendered help in this connection and suggesting further suitable measures to eliminate the harm done by the use of uncertified cloth passing under the name of khadi.

GLASS INDUSTRY IN U. P.

Dr. Alexander Nadel, Polish technologist, whose services have been secured by the U. P. Government, in a Press interview, stresses that the glass industry has a bright future in India, provided the requisite level of technical efficiency is maintained and the manufacturers overcome the tendency to produce cheap stuff.

ZEMINDARI ESTATES REPORT

Sir P. S. Sivaswami Ayyar, in an interview on the Madras Estates Land Act Committee's Report, observed:

According to the scheme of the Committee's report, all enhancements of rent are declared illegal even if they have been made in pursuance of the provisions of the Estates Land Act, 1908. There is no presumption in favour of the existing rent. The rates of rent fixed at the time of the permanent settlement have to be ascertained apparently by a Commission to be appointed by the Legislature and the Government. Where there is a dispute as to the rent payable by a ryot, there is no presumption that the existing rate is fair, but the ryot should be presumed to hold at the same rate and under the same conditions as those fixed for the year preceding the permanent settlement.

There would be immense difficulties in ascertaining the rent for the year preceding the permanent settlement, and allowance would have to be made for changes in the value of money. The ryots themselves in several cases had told the Committee that the rents might be fixed on the level of the neighbouring Government rates. The Committee brushed this aside and says that the ryots were ignorant of their rights and that the proposal made by them should not be accepted as correct.

There is no justification for this wholesale disturbance of the existing provisions and arrangements with regard to the amount of rent payable. It would plunge all the zemindari tracts into wide-spread agitation and extensive litigation and impose on the Government and on all concerned an extremely laborious task for which there is no justification.

The proposed legislation is unfair and is bound to create unrest on a wide scale and have far-reaching repercussions.

AGRICULTURAL IMPROVEMENT

Various experiments carried out successfully to improve the cultivation of paddy, cotton, sugar-cane and fruits are recorded in an order issued by the Madras Government, reviewing the Administration Report of the Department of Agriculture for 1937-38. During the year there was an increase in the number of farms on which trials and demonstrations were conducted. To extend the cultivation of improved varieties of sugar-cane in areas near sugar factories, the organisation of co-operative societies subsidised by the Government was sanctioned.

WORKERS' PLIGHT IN TITAGARH

Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru has issued the following statement:-

"It was announced recently that the Titagarh jute strike had failed and that the mills were working. Few people, realise, however, that victimisation on a mass scale has taken place. It is stated that 5,000 Madras workers, men and women, and 2,000 up-country people have been suddenly stranded and driven out of their quarters. Thousands of people, including children, have been rendered shelterless and without food.

"This is an extraordinary situation and quite apart from the merits of the strike, the Government concerned as well as community cannot possibly remain indifferent to it. The fact that most of these thousands who have been dismissed, are from other Provinces adds to their difficulties and to the gravity of the situation. I hope that such help as can be given to these unfortunate people will be given."

DOCKERS' STRIKE IN RANGOON

A majority of the employees of the Government dockyard having struck, it has been closed down. A general strike of dockyard workers is threatened. Hitherto 5,000 have downed tools affecting six companies. Several agitators have been arrested. One instance of the intimidation of loyal workers is reported. Nine more persons, including five members of the Do Bama Party, have been taken into custody under the Rangoon Security Emergency Act.

OIL WORKERS' STRIKE

With the call for a general strike, the labour situation in Burma is assuming greater importance. As we go to Press, about 400 workers of the Burma Oil Company's refinery at Syriem struck, bringing the total number of strikers to over 6,000. Among the strikers, there is a large number of Burmese women and Indians. According to official information, the situation in Rangoon is unchanged. About 400 workers of the British Burma Petroleum Company have also struck.

GENERAL

CONSECRATION OF DORNAKAL CATHEDRAL

The new Cathedral of Dornakal was consecrated on the 6th January by the Most Rev. Foss Westcott, Metropolitan of India, Burma and Ceylon, assisted by visiting Bishops. The Cathedral is probably



THE BISHOP OF DORNAKAL

the first Anglican Cathedral to be built in the Indo-Saracenic style and it has many interesting architectural features.

The diocese of Dornakal was founded in 1912, with the Rt. Rev. Dr. V. S. Azariah, the first Indian Bishop of the Church of England, as its first Bishop. The building fund has been contributed mainly by Indian Christians and by the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States of America. The greater part of the work has been carried out by local craftsmen.

THE COST OF THE LAST WORLD WAR

According to the *Evening Standard*, London, the last War cost the world £80,000,000,000. That sum, observes a statistician, could have provided every family in Britain, Canada, Australia, the U. S. A., Germany, France, Belgium, and Russia with a £500 house and £200 worth of furniture, standing on five acres of land. A £1,000,000 library and a £2,000,000 university for every city, with more than 100,000 inhabitants in those countries, could also have been bought.

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INDIAN CURRENCY PROBLEMS

BY PROF. KRISHNA KUMAR SHARMA, M.A.

MONEY is essentially a tool of the business community and it is therefore necessary that the currency system of a country should be so organised and controlled that business interests should be best served. The currency system should be elastic, automatic, and it should aim at comparative stability of internal price level. It should also maintain an equilibrium of the internal price level with the external price level through the stability of the rate of exchange. And, above all, it should command the confidence of the public.

In India, up to the time of the establishment of the Reserve Bank of India, the credit policy was controlled, if at all, by the Imperial Bank of India and the currency policy was controlled by the Government of India, and with divided authority, as remarked by the Hilton Young Commission, there was the possibility of divided counsels. The Commission considered the alternative standards for Indian Currency and finally recommended the establishment of the gold bullion standard for this country. The majority of the Commission also recommended that the rupee should be stabilised at 1s. 6d., and this recommendation was given effect to by the Indian Currency Act of 1927. That Act authorised the currency authority

to give gold or sterling at its option in exchange for notes. Thus if the currency authority made it a practice to give gold in exchange for notes tendered, the standard could be called a gold bullion standard; but if, as a rule, sterling was provided, the standard could be called the sterling exchange standard.

It may be remarked at this stage that in recommending the gold bullion standard for India, the Royal Commission on Indian Currency and Finance chose the English model. Discussing the case of the gold bullion standard against the gold standard with a gold currency, the Commission remarked that in the post-War period, the countries which reverted to the gold standard did not allow gold to remain in circulation. In England, gold was not in circulation and in America gold was circulating in theory but not in practice.

The Commission ignored the fundamental differences in the economic conditions in the two countries in having selected the British model for India. In England, the gold standard was adopted in 1816 with gold in circulation and the system continued to operate up to the outbreak of the Great War. It was under this system that London became the international financial centre and her banking system was thus built on a sound foundation.

Before adopting the gold bullion standard, England thus had been on the gold standard with a gold currency for over a century. There was nothing like that in India. Commission after Commission beginning with the Mansfield Commission of 1866, the Herschell and Fowler Committees in 1893 and 1899 respectively had all recommended the gold standard with a gold currency for India. It was the Chamberlain Commission alone which eulogised the services of the gold exchange standard for India, but it also pointed out that that form of currency should be given to the people which they desired most, whether rupees, notes or gold. The Babington Smith Committee of 1919 were precluded by the terms of their reference to consider any alternative system of currency except the perfection of the gold exchange standard.

The recommendations of these earlier Commissions and Committees were accepted by Government. The public thus came to believe that gold standard with a gold currency would be adopted in India. But when this did not come about, the Indian business community was disappointed. Moreover, the huge losses incurred in maintaining the 2s. ratio between 1920 and 1921 made the business community somewhat suspicious of the currency policy of the Government.

Still earlier, the Fowler Committee of 1899 had recommended the creation of a gold fund to be located in India in gold out of the profits of the rupee coinage. The Secretary of State, however, decided subsequently that these profits should be located in London and remain invested in short-term sterling securities to avoid gold lying idle. But in the crisis of 1907, a huge loss was incurred

in selling these securities to maintain the exchange rate at 1s. 4d.

It will thus be seen that the psychological and economic background did not warrant the suitability of the English model for Indian conditions. Even then, the standard recommended by the Hilton Young Commission was not worked in practice.

At this stage it will not be out of place, perhaps, to remark that in considering the alternative systems of currency for India, the Hilton Young Commission definitely rejected the sterling exchange standard, because under any exchange standard the rise in the price of silver beyond a certain point would contain a threat to the upsetting of the currency system inasmuch as the rupee would tend to vanish. The other ground was the possibility, however remote, of the sterling depreciating in gold. According to the Commission, it was not likely to take place except in a world-wide economic catastrophe which would upset world currencies. But the Commission did want to safeguard the Indian currency system against this eventuality also. In spite of this recommendation of the Commission, the rupee was linked to the sterling in September 1931.

An acute controversy has since been waging on whether the rupee ratio should be 1s. 6d. or 1s. 4d., the Indian business community being definitely ranged in favour of devaluation and the Government of India being equally against this step. It may be stated that the arguments for and against 1s. 6d. and 1s. 4d. were very carefully considered by the majority and the minority respectively of the Hilton Young Commission, and it does not seem to be necessary to go over the ground again.

The preamble to the Reserve Bank Act lays down that the monetary provisions of the Act are transitory, and they will be reviewed when the monetary situation in the world is clarified. Meanwhile, the Indian business community has been agitating for devaluation. It may be recalled that following the Congress Ministers' Conference at the Congress Working Committee Meeting in Bombay, it was decided to make representations to the Government of India for revising the rupee ratio.

In this connection there are two questions to be considered: (1) Have the currencies of the world been so stabilized as to justify a change in the rupee ratio permanently? (2) What have been the effects of 1s. 6d. ratio upon economic conditions in India?

It is, of course, difficult to pronounce a definite opinion on the extent of the stabilization of world currencies. It may be remarked that the depreciation of world currencies began in England in September 1931 when that country went off the gold standard, and later, America followed in April 1933 and one by one almost all the gold standard countries depreciated their currencies to meet international competition. The leader of the gold block countries, too, namely, France, depreciated the *franc* in September 1936 to the extent of 80 per cent.; but after that the race for depreciation was not continued. World trade is now improving. According to the Report of the Indian Trade Commissioner, the total value of the world trade for 76 countries during the year 1987-88 was 29,982 million gold dollars as against 25,554 million gold dollars in 1986-87, or an increase of 4,428,000,000 dollars. These figures do

indicate some degree of stabilization of world currencies.

We may now make a brief reference to the economic effects of the 1s. 6d. ratio. According to the Report of the Reserve Bank of India on Currency and Finance for 1985-86 and 1986-87, the total net exports of gold from India for 8 years from 1981-82 to 1986-87, come to Rs. 298,28,87,450; while the total net imports of the yellow metal for 21 years from 1910-11 to 1980-81 amounted to Rs. 457,85,63,684 (*vide* pages 46, 47 of the Report). It clearly shows that we are not maintaining the standard of our exports, and India is living on her past capital. The fall in prices has been accentuated and thus the burden of agricultural debt has increased. The U. P. Banking Enquiry Committee had estimated the agricultural debt of the United Provinces at Rs. 124 crores, but the recent U. P. Agricultural Debt Enquiry Committee has put the figure at Rs. 186 crores. Thus the burden of agricultural debt has increased. The high ratio has increased foreign competition to the extent of 12½ per cent. and neutralized protection to our industries to a similar extent. Under these circumstances devaluation is bound to stimulate exports and thus give an advantage to the cultivator.

The Government of India have made it clear that they will defend the existing rupee ratio by every means in their power. In reply to the address of the Indian Merchants' Chamber at Bombay, His Excellency the Viceroy reiterated the decision of His Government not to change the rupee ratio. Speaking on the subject, he remarked: "I am satisfied, indeed, that to lower the ratio in the market conditions, internationally, of the present

day, would result in no rise that matters in what the cultivator can realise for his produce; that it would immediately and sharply increase the cost of what he buys, and that its effect on the budgetary position of the Centre and of the Provinces would not but be of a character which would injuriously affect the taxpayer, whether urban or agricultural." It may be remarked that the arguments referred to by His Excellency and His Government have been often repeated and they have been answered by the Indian business community through their spokesmen from time to time.

His Excellency also pointed out that the history of the world currency in the post-War period "has very clearly shown the uncharted reefs that confront those who endeavour to sail in these dangerous and difficult waters", and that this fact has always been present before Government in shaping their currency policy. It may be remarked that it has been during this

period that other countries have devalued their currencies.

One fundamental canon of a good currency system is that it should command the confidence of the public and the business community. The Hilton Young Commission referred to the fact that the Indian currency system lacked public confidence. The Indian currency policy in the subsequent years has done nothing to inspire that confidence. It is the duty of Government to shape its currency policy in a manner that it may command the confidence of the public. It can be done by referring the Indian currency problems to a Commission of experts having a fair representation of Indian business opinion. In the light of the currency situation in the world, the Commission of experts can be expected to make authoritative recommendations, which should be acceptable both to the Government and the business community in India.

LEAGUE OF AMERICAN PEOPLES POSSIBLE WORLD ECONOMIC UNIT

By MR. ARTHUR LAMSLEY

WILL the American peoples, that is the United States and the South American nations, form a League of Nations which would likely become a future World Economic Unit? Since the Pan-American Conference last autumn held at Lima, in Peru, this question has been one of the most intriguing in the logic of international economics. The idea has a practical foundation, although the possibility is at the moment remote, of an economic unit in Europe composed of most of the nations in that disturbed Continent, and the future certain economic

unit composed of the British Commonwealth and the Empire peoples. Here we have three possible world economic units with the British Commonwealth most certain of ultimate fulfilment.

Since the rise of the Dictator States in Europe, the smaller nations of Latin South America have become increasingly anxious over their future for fear of German, Italian, and Japanese economic expansion followed by planned emigration by these three countries, with three subsequent groups of nationals agitating for self-determination. With the object-lesson of recent European

history, the South American States feel their only safeguard against the "peaceful persuasion" of the Dictator States is to form an economic League of their own peoples with the powerful backing of the United States. Canada has also been mentioned as being friendly towards some such economic unity in the two Americas and, of course, she has always been on exceptionally friendly terms with the United States. These two nations are an object-lesson in friendly neighbourhood inasmuch as they live side by side with three thousand miles of boundary which does not possess a single fortification.

One of the difficulties in the way of the proposed League of American nationals is the fact that in some of the South American States there are large Italian and Spanish populations who might not be willing to merge themselves into a protective economic unit against their respective Motherlands. How far hard business bargaining would enable this sentiment to see the logic of its own self-help is not easy to speculate and, what is more, some of the South American States have not shown that their peoples understand the discipline of law-abiding government. Nevertheless with the swift transition of world economic affairs, it might be possible that these peoples will be forced to accept the logic of the present position and act in unity for the self-preservation of their own particular nation.

It would seem, after study of the various deliberations of the Lima Conference, that it would be easier to form an economic alliance of American peoples than it would be to create any sort of military and naval alliance. For obvious reasons it would be a matter of almost insuperable racial difficulty to weld into

an organised unit an armed force composed of all the various States likely to join an American League of Nations. The United States would have to bear the major part of the burden of defence, or armed intervention. The American people themselves might not be willing to play a major part in what might be an unprofitable enterprise, as the South American States or some of them could not be relied upon to fulfil their engagements.

The United States is, naturally, in view of its shrinking markets, both in Europe and in the Far East (especially in China), looking with favour upon the potential markets in the twenty Latin States composing South America. Already her economic advisers have planned friendly expansion in every one of these States, and there is little doubt but what the present new defence plan in Navy, Army, and Airforce will impress the Latin States, who might be willing to concede favourable economic commitments for a "Gentleman's Agreement" for protection in the case of aggression from Dictator sources. This is part of the economic logic of present-day United States thought. Already some of the Latin States have stiffened their opposition to German trade expansion. Their position has been strengthened recently by the known betrayal of the smaller European States by Germany in her so-called trade agreements, which have all been to the economic detriment of the peoples in the Balkans.

Whatever the immediate future of a possible League of American peoples, one thing is certain that the general trend of world affairs is likely to force an association of these peoples in the safeguarding of their national existence. A League of Nations in the New World, comprising North and South America, is by no means an impossibility and might easily materialise in the course of the next generation.

HOW THE INDIAN MAP BECAME RED

BY MR. K. V. RAMASAMI, B.A., B.L.

SINCE the inauguration of Provincial Autonomy, the various Governments, especially those in which Congress Ministries have been formed, have embarked on intense legislative activity. Momentous measures enforcing Prohibition, Debt Relief, new forms of taxation and the like have been passed in some provinces and are about to be passed in others. We are not concerned with the merits of the Acts themselves but with the underlying power of legislation. Whence does India get it?

Legislation proceeds from the Public or the Ruling Will and constitutes an open, set mode of interference with the individual, at once forceful, coercive, inescapable. It was largely unknown to the Kings and States of indigenous India and has become part of India's political inheritance through the troubled ways of British conquest. India's legislatures, to-day, in passing laws, employ a power and a technique, fashioned through ages of slow growth in England by the genius of the Plantagenet and Tudor Kings and of the Stuart and Hanoverian Parliaments. Legislation goes back ultimately, through England and Europe, to classic Rome, the first great law-making state in the World's history, beside which all others were mere "tax-gathering" states.

INDIAN POLITY NON-LEGISLATIVE

Indian Polity, as evolved in its most formative period, possessed vast executive and judicial power, but lacked legislative and constituent power, i.e., power to lay down private and public law. There are traces of an incipient legislative power in the early Indian Emperors. Asoka's Edicts envisage an archaic attempt at legislation. Kautilya's Arthashastra recognises King's Command (Rajasasana) as a source of law. But the theory of Hindu Law and the circumstances of its growth in the Sutra and the early Smrti schools were such that the feeble seeds of a legislative polity discernible at first were soon lost. Law fell more and more into the hands of a hierarchy of learned and religious men. Its doctrines were made to rest on Revelation (Veda). The kingly power was openly circumscribed

to a round of judicial and administrative functions. This ideal of non-legislative kingship was pictured and perpetuated in later Hindu Law, and even in Hindu Political Theory (Nitisastra), which, beginning as an independent science, soon merged into Smrti-learning.

The absence of legislative power is not the mere absence of a high department of state. Nor is it merely a deficiency in the sum of governmental powers. It represents the lack of a vital, organic power, essential to the growth and maintenance of the state, a power perpetually to command, enlarge, modify the obligations of the subjects *inter se* and towards the state. It was this truncated governmental ideal that left the various dynasties of medieval and post-medieval India, the Chalukyas, the Jadavs, the Senas, the Palas, the Kalachuris, and even the latter-day Maratha and Sikh governments, without any principle of strong cohesive growth and without any large range of power over their subjects. As Hobbes said "the good of the sovereign and people cannot be separated. It is a weak Sovereign that has weak subjects, and a weak People (is one) whose Sovereign wanteth power to rule them at his will".

The history of the Maratha and Sikh states, which grew and careered side by side with the English Company and finally fell before the latter, best illustrates the quality of inherited Indian Polity.

EVOLUTION OF THE MARATHA STATE

The State founded by Shivaji was a resuscitation of the ancient Indian type, based on the old institutions. It comprised a monarchy with an administrative council (Ashtapradhan) and subordinate executive departments under it. The system worked and showed no signs of weakness for a time when the territory was small and before any great and serious conflict arose with an external power. But soon after the Moghul war, the non-legislative, non-coercive type of state embodied alike in the royal Bhonsle and his Brahmin supplanter, the Peshwa, manifested itself in loose, devious growth, in timid power, in weakened parts. The details of the process are clear and rise well out of history. State officers began to be endowed

with lands and military resources; while the victorious soldier or leader was given the territory conquered by him on condition of maintaining troops and paying a portion of the revenue to the descendant of Sivaji. The relationship thus established between the quondam officer or soldier and the state was by means of sanads, pacts or private oaths, to be violated or snapped under the dictates of ambition or self-interest. We read that Baji Rao, after once successfully surrounding the Nizam on the field, "beseeched, wrote and threatened Raghoji Bhonsle to join him, but without effect".—Grant Duff's History. There was no conception of public rules or law; there was no inner nucleus of power in the Maratha State from which public laws could issue.

Territory, which should have, with its revenues and subjects, fallen to the state, lapsed to the individual officer or soldier. Territory and, with it, power, were split into parts and there arose a fissiparous organisation, "a government of numerous authorities and interests". The system may, to some extent, be ascribed to the weak liberality of Sahu and the practice of contemporary Mahomedan states, but really it had its roots in the conditions of ancient Indian Polity, its lack of a central Coercive and Regulative Power, its lack of a high Active Public Will. The Maratha statesmen of the 17th and 18th centuries were not to blame. A high Active Public Will could only come out of the prior governing traditions and legislative habits of the land, even as the larger brain of man and the higher animals has been produced by its incessant efforts and exercise in prior aeons.

The inherent defect of the Maratha state manifested itself not only in the public sphere in failing to evoke a high governmental authority, but also manifested itself in the sphere of internal governance and order. The Maratha state had neither the insight to discern nor the power to punish or to set right—which insight and power constitute the legislative genius of a state—the newer crimes and dangers which were developing in Maratha society—sedition, political disaffection, crimes in high places, new types of proprietary

wrong and dispute, fiscal and economic troubles—all of which were beyond the reach of the archaic law administered by the Nyayadish and his subordinates.

THE SIKH POLITY

The Sikhs rose on the wave of a powerful non-conformist movement in religion discarding Hindu theology and learning. Under the same powerful impulse, they also cut themselves off, though not consciously, from the rest of Hindu traditions and ideas, even their civil laws and institutions. As a result, they threw themselves on their tribal habits and the primitive feeling of independence. Their government consisted of a National Assembly (Gurumata) and an elected Council and leader. They constituted respectively the deliberative and executive organs of the state. The relations between the two and between them and the army were of the most indefinite kind. The Sikhs developed neither public nor private law. The habit of making laws was more radically unknown to the Sikh State than to the traditional Hindu and Mahomedan states.

ENGLISH AND MARATHA GOVERNMENTS

The English Company, which was building its power in contemporary Bengal, proved the final and successful protagonist of the Indian states. Its ways of government were different. But before referring to them, let us note the conditions of the combat between the English Company and the earlier and more powerful combatant on the Indian side.

The English Company, at the beginning of the conflict, ruled over a territory much less in extent than that under the Maratha government. Its revenues at this period were 4 crores of rupees per year as opposed to the 6 crores realised annually by the Peshwa and his Sardars. The Maratha armies were more numerous than those under the English Company and were equally well trained from the modern point of view. The English had acquired their territory by conquest or by cession even like the Marathas, and the English Company was really younger in "age" than the Maratha government by a little less than a century—if we reckon the "age" of the former from the grant of the Diwani and that of the latter from

Sivaji's coronation. And the final arbitration between the two governments issued, not out of a single battle whereof the result may be deemed accidental or military, but out of a series of wars denominated the first, second and third Anglo-Maratha wars in books of history, and out of a much longer period—preceding them—of subdued conflict and rivalry, during all which time the innate political resources of either party had time to develop and to tell. Whence then came the final victory of the British over the Marathas!

THE COMPANY'S POLITY

The answer is to be found in the superior governmental organisation which the Company represented. The English Company was one of several trading corporations which had come out from England and other maritime countries of Europe in the Middle Ages. At the end of a century and a half of its existence, it suddenly acquired the revenues of a vast Indian province. The Company continued for a time as such adding the territorial revenues to trade profits and dividing them among themselves. The English people, however—a race more Roman than the Romans in some respects—faced with the acquisition of vast territory in an Eastern land, devised quick and statesmanlike changes, converting the trading Company into a political and legal suzerain and its petty officers and factors into an organised group of administrators, judges and legislators. The transformation was effected by two Acts of the English Parliament, of 1773 and 1781. The two Acts constituted a government consisting of a Governor with three Councillors, with full powers to administer the territories, to pass laws and regulations and to do whatever was necessary for the peace and safety of the dominions. There was an elevated atmosphere in the English politics of the latter 18th century; and there was—in spite of the American revolution—a high constructive quality in the statesmen of this period—Pitt, Fox, Camden and Burke—which made the bodyingforth of a new polity in an Eastern land exceedingly providential and successful. The government that arose in

Bengal and Bihar comprised—if we forget for a moment the subordinate relation, not important from the Indian side, of the English Company to the British Parliament—a fullness of executive, judicial and legislative power such as belonged to the developed governmental types of Europe at this period.

THE ENGLISH COMPANY'S POWER

In the few decades that elapsed between the constitution of the Company's Government and the final years of the Anglo-Maratha struggle, the Company consolidated its power over its subjects and servants in a manner unknown to the Maratha government. The zemindars under them were disaffected; the Company at once settled their dues to the state and put their relations to it on a legal basis. Disorders, both within and without, were met by Police laws and other regulations. The jurisdiction and procedure of the various Courts that had been taken over from the Nawab, or that had been newly set up by the Company, were defined by a number of Regulations. Further, as each new bit of territory was added to the Company's dominions, it passed Regulations for its administration and set up officers over it with legally defined powers and duties. And thus we find, within the short space of 80 or 40 years beginning from the days of Lord Cornwallis, the first Governor-General, who started the Company's government on a career of extensive legislation, the Company's Statute-book is filled with innumerable Regulations, defining the civil rights of the subject, laying down or extending his duties and liabilities to the State, and regulating the action and conduct of governmental officers and departments.

The English Company made themselves and their subjects, in a much fuller sense than those Directors, who penned the words, meant, "a nation in India". A Moghul fief was converted into a European principality. The subjects of a decayed Indian province were knit into a political society, acting with greater effect both in peace and in war than the Maratha and Sikh societies.

THE PERSPECTIVE IN EUROPE

BY MR. DIP CHAND VERMA, M.A.

I

SINCE the Versailles settlements, peace in Europe had been possible, because, the combined force of England and France, together with their satellites, was greater than any possible combination against them. Italy under Mussolini was the first to revolt against the Anglo-French hegemony, but left to himself the Duce could not exactly have brought back the lost Roman Empire whatever his pretensions. After the Munich surrender, the balance of power has suddenly shifted in favour of the Rome-Berlin axis, and Chamberlain's studied efforts to keep Russia out of the show have further added to the Fascist momentum. France has now become a second or rather a third rate State and her unstable finances, together with the shifty basis of her domestic politics, are factors that will further hasten this process of decline. France, it must be remembered, is John Bull's chief prop on the Continent and so the English influence already at a low ebb will receive further set-back as her ally travels the declining plane.

The British diplomacy at present is two-fold. On the one side, inspite of the talk of a more peaceful atmosphere in Europe, and Chamberlain's pact with Hitler in which their two respective nations are never to go to war against each other, the British armament must be carried on at full speed if further humiliations are to be avoided. Incomplete preparation was one of the factors that forced England to surrender to Germany. This must be rectified. On the other side, England is aiming at the four-power-pact, which would bring England, France, Germany and Italy together. But the Fascist powers must have some foreign subterfuge and according to Chamberlain's calculations, Soviet Russia is likely to serve that purpose, which would now be made the scape-goat of Anglo-French diplomacy. If Hitler wants colonies or raw materials, he would have a free hand towards the East and Ukraine, or some other neighbouring territory may serve as a substitute for the American colonies, which Hitler has already demanded.

A similar *quid-pro-quo* seems to have been arranged with Mussolini in the recent Anglo-Italian pact, and although outwardly some 10,000 so-called Italian volunteers have been recalled from the Spanish front, Mussolini must have insisted on a free hand to Franco before entering into any pact. Moreover, the Duce hopes to press France a little, and there is already agitation for Tunis, which is not without inspiration from the Fascist head-quarters. Mussolini also wants some financial help for the exploitation of Ethiopia, as well as the same rights in the Suez as are enjoyed by England and France.

Whatever may be the value of the paper pacts, which the Big Four are now entering with each other, the atmosphere in Europe is far from clear. It is doubtful if the democracies and dictatorships can work in harmony in international affairs, particularly when their imperial ambitions conflict with each other.

II

The principle of collective security, which had been so skilfully strengthened by France, by her system of alliances with Soviet Russia on the one hand and Poland and members of the little entente on the other, has now disappeared. The vacuum thus created is being filled by a system of bilateral alliances, political as well as economic. The League of Nations, the organization behind the Collective Security principle, has now lost all *raison d'être* and nobody really takes it seriously. The League served some useful purpose so long as England and France, its two main supporters, were prepared to fight for its principles. Now when they have let down those principles, the League is a dead horse and no longer an instrument capable of preserving either the world peace or the collective security. The League had been founded on great ideals, but in practical politics it became the henchman of Anglo-French interests. It was then set as a sentinel, or a watch-dog of the Versailles treaty—a glaringly iniquitous document. Some sort of machinery was needed which ought to have provided gradual and constitutional

repeal of those settlements but the Covenant provided none. Change being inevitable, the only alternative was force and violence and these in fact have been repeatedly used with irreparable damage to the League and the conception of an international order it represented. For the time being the League must go and the nations must be left to themselves. "Every nation for itself and Hitler take the hindmost." That is the rule at present. The League idea would undoubtedly be revived, but not till the world has met another catastrophe. Europe at present is convulsed by the various ideologies that have cropped up since the last Great War, and another conflict can only be avoided by unforeseen circumstances.

III

The situation was not really as hopeless as it has been made by the nervous wrecks that have guided the foreign policy at London and Paris. Democracy is above everything else a moral principle and it requires moral courage and sometimes material sacrifice to defend it. England and France may be democracies at home, but in their dealings with the Asiatic and the African people, they are imperialists and their imperialism is just as bad as that of Mussolini in Abyssinia or of Hitler's would be, if German colonies are returned to him. There may be a difference of degree but not of kind. Democracy and Imperialism go ill together. When England and France defend their possession of colonies and deny the same right to Germany and Italy, they are hardly on a strong moral ground. Amongst other reasons England and France fought Germany in the last Great War, because the latter threatened the right of "free determination" of other nations. Neither England nor France has done anything to make that right any safer, and the most obvious example is that of British dominion in India. There is one blunt reply to the dictators' claim of colonies, but that argument the democracies have fought shy to advance. According to one school of 'Imperialists' European protection was necessary for certain nations supposed to be in a state of political adolescence. We had by now enough of this protection

and trusteeship, and some of the countries at least have grown into full manhood and want to be left to themselves. Hitler and Mussolini have to be clearly told that African or Asiatic countries are not for exploitation by any European country but for the children of the soil themselves. Neither England nor France can afford to say so until their own hands are clean. Democracy is an altruistic and universal principle. If it is good for the Europeans, it is good for the Asiatics also. England and France must understand that unless they are prepared to fight for other peoples' 'Liberty', they would lose their own also. "In a time when men are imprisoned unjustly," said Thoreau, "the only place for a just man is also in prison." Not so to men like Chamberlain and Daladier, to whom it is enough if they can save their own skins. To a bewildered world, the British Premier told in a broadcast that England was not prepared to enter a war for a minor problem like that of Czechoslovakia. It is only a minor problem for Mr. Chamberlain when the liberties of a small nation are ruthlessly destroyed by a heavily armed neighbour. But when London is bombed by Berlin, it would become a major problem. England would then have to fight, but it would be a fight without friends or sympathisers.

CONCLUSION

Democracy has certainly received a great set-back during the recent European crisis. As Pt. J. L. Nehru who recently returned after a careful study of the European situation put it: "Democracy seems to be on its last legs." But is there no way to resuscitate it. Yes, there is one and it has been clearly pointed out by Mr. Anthony Eden himself. England must learn to make a stand against the dictators and call the Fascist bluff. England also should put aside her political proclivities in making her political alignments and establish close relations with Russia as a counterpoise to the Rome-Berlin axis. With France already on her side, there should be close association between democracies in Europe and U. S. A. No amount of table-thumping can frighten anybody. England, France, Russia,

and U. S. A. should pool their tremendous economic and political resources together and firmly tell the Fuehrer and the Duce as well as the Japs in the Far East either to observe decency in their international obligations or be ready for the worst. Such a step would not only revive the decaying cause of democracy but also put the cause of world peace on a sound footing. Unless the democratic countries adopt some such measures to protect the freedom of the small nations in central and eastern Europe, they must throw themselves into the arms of the dictators as a matter of sheer existence. If, on the other hand, respect for the international law is restored, countries like Yugoslavia, Roumania, Greece and even Poland, the small States along the Baltic as well as the democratic States in Northern Europe—all of them are sure to move towards England and France, provided the latter give them a guarantee

of their protection and not let them down as they recently did with Czechoslovakia.

But this requires a change in the internal politics of both England and France. Chamberlain or Daladier are not likely to serve as agents for that recreation as their basic assumptions are different. Only men who are convinced of the menace of Fascism and the challenge to democracy implied therein can save what otherwise seems to be a lost cause. The British and the French public opinion is slowly reacting to the Munich surrender, and the recent "pogrom" started in Germany is strongly being resented in U. S. A as well as all over Europe. As soon as England and France find men of the 'hour' to lead them, the cause of democracy would revive. Meanwhile we have to thank Providence for the little mercies the dictators may be pleased to grant to their victims.

Provincial Governments & Party Organizations

BY PROF. SRI RAM SHARMA, M.A.

DEMOCRATIC government revolves round the illusion that every adult feels that he has a hand in the administration of his country. Its successful working has, however, come to be associated with party Government, which definitely shuts out a section of the people from having a say in the governmental policy of the day, because at the time of election it was not able to secure the support of a majority of voters. But if the illusion is still to be kept alive—and democracy cannot otherwise survive—it is necessary that those who are shut out from exercise of power should not be reminded of that fact oftener than is necessary. The administration of the country—as apart from the determination of the policy of the Government—should, therefore, be ordinarily carried on so as to convince those who belong to the Opposition that their share in the government of the country has not been destroyed beyond repair by their belonging

to the Opposition. That alone would soothe the transition from the Government by one party to that by another when the electorate changes its mind. If the fact that only one party in the State is in power, is too blatantly noised abroad, it is likely to impair the loyalty of those not in power.

The introduction of Provincial Autonomy in India has for the first time brought the question of the relations between the Government and party organizations to the forefront. On its right solution may hang the fate of democracy in India. Let us try to study some of the ways in which these relations have so far adjusted themselves.

Parties live very much on slogans, flags, and songs. These are their outward symbols and have their rightful place in party meetings, conferences and demonstrations. Unfortunately almost all over India all these things have been hoisted on to various uses which are

open to serious objections. The Congress Ministries have actively supported the flying of the Congress flag not over party head-quarters or minor offices but over administrative buildings as well. The Unionist Ministry in the Punjab has done even better. It quietly appropriated the official seal of the Punjab as its own party emblem, so that even an M. L. A. had to enquire whether the symbol on the new Assembly Chamber was a Unionist sign. It is true the Congress claims to include all patriotic Indians within its ranks. But the existence of non-Congress blocks in the Legislatures, the emergence of the Socialists even in its own ranks, the trouble over the Red Flag and the Congress colours, and the simultaneous flying of several flags on certain places, should bring home to the Provincial Congress Ministries the wisdom of accepting the position that they represent only one of the political parties, although the most influential, in their own provinces. When this is admitted, the Congress flag, the *Bande Matram* song and all other Congress emblems would quietly take their place as the dearly cherished possessions of the Congress party rather than as things that have to be hoisted on all irrespective of their party affiliations. This flying of party flags and the insistence of singing the party song, the *Bande Matram*, may have been necessary when the Congress had to proclaim its victory in the controversy on Governor's powers. The necessity, and with it the excuse, have by now disappeared and it is no longer necessary to remind the minority every day that they are the dispossessed of the earth.

There is then the question of the relations between the party organizations and the Governments in power. The Congress Governments in the various provinces are supposed to be functioning under the control of the Parliamentary Board, in the setting up of which the newly franchised electorate has not taken any hand. That a party in power in Federal units should have a National Executive is not surprising. That this Executive should from time to time review the policy of various Governments stands to reason. The difficulty begins when it

tries not to formulate policies but to run the administration, it obviously trenches upon matters which would elsewhere be easily left alone to Governments in power. This has certainly undermined the prestige of one or two Provincial Governments. It created the rather unedifying spectacle of two Committees of Enquiries on the Bannu raid, one set up by the Provincial Government of the N. W. F. P. and another by the National Executive of the party. In the United Provinces it led to an abortive attempt at sitting in judgment on the agrarian policy of the Government, which did not increase the prestige or the power of the Parliamentary Board. On a bigger scale, it led to the formation of the Wardha Scheme of Education, where a studied attempt was made to keep out the expert advisers of the various Provincial Governments from advising their political chiefs. That such an important question as the education of the masses in India should have been left to be decided by a party conclave was unfortunate, has been proved by the march of events since then. Worse still has been the Conference of Ministers of Industries and the setting up of the Planning Committee. What should have been a question of all India importance, the right solution of which depended on the co-operation of all Provincial Governments, has been turned into a party problem. It was certainly not necessary that the President of the Indian National Congress should have called this meeting; it could as well or better have been called by one of the Congress Governments when the help of the Provincial Departments of Industries could have been easily utilized. The Planning Commission may be an excellent body of men, but its recommendations, if any, will have to be translated into practice only by the co-operation of all provincial governments. The Congress cannot have it both ways—it cannot studiously ignore non-Congress Governments and also call upon them for their co-operation even in a good cause. That the work which the Parliamentary Board has undertaken—that of supervising, guiding in detail, and co-ordinating the administration in the Congress provinces—is proving too much, for it is clear from diametrically opposite

policies being followed by some Governments on matters which were at one time supposed to be questions of great importance. The Government of the N. W. F. P. assisted in the repeal of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, whereas the Madras Government goes on merrily making daily use of it. In the United Provinces a scheme for the separation of the Executive and Judiciary is in the process of active formulation when the Congress Premier in Madras is flatly denying the need for such a reform as long as he is in office. No, the temporary scheme that was meant to sooth the path of office acceptance cannot be made a permanent feature of Indian politics without serious damage to the reputation, authority and sense of responsibility of the provincial governments and without at the same time endangering the successful working of democratic governments in the provinces. It separates power from responsibility.

The efforts of the Muslim League to function as the supervising authority in Bengal and the Punjab have not been very successful. The Premier of the Punjab is Unionist at home and a Muslim Leaguer abroad and has thus easily escaped party supervision.

The relations of the party organization with the machinery of administration also call for nice adjustment. Here again the existing practices call for a good deal of comment.

In the Punjab, the Unionist Ministry seems to have tied the entire administrative machinery to the chariot wheels of party propaganda. Whenever party conferences have been held, wherever demonstrations have been organized, the help of the permanent officials has been requisitioned in the most outrageous fashion. The first government of the United Provinces, however, surpassed all bounds of discretion when it invited a Conference of Commissioners for organizing measures to combat the Congress influence in the Province. Again, the rather undesirable combination of the post of the Parliamentary Secretary to the Premier and the Secretary of the Unionist Party in one person in the Punjab led to

the Government's threat that it would consider all attacks on the Party as sedition. The transfer of a magistrate on Party grounds sometime back further raised fears which have not yet been allayed. The circular issued by the Government of the United Provinces to its officers instructing them how to treat members of the Congress and Congress organizations has little to recommend it.

The most serious problem presented here has been the conversion of certain offices which are—and should have been kept—a part of the regular administrative machinery into party prizes and political officers. In Bombay, the administrative work of supervising prohibition at the centre was entrusted to a Parliamentary Secretary, in the United Provinces M. L. A's were entrusted with the administration of the work of village reconstruction. Elsewhere similar tendencies have been visible. In the interest both of purity of administration as well as of party organization, it is essential that such distribution of power should come to an end. If the confusion between party members and administrators continues, it might lead to the defiance of law by those who would see into it only the dictates of the party rather than the orders of the Government.

The most unfortunate feature of the recent development has been the yoking of the Speakers to party organizations or administrative work. The Senate of the University of Calcutta is a preponderately nominated body depending upon the Government of the day. The appointment of the Speaker of Bengal Assembly to be the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Calcutta is, therefore, an unfortunate precedent. As the Vice-Chancellor he would have to come into administrative relations with the Government in power, which might easily impair the confidence which the minority should have in the Speaker. The association of the Speaker of the Punjab Assembly with the Fruit Development Board, which has once or twice waited on the Minister concerned for getting concessions, stands in the same category. The election of the Speaker of the Central Provinces to the

office of the General Secretary of the next Session of the Indian National Congress would undoubtedly bring him in party politics as well. The cancellation of the proposed visit to Europe of the Speaker in Madras at the commands of the National Executive of the Congress party, when the Legislature had voted supplies for the purpose, was a needless assertion of the fact that he was still bound by the dictates of his party. But the worst offender here is the United Provinces where the Speaker is openly continuing his active association with his party organization and recently even voted for his party as well in the Joint Session of the Assembly and the Council.

This brings us to the question of the relations between the Legislature and the Government in power. In the Punjab particularly an attempt has been made to treat the Legislature as the bondmaid of the party in power in ways which are not calculated to produce desirable effects on the Opposition. The majority party by becoming the Government acquires certain responsibilities towards the Legislature. As long as the Government remembers that primarily it has to behave in the Legislature so as not to remind the Opposition, in and outside the Chamber, of their helplessness, all goes well. But if the Government allows its partisan character to manifest itself too often, the illusion on which democratic government is based, is broken. The

recent threat to hold a non-stop sitting till a very contentious measure was passed into law, was the culmination of a series of events which are probably unparalleled in the history of Legislatures in Parliamentary Governments. Rather than follow the straightforward interpretation of the rules of business, the Government seems to be intent on securing every advantage that it can by straining the rules which, in their own turn, have been so made as to stifle Opposition. The Punjab Assembly enjoys the doubtful honour of requiring that the ~~quorum~~ for discussing a motion for adjournment or a motion for non-confidence should be almost double that for an ordinary sitting. Here Ministers have rebutted points of order which, after a little reflection, they have been later on compelled to uphold.

I have selected only such matters for remarks above as called for some comment. To some of you, these may seem trivial. To others the count may seem a formidable one. I believe, however, that remembering that we acquired power only less than two years ago, our new rulers have been able to give usually a very good account of themselves. Some of the defects pointed out above might have been due simply to thoughtlessness, others to ignorance. But if successful working of democratic Government is to be assured, it is necessary that everything likely to militate against its success be avoided.

JAPAN AND INDIAN TEXTILES

BY PROF. PREMCHAND MALHOTRA, M.A.

INDIA is the birthplace of the cotton industry. The importance of this industry is supreme whether we judge it by the amount of capital invested or by the employment it provides. Among man's need, cloth comes next to food. The progress of the cloth industry in India has also come to mean a measure of her political advancement.

Two centuries ago the excellence of Indian cotton manufactures secured for

them a position of envy in the markets of Europe. The growth of Lancashire industry following industrial revolution in England, and the neglect of the Indian cloth industry by East India Company, eclipsed India's foreign trade in textiles. But the Indian textile industry has the advantage of a proud lineage.

The first Indian cotton mill worked by mechanical devices was started in India at Bombay in 1856.

The industry has marched along the path of progress year after year. This is clear from the following figures:—

Year	Mills	Capital (in lakhs)	Labour Looms		
			(in thou. sands)	(in thou. sands)	Spindles sands)
1878-80 to 1883-84...	63	657.6	51.0	14.5	1,000.6
1889-90 to 1893-94..	127	1,161.1	116.1	25.3	3,203.8
1899-1900 to 1903-04..	195	1,687.9	171.6	42	5,000.9
1905-6 ...	204	1,719.7	212.7	52	5,193.8

The progress of the industry during the Great War was even more rapid as imports were restricted. Since then the industry has grown in volume in spite of occasional slumps. In 1936, the total number of mills was 879 and the number of hands employed daily was 417,803. We must pride ourselves on the progress the industry has made, but it is no good resting on our oars.

Can India become self-sufficient regarding the production of cotton textiles? What should be the future line of action? Who are our most formidable rivals? What is the secret of their success? In order to answer these questions, an analysis of the imports of Indian cotton textiles is very useful.

IMPORTS OF COTTON, TWIST AND YARN

The share of United Kingdom in imports fell from 870 lakhs of lbs. for the Pre-War average (1909-14) to 78.8 lakhs of lbs. for 1936-37. The total imports during the same period also fell from 417.9 lakhs of lbs. to 254.9 lakhs of lbs. The share of Japan increased from 4.6 lakhs of lbs. for the Pre-War average to 218.8 lakhs of lbs. for 1935-36. The same tale is revealed by the figures relating to imports of cotton piece-goods—grey, white coloured, printed or dyed. Although Lancashire still retains the second place in cloth import trade of India, yet it is Japanese competition which has to be seriously reckoned with. The Indian cloth industry is diversifying and is

taking to the weaving of higher counts. But this alone will not enable her to face the menace of Japanese competition. In order to do that, we must examine the structure of industries of Japan in general and of her textile industry in particular.

INDUSTRIAL ORGANISATION IN JAPAN

Trust and *cartel* organisation have brought a high degree of integration in important industries in Japan. The Japan Cotton Spinners' Association, for example, covers about 97 per cent. of all power-looms in the country.

A spirit of group combination permeates Japanese national life. This has endowed the people with an inherent power of organisation. There is thus national bias towards corporate action.

Financial control is likewise centralised. It is believed that 70 per cent. of all Japanese trade and industry is in the hands of 15 great houses.

FEATURES OF TEXTILE INDUSTRY IN JAPAN

The textile industry is the spear-head of Japan's export offensive. Its special source of strength can be explained by the following features of organization:—

The entire industry is under a centralised control. The members of the Japan Cotton Spinners' Association furnish to the Association each month detailed particulars regarding production, working conditions and consumption of raw cotton. The Central Association co-ordinates the different processes and activities of the industry. Prices and export quotas are also determined by the Central Association.

Japanese industry employs advanced spinning technique. The use of ring spindles is ubiquitous. This makes possible the use of cheap Indian and Chinese cotton blended with American varieties. The result is finished articles which compares well with the product of Lancashire. Shipping subsidy is a very common method of help given by Japanese Governments to exports. The purchase of raw cotton is entrusted to a few trading

concerns so that 80 per cent. of import of raw cotton passes through the hands of a few firms. This system of bulk purchase gives a very great advantage to the spinners. Cotton yarn and piece-goods are also sold through the agency of these firms. This method of conducting a two-way import and export business through the same agency is very economical. Commission and brokerage payable to intermediaries is saved. Losses incurred on selling cheap raw cotton can be made good out of profits arising from the sale of manufactured goods.

The business, in fact, is a chain of which the first link is efficient organization in India, America, and other markets for cotton buying; the second delivery of cheap cotton to the mills; the third cheap manufactured goods in foreign markets with a small rate of profit. The turn of the whole business runs into such immense figures that it pays on a very small margin.

So strong is Japanese patriotism that no sacrifice is considered too great to win a place in foreign market. Yarn required for home consumption has to pay a higher price than that required for consumption. The Japanese Cotton Spinners' Association charges a differential price for yarn from small producers catering for domestic demand.

From a study of the above features of Japanese industry, we conclude that a process of controlled development is at work. The leaders of industry, the financiers and the State all work closely towards a common objective. The people of Japan from the Cabinet Minister to the Artisan consider these objectives not purely in financial terms but in terms of national prestige. Each new market conquered, each additional shipload of cotton, dull or rayon, leaving a Japanese port, even each triumph over a technical difficulty is held to exalt the nation and to bring Japan nearer to the place in the sun.

THE LESSON FOR INDIAN TEXTILE INDUSTRY

India can become self-sufficient in the supply of her cotton cloth requirements.

We have to find markets abroad for our raw cotton. In exchange we purchase superior type of cotton and piece-goods from abroad. It is very desirable that India grows better type of cotton at home. The future of cloth industry in India will not then be influenced by the impelling factor finding foreign market for her raw cotton. Indian industry must also develop industrial technique.

The lesson that we get from a study of the characteristics of Japanese industry is that the problems of the textile industry must be looked as a whole from one single objective. The need for integrating the various processes in the industry—industrial, financial and commercial—is imperative. Un-co-ordinated efforts will not take the industry very far.

In the interest of the future of the industry, the conflict between the cotton growers and the cloth producers must be reconciled. India's cotton has to find a market out of India. The purchases of Indian cotton by Japan and Lancashire is now connected with our purchase of cotton piece-goods from these countries. By helping the cotton producers, the protection given to the industry is mitigated. On the other hand, unqualified protection may result in a loss of foreign markets for Indian cotton. In order to overcome this dilemma, India should grow finer fabrics at home. A partnership in business between cotton producers and cloth manufacturers is essential so that the interests of the two may increasingly become the same.

In the early days of industrial developments, the Government played a minor part. In more recent times it is being realised that industry left to itself, however efficiently organized and carried on, cannot create or maintain conditions necessary for successful operations. Only Governments can deal with other Governments. To-day, Governments are increasingly regulating and directing trade and industry. The help which the industry needs from the State must thus be ungrudgingly given. The State cannot, at present times, merely sit on the fence in the economic matters.

SOCIALISM AND THE INDIAN IDEAL

[We publish below a reply to "A Thinker's" article on "Socialism and the Indian Ideal" which appeared in the December Annual. In answer to this criticism, the writer of the original article has sent us a rejoinder, with which the correspondence will now close.—Ed. I. R.]

A CRITICISM BY "A SNATAK OF GUJARAT VIDYAPITH"

'A THINKER' in the *Indian Review** has exhaustively dealt with the problem of Socialism in its relation with the 'Indian Ideal' as he calls it and it is necessary to examine his thesis on account of the wider aspects of the question, especially as it agitates the Indian youth, who is attracted and more or less affected by the Marxian thought at this critical juncture. The writer has quoted Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as saying that our immortal civilisation cannot help us greatly in solving the problems of to-day. He has also evidently not liked the statement of political prisoners of Bengal, who have evinced greater interest and faith in the socialist theory. We have, therefore, to examine the thesis of the "Thinker" of the *Indian Review* in light of practical politics of the day also, and we cannot begin but with the observation that it is hardly fair to Socialists in this country to base counter-arguments against their way of thinking on the insecure foundation of ill-digested or one-sided presentation of their case.

The main argument against the Marxian ideal, as developed by the writer, seems to be his aversion to the concomitants of the creed as they emerge in the after-Revolution period and the reactions that the creed will have on the minds of men fed on the 'hymn of hate' as it has oft been of late called by the opponents of Marxism. And it is argued on the basis of the Russian example and the Stalinist terror that is found in the wake of Russian Revolution that such results are inherent in the very nature of things. Then it has also been assumed that Marxist theory takes man to be an economic animal. Be that as it may, we may first ask what is the panacea that is discovered by our noble friend nurtured in the Indian tradition

that is to solve the great evil of the world. He says: "If the privileged classes in India have not the wisdom to see that it is high time for them to give up privileges which are effectively blocking the way of India's progress whatever might have been their value and utility in the past, a revolution will be inevitable; it will come as one of Nature's own methods for the swift realisation of her purpose. (Italics mine.) A more fatalist view of our future it is difficult to find and the picture becomes dark indeed when we recall how the privileged classes in India react to the compromising and moderate measures proposed by the Congress Ministry in the Congress-governed provinces of the country. Look at the latest 'venture' of the landlords to mobilise their forces and start an All-India Federation of Landlords. This is a quantitative approach of this class of population to a qualitative need of change in the obsolete system of landlordism. He who runs may read the signs of the times. It is not in the nature of privileged classes to respond in any other manner. So we have to fall back upon the natural cure method suggested by our friend, the "Thinker". But let us not fight shy of the word 'revolution', as he also says in another place. And what is revolution? It is nothing but another word for the social phenomenon that is evidenced in the social process to arrive at readjustment of social equilibrium. We should not worry if that is called the Nature's own method for the swift realisation of her purpose by those critics who want to hug to their delusion. But this is not all. The critic is thinking of the dangers attendant on revolution as 'it often destroys more than it creates, and Russia itself should serve as a grave warning to us'. The underlying thought here is that the persons believing in the socialist transformation of society necessarily believe in the

Russian model which is emphatically not the case.

"The Marxian theory assumes that man is an economic animal, that the course of history has been determined solely by the operation of economic forces," so says the critic. This is in reality not exactly what the Marxian theory says or propounds. Bukharin, one of the best exponents of Marxism in his book "Historical Materialism" says in effect that though Society has been governed primarily by the labour relations, which are the foundation of social relations, the superstructure of ideologies is no less important. That is to say, we have not to discard the reactions of art and culture on the minds of men. Man is certainly not entirely an economic animal. Marx was not blinded by the mechanisation of the 19th century; he supplied the corrective to the nineteenth century philosophy blinded in the traditions of unrealistic world of ideas. The materialists, as Marxists are wrongly called, saw the world, and on the objective background thus presented called attention to the neglected economic side of human life. Engels, the commentator and colleague of Marx, has over and again stated what really Marx meant by his materialist interpretation of history. This theory of history is a beacon-light to us to light our path to the intricacies of human conduct in relation to society. And it is no wonder, as the critic himself acknowledges, that this theory of society has become a new Bible for millions of people in the world to-day.

And it is a gross misreading of the Marxian concept to say that this theory rules out the individual factor in their contribution to the shaping of human history. A Christ, a Buddha or a Mohammad affected myriads of men. They were the products of their age. They in turn were instrumental in the great changes, which were knocking the door of history. Thus this 'divine' possibility is not denied to human personality. In fact, the one claim of Marxists is their endeavour to find out the divine (if you choose to call it) in the common man who alas is forgotten in this whole episode. And

without him how are we to recreate history? In the inevitable quest for soul, let us not relegate this unknown entity to a dark corner, where light is denied and existence is sordid. That will be poverty of philosophy indeed.

II

Preaching of class hatred is the one accusation against Socialists and they are out of court. It is disdained by Society and prohibited albeit by the State. And to prove that this accusation is well-founded, Marxian quotations are trotted out. 'How can you expect to arrive at the brotherhood of humanity if you start by cultivating hatred in the human heart?' It is palpably absurd and there it is. We in vain and again and again ask who created this hatred? Did the Socialists create it? Who is the culprit? The social structure is responsible for it and this class hatred is deep laid in the social relations which are in themselves created by productive relations. It is, in other words, the problem of conflict of interests which conflict inevitably is reflected in the social struggle of Haves and Have-nots. But say the critics: You socialists are fanning the flame of class hatred. What we want is the soothening of feelings. Here we are reminded of an article of epic interest of Gandhiji: "Conflict of Interests" at the beginning of the *satyagraha* campaign some eight years back. He said there is conflict of interests between England and India, and it can be resolved by India coming into its own. The *satyagraha* movement of 1930 and 1932 followed, and inevitably a lot of hatred for the Satanic rule followed, resulting in commercial safeguards which in effect were there to safeguard the British race in their commercial adventure in this benighted land. So it is with regard to Haves and Have-nots. The class hatred will inevitably show itself to the fore. The British did not see the dormant feelings of the Indians. So also the satiated have not seen the dormant feelings of the hungry. Hatred is not the creed of Socialists. It is their reading. It is their diagnosis of the disease of the Social organism. Socialism does not teach hatred. It only takes note of an

existent fact. Socialists do not hide their face ostrich-like under the sand of History. Marx in his preface to "Das Kapitel" makes a pointed reference to the fact that he has compassion as much for the exploiter as for the exploited, as both are slaves of the Social system which entrails them. It is, in truth, a war against system and not persons. The system which man in their time creates, strangulates when it is obsolete and in course of time when the social equilibrium is gone and antithetic conditions are created in the process of history, the readjustment is effected by the inevitable break-up of the shell of Social structure. This process is not painless. It is like the birth of a child and the mother has to suffer the agonies of creation. The classless society is the synthesis following in the wake of intense class struggle.

We are, of course, prepared to admit that Marxism could be vulgarised by its friends no less than its enemies. And we might also admit the grave dangers attendant on the great struggle through which we may have to pass. There is no denying it that great philosophies are belied by their very followers; sometimes, in the lifetime of its own Prophet. Did not Buddhist cult of Non-violence become the laughing-stock of the world by the stupid followers of Buddha so that it became an easy tool in the hands of its conquerors. And in our own time, the non-violence of Gandhi has alas become a fad with some and a ruse with others. Opportunists and self-seekers are sailing under false colours of Gandhism. The weapon of the strong that non-violence is claimed to be, has become thus vulgarised. So it is with regard to the Marxian thought. The only safeguard is eternal vigilance. The personal aspect in the struggle should be properly interpreted and understood. It is not a quarrel with capitalists or the landlords but capitalism and landlordism. The ideal is elimination of classes and not propagation of class hatred. We want to destroy the one without stressing the other. The socialist movement is founded on, and derives its urge from, the millions of down-trodden masses, whose miseries and woes draw the compassion of the noblest prophet of mankind. It has its roots thus in

the love of the lowly and the lost, and not the derision or the cynicism of the glittering glories of the few. The Iconoclast in Marx is the Shiva the Destroyer, if we may use an Indian analogy.

III

We might briefly say a word about Sanatana Dharma on which "A Thinker" bases a lot of his thesis. And it is not necessary to explain in detail the implications of this basis. The Basic Varnashram, as the writer himself admits, *no longer exists*. (*Italics mine.*) It is wish-fulfilment, as the psychologists would say, to hug the belief that this ancient system could be recreated to suit 'the needs and requirements of modern times'. "A Thinker" further hopes that 'in order that everyone may find work suitable to his nature and capacity, it is necessary that those who have wealth *should* make a proper use of it. Should, certainly. When we are being besieged by the bloodthirstiness of the Money Moloch and in face of the fierce rule of Finance Capital that has invaded the Democracies of the world, it is nothing but foolhardiness to indulge in such '*should*' '*ought to be*'. The law of capital is remorseless. It devours and devours. But let us return to Chaturvanya and its law. And we may immediately observe that no system of society is divorced from the real life at that particular period of history. Man is a social animal and immediately he begins his social life, inevitably a set of rules comes into being. The productive relations are the basic relations in society thus formed, and so it is with ever-increasing complexities of social structure. The system of Chaturvanya is the embodiment of Peasant Proprietor-cum-Feudal Society then in vogue. It has served its purpose. It has had its day and is *not to be*, we will it or no. The millennium, if there was one, is gone never to return. The wheels of history have turned a full circle and are now turning on new foundations of new social structure whose life is again fast ebbing away. This is no doubt a radical change from a semi-feudal age to a fast developing and at times full-blown capitalist structure,

Such radical changes, shall we say revolutionary change-over, develop radical change in the mentality of people affected by it. That is the real key-note of Lenin's reply quoted by our friend the "Thinker". It is only with socialism that there will commence a rapid genuine real mass advance; that is to say, when society finds its new synthesis, then will begin the great psychological revolution that the Society will inevitably need. "Philosophers have merely interpreted the world, the really important thing is to change it," said Marx (which utterance is worthy of a prophet, says our friend the critic), and this change is not external only but change in values.

But then how is it that Russian experiment of twenty years' duration shows degeneracy so disastrous, say our critics. Mr. M. R. Masani, the acting general secretary of the Congress Socialist Party, drew attention of socialists of the world to the undesirable reaction of Soviet Trials on the world Socialist movement in a memorable article recently. It is, he says, a disservice of Socialism to wink at these facts. The Stalinist Bureaucracy is difficult to be differentiated from the Red Tapism of other countries. Admitting all these is not to admit the defeat of Socialism. Look at the facts. What is the Russian character? A great writer on Russia describes what a Russian Peasant is with his propensity to murder and arson. It has been derived from their Tartar Blood, he says. In the pre-Revolution Period, as in fact in all ages in Russia, it was their very characteristic. Add to this, the incidents consequent on the aftermath of Revolution. The Civil War, the Blockade, the War Danger at all times and fallacies attendant on Socialism in one country and you will guess the contradictions that were bound to develop.

IV

Non-violence is on the anvil of history. Gandhiji has posed the wider problem of Non-violence before the bar of world

opinion. Non-violence, as understood lately, was an individual affair, a domestic problem, at best a solution of inter-family quarrels. But Gandhiji has raised this problem to a higher level. It has crossed the bounds of family or caste and creeds and touched the larger struggles; the frontiers are crossed with those of the whole universe. It will be amiss if we do not consider this experience, but it will be equally foolish if we do not try to ascertain the proper value. Marxism showed the necessities of human conduct and beckoned the way. Lenin added his invaluable experience to the teachings of his Master. "Transforming the motives that inspire human conduct," as Dr. Dewey characterises it, is the problem that faces the people after revolutionary overthrow of the present order. Call it Intellectual Revolution or the awakening of the understanding, if you please. But we have no doubt that man has in his search after truth gone from precedent to precedent to a still nobler vision that has gripped his heart, and that vision eliminates all strife, all discord. Thus non-violence is a continual fascination for mankind and socialists do not ignore it. As a Technique of Fight, it is unravelling undreamt of possibilities. The first working class action, what is it? Is it not the effort of a body of men to substitute the law of love for the law of the jungle? Collective Bargaining, what is it? Is it not a peaceful way of settlement of disputes? The strike, what is it? Is it not a more humane manner of fight? The history of Socialism is one long story of a mass of humanity to regain their self with the least amount of war to the knife. The masses have been the torch-bearers of Peace, for their blood is to shed, for they are the cannon fodder. And this latest chapter in history of the Technique of Fight being written by Gandhiji, is their invaluable lesson in their age-long story of agony and despair.



REPLY BY "A THINKER"

A SNATAK of Gujarat Vidyapith has brought the charge against me that I criticised the socialists of our country "on the insecure foundation of ill-digested or one-sided presentation of their case". I sought for a better digested and more correct presentation in his long reply, but in vain. As a matter of fact, I do not find here any clear presentation at all but signs of much irritation and a great confusion of ideas. Is he a Marxist himself? Or is he a Gandhist? It is evident that that our young men who are attracted by the Marxist thought are not thinking very clearly.

He poses to be a Marxist, but gives up the fundamentals of Marxism which consists in the materialistic theory of history, class hatred, violence and the suppression of individual freedom. In another place he holds up the Gandhian ideal, but again ridicules the Chaturvarnya which, so far as I know, constitutes an essential part of the teaching of Mahatma Gandhi. I have nowhere said that the ancient four-fold order of Aryan society out to be or can be restored. I only pointed out the permanent truth which lay at the basis of that great Indian system; it is the principle that every individual should be given the freedom and facilities to find out and develop his or her inborn nature and capacity and to get a place and work in society according to that nature and power. That is the Indian ideal as we find it expounded in the Gita's doctrine of *Swabhava* and *Swadharma*, and I suggested that we should take up the Gita as a better guide for us than the Das Kapital of Marx.

My critic says that socialists do not necessarily believe in the Russian model (that shows that he admits the force of my indictment of the Russian model, and so far the purpose of my article has been served); but he has not said what is actually their model; if there be really such socialists, my article was not directed against them obviously. But there are socialists in India, for example, the Bengal politicians to whom I referred and also Pundit Jawaharlal, who have held Soviet Russia as the beacon-light to be followed by us. They may not like the

extremes to which Stalin is going, but they hold up Russia as the only country which is experimenting successfully with the fundamentals of Marxism. I need not enter here into a defence of my presentation of Marxism and Communism, which my critic has done well. I only mention here that I have not said anything more than what is being said on the subject by great thinkers like Bertrand Russel, himself a socialist and a communist in his own way. Bertrand Russel, himself a socialist and a communist in his own way. Bertrand Russel speaks of Marx as being "systematic like Hegel, full of hard intellectual content, appealing to historic necessity, suggesting a view of human beings as puppets in the grip of omnipotent material forces. Marx has taught that communism is fatally predestined to come about". (The italics are mine.) He says about the Russian revolution: "The ultimate source of the whole train of evils lies in the Bolshevik outlook on life, in its dogmatism of hatred and its belief that human nature can be completely transformed by force." From a first-hand knowledge of conditions in Russia, he speaks of the Russian people as being "maddened into universal hatred". Conflicts of interests do not by themselves (as my critic says) create hatred, as social institutions are results of an evolutionary process and people get accustomed to them, and, also, they are often taught to accept them as the right order of things. It is for this reason that Marxists have taken it as their creed to preach class hatred and thus prepare and educate the masses for violence. My critic speaks of strikes and other humane manner of fight in the long history of Socialism. That shows the depth of his ignorance about the Marxists; they adopt all these methods to educate the masses in strife and violence. Stalin thus speaks of the strategy and tactics of the socialist revolutionary: "A revolutionist may sponsor a reform because he sees in it a means for linking up constitutional action with unconstitutional action, because he feels he can make use of it as a screen behind which he can strengthen his clandestine work, whose aim is to educate and prepare the masses for the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeoisie."—*Leninism*. "The deliverance

of the oppressed class is impossible," says Lenin, "without a forcible revolution." My critic himself says in another place: "It is not in the nature of privileged classes to respond in any other manner." So he also admits the creed of hatred and violence when he is in other mood! But I do not. Violence may be necessary under certain conditions, but it is not inevitable and can be avoided. The privileged classes do respond, as they have done in England, Japan, and other countries where feudal landlordism has been abolished without a violent revolution. "To make the transition with a minimum of bloodshed, with a maximum of preservation of whatever has value in our existing civilisation" is possible, if our friends, the socialists, cease to sing the hymn of hate and to take Soviet Russia as their model. Let them ponder over what Marx said apostrophising the workers: "You will have to go through fifteen, twenty, fifty years of civil wars and international wars, not only in order to change external conditions, but also in order to change yourselves and in order to fit yourselves for the exercise of political power." This has been quoted with approval by Stalin in his famous book on "Leninism". Let our young men accept Marxism with their eyes open and not as ostrich's.

The Indians peacefully developed religious communes, village communes, trade guilds and the joint-family system long before Marx was born. Thus communism is in the blood of the Indians and it was based on a spiritual view of life as distinguished from the materialistic. These ancient forms of communes have become obsolete, but they have rich lessons for us which we should not neglect in our mad pursuit of alien ideals. A radical change in the social and economic organisation of mankind has become imperative, and some sort of communism seems to be necessary. "Regarded as a splendid attempt without which ultimate success would have been very improbable, Bolshevism deserves the gratitude and admiration of all the progressive part of mankind." But for that "ultimate success" we must proceed with a more integral knowledge of human nature and human affairs, and build on a firmer and deeper

basis; and the spiritual heritage of India can best furnish us with these essentials of eventual success.

I have said in my article that those who have wealth should make a proper use of it. The critic regards it as nothing but foolhardiness to indulge in such "should" and "ought to be". That at once shows that he has not in the least understood my thesis. My contention is that in order to bring about a radical change and a real improvement in human life it is necessary to change the inner man, his nature and mentality. The Marxists, on the other hand, do not believe that human nature can ever change essentially; whatever change in the mentality is necessary will follow the socialistic organisation of the means of production, and they advocate a violent revolution as an indispensable means for bringing about this socialism. I regard all changes in the external political and economic institutions as subsidiary; the essential thing necessary is to change human nature, and this can be accomplished only by a great spiritual movement; and India, by her long and great spiritual tradition, is best fitted to give a lead to the world in this crowning movement. That is a fundamental difference in the point of view, and the snatuk of the Gujarat Vidyapith, deep as he is in Western ideas, has not been able to appreciate it at all.

He says that it is a gross misreading of the Marxist concept to say that it rules out the individual factor. Well, the individual in Marxism has the same place as the slaves had in ancient society. They were fed and clothed and looked after so that they might be of service to their master. But they could not own property, even their wives and children as well as their body and soul belonged to their master. The only difference is that in Marxism the slave-owner is not an individual person but the state, the society, the collectivity. The very term "socialism" implies that it makes society and the collectivity the supreme entity at whose altar the individual must immolate itself. By their theory, their requirement of equality, they are precluded from giving

liberty to the individual; for individuals differ greatly in power and capacity, and if they are given liberty they tend to aggrandise themselves at the expense of others who are weaker or less fortunate. That is the vicious circle in which humanity is moving, and cannot advance a step farther towards the shining goals of liberty, equality, fraternity. If you lay stress on individuality, you cannot have equality, if you lay stress on collectivity, as the socialists are doing, you cannot have liberty; to give equal value both to the individual and the collectivity, and thus to realise equality and liberty simultaneously, humanity must rise to a higher spiritual level, must live in the self, in the spirit in which all men are identified and not in the narrow ego which falsely separates one from another. The planets do not come into clash with each other as each keeps to its own path following a universal law and order; so the individual in a spiritualised society will follow a divine order in following

its own nature, *swadharma*, and there will be no conflict but universal harmony. The individual will have the fullest liberty to follow his own way and to develop his possibilities to the utmost; but as he will realise his spiritual identity with others, he will not feel himself perfect unless others also reach the same perfection. There is one universal Reality of which all individuals and all social aggregates are different forms and powers, one Narayan is manifesting himself in the *vyasti* as well as in the *samaasti*; the true relation between the individual and the society can be found only in an organisation based on this spiritual conception. That is a state of things which has not yet been realised anywhere, but that is the ultimate spiritual goal towards which humanity has been advancing or rather groping through all its experiments and blunders; and all political, economic and social movements must be judged by their power to take us nearer to that highest perfection of human life on the earth.

GANDHI SUTRAS

BY DR. C. KUNHAN RAJA, M.A., PH.D.

THIS is a little book of about 150 pages,* which is a worthy addition to the many valuable handbooks that the author has contributed in the field of Hinduism, small works dealing with the Bhagavad Gita, the Upanishads and Hinduism in general. These books have helped the modern Hindus to have a clear insight into some of the profound doctrines of Hinduism and have also evoked a sense of pride in the hearts of the modern young Hindus about their ancient religion.

His former contributions have been more or less of the nature of interpretations in the light of modern thought and to satisfy modern needs of ancient works. The present work is an original one—original in matter, original in method and original in conception. Based on the ancient model of the Sutras in Vedanta

and Mimamsa, Prof. Sarma has constructed a new set of Sutras interpreting and condensing the doctrine of the great saint of modern world, Mahatma Gandhi. The saints of ancient India—the great seers of ancient India—have presented their doctrines in the form of the Brahmanas and the Upanishads belonging to the Vedic literature. The Sutras of Mimamsa and of Vedanta condense these doctrines.

Mahatma Gandhi is a saint and seer of the modern world. His doctrines are presented in the various articles and the various speeches he has contributed. Prof. Sarma has made a careful study of these articles and these speeches, analysed them and selected the fundamentals from them. The fundamental points dealt with in the speeches and writings are now expressed in the form of very short sentences, a form of expression very common in Sanskrit literature and known as the Sutra style. He gives an English

*The Gandhi Sutras by Prof. D. S. Sarma, M.A.
G. S. Press, Madras. (G. A. Natesan & Co. Re. 1-8.)

translation of it; and then follows apt quotations from the writings of Mahatma Gandhi, giving the particular doctrine of which the Sutra is a condensation.

The entire work is divided into three sections called chapters and contains 108 Sutras, a very holy number for the Hindus. "The first chapter gives general principles, the second deals with Satyagraha, and the third with non-co-operation and civil disobedience."

Professor Sarma's command of the Sanskrit language is something of which any Sanskrit scholar can be proud, as is evidenced by the masterly way in which he writes the Sutras. There is no pedantry, no attempt at artificial effects of style. The language is simple and to the point and absolutely flawless. In the right ancient style he begins the work : *aitha navayugadharma vyakhyasyamah* (we now proceed to expound the Dharma of the new age); *dharma syaiva sanatanasya navollekhhah* (it is only a new interpretation of the ancient Dharma). Then he proceeds to the subject-matter. I now quote some of the Sutras to show the general nature of the book. *Mananiyah khalu krishivalah* (honour the ploughman). This is the 41st Sutra and belongs to the first chapter. Then there are three quotations where Mahatma Gandhi has spoken about the point. They are from the *Young India* of April 17th, 1924, and May 21st, 1925, and from the *Harijan* of April 4th, 1936. The immediately following Sutra is *avaskaravahas cha* (and also the scavengers). This Sutra is followed by a small quotation from the *Harijan* of June 8, 1936, and from the *Young India* of April 27th, 1921. Then there is also a quotation from the *Harijan* of November 28th, 1936.

It is not everybody who will have the facility to read through the contributions of the great Mahatma and to understand his teachings. The present work is a great help to such persons who have a genuine desire to understand the essence of his teachings. This is for the living generation. In the case of posterity, the service rendered by Professor Sarma is something whose value cannot be over-estimated. We all know that but

for the Vedanta Sutras and the commentaries on them, we cannot have a real grasp of the doctrines contained in the Upanishads. Similarly, unless some such attempt is made to select the fundamentals from the utterances of the great saint and to present those fundamentals in an orderly form, the posterity will not be able to have a consistent idea of the real doctrine of the great saint. The utterances are made on various occasions on a multiplicity of topics. They do not appear in print in an orderly sequence arranged in subjects. Further certain statements may have only a value for the time being. Other statements may have a lasting value. At a later time one is likely to confuse between what is of a temporary value and what is eternal and also to confound the two. In our own times people are confounding between the principles of the great saint and his policies, between his goal and his paths, between his end and his means. A great teacher's principles, the final end he has in view, the goal to which he is looking forward are eternal, unshakable, and unchangeable according to the changing environments. But his policy, the paths that he shows, the means that he adopts may vary according to varying conditions of the times. It is a great thing that even during the lifetime of the great saint, Prof. Sarma saw the wisdom of distinguishing between the two sets and that he has discriminated between the two. He has collected his great principles and brought them into the form of a small book.

The circumstances that necessitated the compilation of the Vedanta Sutras are exactly similar to what prompted Prof. Sarma to undertake this work, and this work bears the same relation to the writings and speeches of Mahatma Gandhi which the Vedanta Sutras bear to the great Upanishads. Now we speak of the six Darsanas of the Hindus. There are other Darsanas also and the great Madhavacharya has in one of his works written a brief exposition of sixteen Darsanas. I am sure that at some future time, a great author will think of including this work among the Darsanas of the Hindus.

Congress Presidential Election and After

MR. SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE has been re-elected President of the Indian National Congress by a majority of 208 votes over his rival Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, the veteran Andhra Leader and the official historian of the Congress.

Mr. Bose shares with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru the honour of being President of the Congress for two successive years.

It is difficult to say what was the deciding factor that brought about Mr. Bose's success. Dr. Pattabhi, as the seven members of the Working Committee pointed out in their statement, is one of the oldest members of the Working Committee, has had a long and unbroken record of public service and is quite fitted for the post of President of the Congress.

But the main task before the electorates was probably befogged by other issues—the fight against Federation and the struggle between the Rightists and Leftists, which have no particular relevancy to the issue on hand. For it must be remembered the whole Congress is committed to the Haripura resolution against the Government of India scheme of Federation, and there is no going back upon it without the sanction of the Congress as a whole. Such big issues are not to be decided by party organizations, particularly as the Congress claims to represent the whole country and not this section or that.

GANDHIJI'S STATEMENT

The developments following Mr. Bose's election to the Presidentship call for serious attention; Mr. Gandhi's description of Mr. Bose's victory as his own defeat is frankly disconcerting. The issue was not placed before the electorates in that light, and it is profitless to discuss what the verdict would have been if only they were sufficiently cognisant of the implications involved as subsequently revealed in Gandhiji's statement.

That apart, the statement itself is unexceptionable in its interpretation of the principles that should guide the future policy of the Congress. In his (Mr. Bose's) opinion, says the Mahatma, his is the most forward and boldest policy and programme. The minority can only wish it all success. If they cannot keep pace with it, they

must come out of the Congress. If they can, they will add strength to the majority. The minority may not obstruct on any account. They must abstain, when they cannot co-operate. I must remind all Congressmen that those who being Congress-minded remain outside it by design, represent it most. Those, therefore, who feel uncomfortable in being in the Congress, may come out, not in a spirit of ill-will, but with the deliberate purpose of rendering more effective service.

"I am nothing," says the Mahatma, "if I do not represent definite principles and policy." Yes; he is more than that; and his personality is the one dynamic force that will count amidst the chaos of conflicting parties and interests. With the instinct of a true democrat, he is willing to give a chance to rival programmes and policy, only reserving to himself the right to continue his own way leaving a free hand to those of another way of thinking.

In this he is uniformly consistent. For as early as October last, he enunciated the same principle of tolerance in unequivocal terms:

It is up to those who do not believe in the fundamental policy of the Congress seriously to consider whether they would not serve the Congress and the country better by remaining outside the Congress and converting the people to their view of conducting the campaign rather than by remaining within and obstructing those who do not see eye to eye with them and yet are in the unfortunate position of having the majority on their side. It is equally the duty of the majority to consider how best to deal with those who will resort to obstructive tactics. My opinion based on experience is that if, after a friendly discussion with the obstructionists (if the use of that word is permissible to describe them), it is found that they believe it to be their duty to continue obstruction, it would conduce to the good of the country to hand over the reins to the minority and themselves follow the existing Congress programme without using the Congress name. All this can succeed beyond expectations if it is done without huff, without malice, without bitterness, and merely to meet a situation that is becoming impossible.

It may be questioned whether such a situation has arisen, whether it is wise to cry halt to the good work that the Parliamentary Wing of the Congress is doing in the country, and whether it is after all in the best interests of the country to go back to the wilderness from which the country has emerged after years of painful and patient labour. These are

large issues on which no single party should be allowed to decide. Now that the country is fully aware of all the implications, it must be left to the full Session of the Tripura Congress to make its choice. We believe, like the *Statesman*, that Mr. Bose realises that good many voters of the Right, which he recognises as the majority, have made him the gesture for which he asked, and that they have done so with the hope that he, like Pandit Nehru, will reciprocate. They do not want a revolution in the Congress or further splits in any already too disintegrating India.

THE RESIGNATIONS

It was hoped that the meeting of the Congress Working Committee at Wardha, on February 22, would set all matters at rest by giving a final decision on the much-controverted question of the "Right" participating with the "Left" in Mr. Subhas Bose's new Cabinet. But the absence of Mr. Bose, owing to illness and his request to postpone the meeting to the Congress week, coupled with the Mahatma's advice to leave a free hand to the new President, ultimately prevailed. The net result of the Wardha discussions was that all the members of the Working Committee, except the President and Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose, numbering 18, withdrew from the Congress Executive.

Mr. Nehru had at first hoped to bring about a compromise between the Right Wingers and Mr. Bose. But the discussions that he had with Gandhiji had convinced him that the gulf was unbridgeable. Fundamental principles were involved in the issue and there could be no meeting-ground between Gandhiji and Mr. Bose. Therefore the resignation of the Right Wing was inevitable.

So far as Mr. Nehru personally was concerned, the Congress President had not accepted his advice to express regret publicly and withdraw the unfounded charges that he had made against his colleagues on the Working Committee on the eve of the Presidential election. No wonder, therefore, that Pandit Nehru, too, has come to the inevitable conclusion that he could not sail with Mr. Bose and continue to assist him by serving on the Working Committee after the Right Wing members had withdrawn from the Committee.

Mr. Bose had been making much of the difference in ideologies between the "Right" and the "Left". His colleagues who do not see eye to eye with him, have taken him at his word and rightly got out of his Cabinet to give him a free hand to shape his policy and carry out his own programme. But beyond brave words, there does not seem to be either a clear-cut plan or a practical programme before the Party which Mr. Bose professes to lead.

As we go to press, Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose has accepted the resignations tendered by the thirteen members of the Congress Working Committee, including Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. As a consequence of this, the Congress Parliamentary Sub-Committee stands dissolved and Mr. J. P. Kripalani ceases to be the General Secretary of the All-India Congress Committee.

Taking into consideration all the circumstances leading to the election of Mr. Bose, one cannot help thinking that Mr. Bose has broken the time-honoured convention when he refused to stand aside even though requested by almost all his colleagues in his Cabinet and reinforced by a personal appeal from Jawaharlal himself. Mr. Bose has hardly done justice to himself or to his old colleagues in his Cabinet when he has not had the fairness to withdraw the implied insinuations in his public statement that there is a prospect of a compromise on the Federal scheme between the Right Wing and the British Government during the coming year.

Mr. Bose, though requested several times, is yet to tell his colleagues publicly what his own ideologies are as distinguished from those of his colleagues. One would surely have expected that after the conference he had (subsequent to his election) with friends of his way of thinking that Mr. Bose would announce a definite programme. Before his election he was the spokesman of the Leftists, but after the election he tells the public that he will make no material departure from previous tradition and practice. It would be idle to conceal the fact that there is a feeling of nervousness about the future prospects of the country under the stewardship of Mr. Bose.

INDIAN AFFAIRS

BY "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

The Late Sir Sayaji Rao Gaekwar

ONLY three years ago, in commenting on the celebrations in connection with the Diamond Jubilee of H. H. Sir Sayaji Rao, Gaekwar of Baroda, it was observed in these pages that it was mainly due to his personal initiative and his resource and tact Baroda is to-day one of the most progressive of Indian States, second to none in importance or repute.

It is now our melancholy duty to record the death of this illustrious doyen among Indian Princes. Sir Sayaji Rao Gaekwar shares with the late Queen Victoria the distinction of an unprecedentedly long reign accompanied by a uniform measure of prosperity for the people over whom they were destined to rule. Under the guidance of a succession of able Dewans, Baroda has had the benefit of an efficient system of administration, keenly sensitive to the wants and aspirations of its people. The material and moral progress achieved during the three score years of Sir Sayaji's reign makes a record of which any modern State might be proud.

Provincial Autonomy and the Centre

The Premier of Madras did well to explain to the Assembly the nature of the "uncertainty" of which he had made vague references in his recent speeches. The uncertainty, he confessed, was with regard to political changes in the country.

The uncertainty as to the part which the States should play and the fact that the Provincial Governments under the Government of India Act find it hard and must find it hard to function with the irresponsible Centre should have made my points fairly clear.

Of course, it is not possible to take the public into confidence at every stage of the discussion between the Central and Provincial Governments. But he made it clear that all is not smooth sailing and the incompatibility between a Provincial Government responsible to the electorates and an utterly irresponsible overlordship at the centre is becoming more and more evident. "I claim," said the Prime Minister, that the Secretary of State is as thoroughly irresponsible as the Central Government so far as we are concerned and it is impossible for the provincial government, however peace-loving it may be, to function under these conditions with an irresponsible overlordship.

States and Paramountcy

Events in Rajkot and Jaipur are threatening to develop into an All-India crisis. The arrests of Mrs. Gandhi and Miss Patel in Rajkot, and of Seth Jamnmal Baiji in Jaipur, have precipitated the crisis. And Mahatma Gandhi, who, in his search "in search of peace," has repeatedly warned the Government of the consequences of what he calls "organised goondism" in the States and has appealed to the Viceroy to intercede.

It is significant that the *Statesman*, in a leading article, advocates the appointment of a small Committee consisting of a Political Officer, a representative for the Durbars and one for the Praja Mandal or other representative of the people's organisation to review the position throughout Orissa States and similar Committee for Kathiawar. In Rajputana, the paper suggests, the Rulers themselves should take the initiative in organizing a Constitutional Confederacy. Referring to the numerous small States which are really no more than small estates, our contemporary observes that

there are many Rulers who are a disgrace to the Pfincely order, but they continue to be a disgrace. Nothing is done about it. Like the Permanent Settlement, they are supposed to go on for ever. Now if anything is certain, it is that nothing can last for ever. If the Treaties which protect petty tyrants are never to be revised, if the Paramount Power is for ever to have an obligation of honour to defend the indefensible, then some day an irresistible force will encounter an irremovable object and, according to the classic answer, to this problem, something will go to smithereens. We have had in Europe, of late, sufficient examples of what happens when treaties are not revised. The whole fabric of public law will be undermined. Revolution, disorder, a unilateral denunciation, forcing acceptance or war are certain in the end. The Paramount Power cannot for ever hold the ring between a rapidly progressing British India, which may resolve to liberate its kinsmen over the border, and a small State and its tyrannous ruler.

Regarding the Paramount Power, the paper adds that it is paramount and cannot remain an idle spectator.

The essential thing is that some means should at once be found of calling a halt to the growing disorder and of providing a real and not a sham remedy with all speed.

Kenya : "An Imperial Scandal"

At last we have the text of the Order-in-Council regarding the Kenya Highlands. The issue has been hanging fire for months past and it is common knowledge that both the Government of India and the Kenya Indians have put up a brave, persistent fight against iniquitous discrimination against Indians. The *Communiqué* accompanying the Order attempts to comfort us with the interpretation that the danger that what is now an administrative practice would become a statutory prohibition has thus been averted.

But it is really no comfort, for

His Majesty's Government have made it clear that there is no intention of changing the administrative practice which has been followed for many years with regard to alienation and transfer of land in the Highlands.

That is to say, only Europeans would be entitled to acquire by grant or transfer agricultural land in the Highlands. And these Europeans need not even be British subjects! Jewish refugees and people of foreign nationalities but of European descent are to be preferred to loyal British Indian subjects, who have helped to make the Colony what it is! Could there be a more palpable instance of Imperial scandal? The Government of India record their profound disappointment at this decision. Not until this insult to India is rectified, will public opinion in this country be satisfied.

An Anglo-Indian Protest

Mr. C. E. Gibbon, President of the Anglo-Indian Civil Liberties Union (All-India), presiding over a public meeting in Calcutta, to discuss the provisions of the Bengal Finance Bill (1939) and the Calcutta Municipal (Amendment) Bill, observed :

We members of the Anglo-Indian community who recognise the fact that we are the sons of the soil, will not tolerate any traitors or moral cowards within our ranks. We too stand for the independence of our motherland and we too are ready to give battle when the time comes. It is, therefore, the duty of every national Anglo-Indian, Hindu and Muslim citizen of this city of ours to raise his voice in protest against such a completely reactionary Ministry; for there is no doubt about it that they have entered into a pact with the Europeans for the reason that they are incapable of ruling themselves.

The Late Lord Brabourne

The death of H. E. Lord Brabourne, Governor of Bengal, after a brief illness, has cut off in the prime of life a brilliant career. As Governor of Bombay, he distinguished himself so well by his sympathy and tact that he was rewarded with a further tenure of Governorship in Bengal in succession to Sir John Anderson. Lord Brabourne, it will be remembered, acted for the Viceroy during the latter's sojourn in England. During all the critical years of office in Bombay and Bengal, he proved himself an able and trusted servant of the Crown. India, too, has lost in him a sympathetic and sincere friend.

Lord Brabourne was, by all accounts, one of the most lovable of men and a gallant personality. Pathetic interest attaches to his last act of devotion to duty. It is revealed that when it was necessary to perform an operation on Lord Brabourne, His Excellency received advice from England to fly home. He declined to do so, however, owing to the impending Ministerial crisis. The sympathy of the whole country goes out to his wife and children in their deep bereavement.

Prohibition in Bombay

While Madras has led the way in Prohibition, Bombay has made giant strides in the experiment. For the Hon. Mr. Latthi's Budget is essentially a Prohibition Budget, and the Finance Member has definitely promised to complete the Prohibition programme by 1940-41. Replying to a recent deputation of the liquor trade in Bombay, the Hon. Mr. Kher, the Prime Minister, reiterated the Government's firm determination to eradicate the drink evil. He would not mind the cost. We would prefer "a poorer India than an India of night clubs and drunkards". The Congress made no secret of its aims with regard to Prohibition. The Premier added that he was aware of the many difficulties in the execution of the programme such as bootlegging and smuggling, but nevertheless the Government would go ahead with its programme.

Segregation of Indians in South Africa

Recent reports from South Africa confirm the opinion in this country that the position of Indians over there is becoming more and more hazardous. In response to persistent anti-Indian agitation, the Minister of the Interior in the Union Government has undertaken to sponsor a Segregation Bill. Far from implementing the Feetham recommendations, the South African Government are bent on introducing "legislation for the purpose of restricting the rights of Indians to acquire immovable property". The Segregation Bill is, in fact, an ingenious attempt to give the local authorities power to declare any area "an European area" if a fixed percentage of residents petitioned to the Government requesting such a declaration. It is obvious that the creation of European areas will make effective the segregation of Indians by a supposedly European segregation.

"The proposal is a serious attack on Indians," says the Secretary of the South African Indian Congress, Mr. Abdulla Kajee. It would appear that all groups and politicians are determined to exploit the colour question on every conceivable occasion. "The present circumstance," as Mr. Kajee declared, "calls for firm opposition from the Government of India so as not to allow her children to be driven from pillar to post."

India and Burma

India cannot be expected to sympathise with Dr. Ba Maw and his Cabinet, who have been compelled to resign. They have proved themselves thoroughly incompetent to handle the situation during the recent riots. The resignation of the Ministry is a sequel to the no-confidence motion passed by both Houses of the Legislature.

In this connection, it will be remembered that the Indian Legislative Assembly passed without a division Sir A. H. Ghuznavi's motion for the adjournment of the House to discuss the recrudescence of anti-Indian rioting in Burma, the looting of Indian shops, the burning of an Indian cotton mill at Monywa and the failure of the Government of India to secure the safety of life and property of Indians in Burma.

The significance of the motion it is impossible to exaggerate.

The States' People's Demands

It is hardly possible that the ferment in British India should leave the neighbouring Indian States untouched. And for some time past there has been a great awakening among the States' people, whose demand for full responsible government has become persistent and well-nigh irresistible. The more sagacious among the Princes recognise the inevitability of the situation and have, of late, attempted to help their people to line up with their British Indian neighbours. The recent Conference of the States' people at Ludhiana, presided over by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, passed a resolution which is couched in persuasive terms, but there is in it an unmistakable note of warning. The Resolution runs:

This Conference feels that the Indian States system is completely out of date, semi-feudal and an obstruction to the progress and advancement of the people. Autocracy as embodied in the system has long ceased to exist in every part of the world, and the progress made by the rest of India demands the liquidation of the Indian States system. The close association of this system with British Imperialism involves a danger to all people of India, and in the interest of the whole of India it is urgently necessary to put an end to this association and to make vital changes in the system. These changes must necessarily be in the form of responsible government. This Conference desires to point out to all the Rulers of the States that the establishment of responsible government in the States is not only in keeping with the spirit of the times and the natural aspirations of their people, but also provides for them a position of influence and dignity above contention and strife. It is, therefore, to their interest to issue unequivocal declarations of their decision to establish full responsible government and immediately to bring up the system of the administration to a level with that prevailing in the provinces. Attempts to delay this inevitable development are likely to lead to grave and disastrous consequences, and the Conference appeals to the Princes to avoid these perils by lining themselves with their people.

Extension of Prohibition in Madras

North Arcot in the Madras Presidency is to be included in the Prohibition area from October next, and the cost of this extension is computed at Rs. 18½ lakhs during the year. North Arcot would be the fourth district going dry in the Presidency, and the total loss of Excise income sustained by the Provincial Government on account of Prohibition in all the four districts together would be at least Rs. 66 lakhs a year.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

BY "CHRONICLER"

Pope Pius XI

THE death of the Pope, though at the great age of 82, has evoked universal regret. It has been deeply mourned not only by the 400 million Catholics throughout the world, but by the millions of non-Catholics as well; for he was the most outstanding figure in public affairs for more than a decade and a half. His reign, as has been said, coincided with one of the stormiest periods of the world's history and was crowded with events of momentous importance, not only to the Catholic church, but also to the entire human race.

A scholar and a statesman, his brilliant encyclicals, touching some of the burning questions of the day, gripped the attention of the world, while the concordats and agreements which he concluded with many Powers, Catholic and non-Catholic, won him universal respect and admiration and paved the way for a better understanding between the Church and the State in the countries concerned.

America's Foreign Policy

President Roosevelt described as "a deliberate lie" the report that he told the Senate Military Committee that "the American frontier was in France or on the Rhine". Addressing a Press Conference, President Roosevelt gave a four-point summary of American foreign policy as follows:—

Firstly, the United States is against entangling alliances;

Secondly, it favours the maintenance of world trade for everybody;

Thirdly, it is in complete sympathy with any and every effort to reduce or limit armaments; and

Fourthly, as a nation, the United States is in sympathy with peaceful maintenance of the political, economic and social independence of all nations in the world.

President Roosevelt emphasised that the foreign policy of the United States had not changed and would not change. It had been deliberately misrepresented by some members of the Congress and some newspaper-owners.

French Recognition of Franco

A definite move to recognise the Government of General Francisco Franco, Spanish Nationalist Leader, is being taken in France. M. Edouard Daladier, Prime Minister, has urged the Council of Ministers to decide in favour of recognition. Replying to criticisms of his statement, M. Daladier said:

The security of our third frontier has been mentioned. On all the 600 kilometers of this frontier, France is in contact with the Government of General Franco. That is why I consider that the French Government should have neighbourly relations with the real Government of Spain, which are now that of General Franco.

In the course of his speech, M. Daladier revealed that British envoys to Spain were unable to find sufficient unanimity among the members of the Republican Government to negotiate on the question of an armistice.

The Arab Delegates' Case.

The Arab Higher Committee delegates have presented their demands to the London Palestine Conference.

Briefly, their demands are:—

First, recognition of Palestine's complete independence;

Secondly, replacement of the Mandate by a Treaty;

Thirdly, the abolition of the Balfour Declaration;

Fourthly, the immediate cessation of Jewish immigration and land sales.

The question of a possible confederacy has also engaged attention, but it is felt this subject could be best broached after the signature of a treaty with Britain.

The Supreme Council of China

A National Defence Supreme Council has been formed to direct military and political affairs. It is noteworthy it includes none of the Communist leaders.

A Standing Committee of eleven, headed by Marshal Chiang Kai-shek, includes Premier Kung and three members of the Executive Committee of the Kuomintang.

Spain

Republican resistance to General Franco has practically collapsed and public attention is now directed to negotiations concerning the terms of peace in which both Britain and France are taking an active part. The Republicans are expected to surrender if an assurance is forthcoming from Franco that there would be no reprisals by Francoites against their enemies. Francoites say that those against whom evidence of "blood-guilt" has been established must be court-martialled.

Scotland Yard Disclosures

Sensational revelations have been made following the bomb outrages in two London tube stations. Scotland Yard discoveries disclose the existence of a well-planned attempt to terrorise the British Government. It is stated that one of the documents seized shows that the men behind the movement proposed to bomb Buckingham Palace and Windsor Castle. Elaborate police precautions are being taken. The outrages are generally attributed to the Irish Republican Army.

The Soviet and Hungary

M. Litvinov has informed the Hungarian Minister that the Soviet Government has decided to sever diplomatic relations with Hungary owing to the German pressure on Hungarian affairs and Hungary's adhesion to the Anti-Comintern Pact.

The San Francisco Exhibition

"The ugly truculence of autocracy" was denounced by President Roosevelt, declaring open by wireless San Francisco's 10 million-pound Golden Gate International Exhibition on February 18.

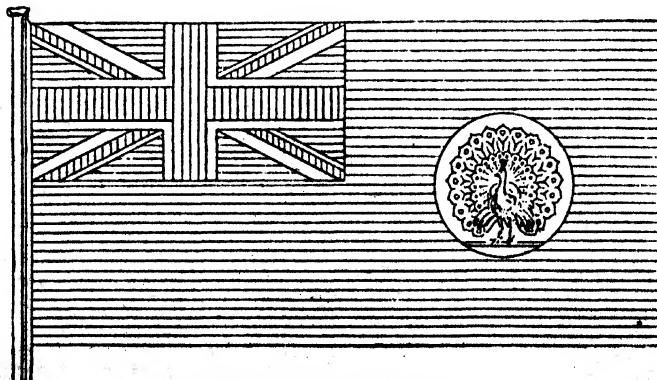
The nations on the American Continent by setting an example of international solidarity, mutual trust and mutual helpfulness might keep faith alive in the hearts of the anxious and troubled humanity and at the same time lift democracy high above the ugly truculence of autocracy.

Opening immediately afterwards another exhibition at Tampa, in Florida, President Roosevelt outlined the American foreign policy thus:

We desire by every legitimate means to promote freedom of trade, travel and exchange of cultural ideas among the nations. We seek no territorial expansion; we are not covetous of our neighbours; we shall co-operate in every proposal honestly put forward to limit armaments. We abhor any appeal of force except for repulse of aggression, but we say to all the world that in the Western hemisphere, the institutions of democracy and government with the consent of the governed must and shall be maintained.

Japanese Assurance

Japan has assured the United States, through the American Ambassador at Tokyo, that she has "no territorial ambitions in China," and that the occupation of Hainan Island will not go beyond military necessities.



THE NEW BURMA FLAG

LITTLE STEEL. By Upton Sinclair.
T. Werner Laurie Ltd., London. 7sh. 6d.

Old Quyale is a steel magnate. A firm of "industrial counsellors" get at him and poison his mind by representing that a subversive "Red" movement is spreading in his own town and that he should initiate, as the only alternative to revolution, vast measures of amelioration and recreation for his workmen. Quyale's daughter, however, is a socialist, and having secretly married a young reporter, imbued with similar ideas, she exerts her influence in favour of the workmen. There is a strike, vividly described, giving one a cinematographic view of the underhand measures adopted by the "bosses" to put down the workmen and the network of administrative and judicial corruption that makes such measures possible. Quyale's daughter, now, definitely against her father, goes away with her husband to Georgia as a socialist worker. Meanwhile a neighbouring steel magnate, working through the "industrial counsellor" tries to buy up Quyale's plant and Quyale himself makes up his mind to sell his stock. His other children, brought up in idle luxury, are dismayed at the prospect of a diminution of their income and make arrangements to have him certified as of unsound mind. Quyale escapes with the help of a boyhood friend. This part of the book dealing with the adventures of these two, an itinerant mechanic and a disillusioned millionaire steel magnate, in a motor van, is pleasant reading; for here, unusually with Mr. Sinclair, he ceases to be a prophet and becomes a story teller. The final meeting of the father and daughter in Georgia is merely touched upon and leaves one, from the point of view of drama, frustrated.

THE SOUTHERN INDIA DIRECTORY 1939.
Edited by T. Sivagnanam and K. Srinivas.
Shivaji Publications, Trichinopoly. (G. A. Natesan & Co. Rs. 5.)

THE MADRAS STATES AND MYSORE DIRECTORY, 1938. Edited by T. M. Satchit.
The Pearl Press, Cochin.

As books of reference for businessmen, each of these is valuable in its own way. The first is more than a Directory in that it contains a wealth of information relating to the educational, commercial and industrial prospects of Southern India, with a complete trade list of important cities in the whole country. A welcome feature is the "Who's Who" of persons who count in the public life of the Province, with their portraits.

The fact that the Madras States' Directory is issuing its twelfth edition is evidence of the public appreciation of its value as a book of reference. All the main features that have made the publication popular are retained, while the sections are enlarged and brought up to date with copious information.

THROUGH CONGRESS EYES. By Rastrapati Subhas Chandra Bose. Kitabistan, Allahabad. Rs. 2-8-0.

The volume under review is a collection of speeches and writings of President Subhas (to be had of G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras). Most of the essays here, with the exception of the Presidential address, are reprinted from the *Modern Review* and the *Orient* of Calcutta, and the *Contemporary Review* of Lahore. There is a unity of mind that is all its own. The views expressed here are the reactions of a mind that has suffered a great deal at the hands of the relentless British Government. The spirit of the essays is the patriotism of a fire-eating Nationalist.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—:O:—

THE WARDHA SCHEME OF EDUCATION. By C. J. Varkey. Humphry Milford, Oxford University Press, Bombay and Madras.

OUR LADY: A Story. By Upton Sinclair. T. Werner Laurie Ltd., London.

BY TENT AND CAMP FIRE. By "Outspan". Arthur Stockerell & Co., London.

DASAN'S ATMANUBHAVAM 1st Part. By Guha Das. S. V. Natesraja Iyer, Sengalipuram P. O., Tanjore District.

CHALLENGE OF THE EAST. By Dorothy Hogg. S. P. C. K., London.

WHAT NEXT, BABY? A play in 3 acts. By A. G. Macdonell. Macmillan & Co., Ltd. London.

THE CATTLE WEALTH OF INDIA. By E. V. S. Maniam. Patt & Company, Cawnpore.

RETHINKING CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA: A Symposium. Published by A. N. Sudarisanam, 8, Beracah Road, Kilpauk. Available of G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Rs. 2.8.

FOR NECESSARY ACTION: SPEECHES AND JUDGMENTS OF SIR DOUGLAS YOUNG. Edited by Shri Ram and V. M. Kulkarni, Indian Cases Ltd., Lahore.

PRACTICAL REJUVENATION IN MEN AND WOMEN. By Dr. K. V. Mathew, Trivandrum.

WITH THE SWAMI IN AMERICA: A Western disciple. Adwaita Ashrama, Calcutta. As. 12.

WHAT BRITISH PEOPLE OUGHT TO KNOW. By Sir S. Radhakrishnan, D.Litt. Reprinted from the *Indian World*, Bombay.

ELEMENTS OF THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION. By B. P. Adarker, M.A. (Cantab). Swastik Publishing House, Bombay.

WHITHER WOMAN? A critical study of the Social Life and Thought of the Western Woman. By Y. M. Rage, M.A., LL.B. The Popular Book Depot, Bombay.

THE BROTHERHOOD OF RELIGIONS. By Sophia Wadia. International Book House, Bombay.

GAUTAMA BUDDHA. By Sir S. Radhakrishnan. Humphrey Milford, Amen House, London, E.C.

A CATECHISM OF ENQUIRY. Being a Translation of the original instructions of Bhagavan Sri Ramana Maharshi. Sri Ramanasramam, Tiruvannamalai.

A CATECHISM OF INSTRUCTION: Being a Translation of the original Instructions of Bhagavan Sri Ramana Maharshi. Sri Ramanasramam, Tiruvannamalai.

AN IDEAL KING. By S. A. A. Tilhari. Published by Muayyedul Uloom Association, Madrasatul Waizeen, Lucknow.

NECESSITY OF EDUCATIONAL MUSEUMS. Published by J. C. Basak. 363 Upper Chitpur Road, Calcutta.

A DISCOURSE ON BHAGAVAD GITA. By Harkishen Das, M.A. Published by K. C. Malhantra, G.F. Model Town, Lahore.

THE SCIENCE OF THE SELF. By Bhagavan Das. The Indian Book Shop, Benares.

HOW THEY DID IT: LIFE STORIES. (1) General Franco, (2) DeValera, (3) Neville Chamberlain, (4) Charles B. Cochran, (5) Joe Louis, (6) Field Marshal Goering, (7) Ex-President Benes, (8) Herr Hitler. Pallas Publishing Co., Ltd., London. 1sh. each.

THE MODERN CLASS BOOK OF ENGLISH HISTORY. BOOK V. VICTORIA AND MODERN TIMES. By E. J. S. Ley. With a Prefatory Note by Prof. F. J. C. Hearnshaw. Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London.

LUCID MOMENTS. By V. R. M. Chettiar, B.A. Arthur H. Stockwell Ltd., London.

LIFE'S FANTASIA: A Miscellany of Poems. By Ram Avray Misra. Kitabistan, Allahabad.

WHO IS NOT A COMMUNIST. By M. R. Raju. Elliots Road, Mylapore.

CATALOGUE OF THE LIBRARY OF INDIA OFFICE. (Sanskrit Books.) Vol. II, Part I. By Prana Natha M.A., and Jitendra Birnala Chaudhuri. His Majesty's Stationery Office, London. Price £1 3sh.

PLAIN PEOPLE: Short Stories. By Kathleen Norris. John Murray, London.

VICTORY. By Rajendra Somzarayen. Surat City Printing Press, Near Ghanta Bridge, Surat.

DISTRICT DEVELOPMENT SCHEME. By Sir M. Visvesvaraya. The Bangalore Press, Bangalore City.

THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM IN HYDERABAD STATE. 138. Medows Street, Fort, Bombay.

INTERNATIONAL TRADE AND FOREIGN TRADE OF INDIA. By N. K. Kathia. Bangalore Printing Press, Bangalore.

ELEMENTS OF FOREIGN EXCHANGE. By N. K. Kathia. Bangalore Printing Press, Bangalore.

THE GARLAND: A SONNET OFFERING. By Susi P. David. Basel Mission Press, Mangalore.

THE GOLDEN JUBILEE BOOK OF THE DAYARAM JETHMAL SIND COLLEGE, KARACHI. Edited by Prof. L. H. Ajwani. Educational Printing Press, Karachi.

NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION. By Chandra Chakravarty. Vijaya Krishna Brothers, 31, Vivekananda Road, Calcutta.

SOCIAL REFORM ANNUAL 1939. Edited by P. S. Bakshie, B.A., LL.B., Advocate, High Court, Bombay.

GRINDLAY'S PASSAGE HANDBOOK 1939. Grindlay & Co. Ltd. Post Box No. 98, Bombay.

THE FUNDAMENTALITY OF BEINGS. By M. M. Hassan, Nindur E. P., Ceylon.

A CLASS BOOK OF ELEMENTARY MATHEMATICS FOR HIGH SCHOOLS Vols. I and II. By B. S. Yagnarama Ayyar, M.A., LT. The Scholar Press, Palghat.

INDIAN STATES

Jaipur and Rajkot

GANDHIJI ON CONGRESS POLICY

The policy of non-intervention by the Congress in the States would be an act of cowardice when there was all-round awakening in the people of the States, declared Gandhiji in an interview to *The Times of India* at Bardoli. Replying to a question, Mahatma Gandhi said :

If the action of the Jaipur authorities precipitates a first-class crisis, it is impossible for the Indian National Congress and, therefore, all India, to stand by and look on with indifference whilst Jamnalalji, for no offence whatsoever, is imprisoned and members of the Praja Mandal are dealt with likewise. The Congress will be neglecting its duty if having power, it shrank from using it and allowed the spirit of the people of Jaipur to be crushed for want of support from the Congress. This is the sense in which I have said that the example of Jaipur or, say, Rajkot might easily lead to an all-India crisis.

The policy of non-intervention by the Congress was, in my opinion, a perfect piece of statesmanship when the people of the States were not awakened. That policy would be cowardice when there is all-round awakening among the people of States and a determination to go through a long course of suffering for the vindication of their just rights. If once this is recognised, the struggle for liberty, wherever it takes place, is the struggle of all India. Whenever the Congress thinks it can usefully intervene, it must intervene.

PANDIT NEHRU'S WARNING

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has sounded a note of warning that if the struggle is prolonged in Rajkot and Jaipur, the British Indian people cannot remain idle spectators.

The whole country was watching anxiously the awakening in the Indian States and the determination of the people there to shake off the slavery of the 125 years. India could not achieve independence unless the nation had political consciousness.

The Indian States' rulers exercised absolute powers, barring control of war and political department, and it was the British policy not to allow the growth of any popular movement in States, as they wanted to keep their hold and interest intact there. Whenever the States' people demanded civil liberties and responsible government, the movement was falsely characterised as communal so that they could suppress it easily. These rulers were independent in name only and had to obey the dictates of the Political Department, and popular movements were at present being crushed by armed forces.

A new theory of independence in States had been advanced in recent years, and it had been advanced by the very power that held them in an iron grip and kept them in subjection. Neither history nor constitutional law gave any justification for this, and if they examined the origin of these States, most of their rulers would be reduced to the status of feudal barons.

After tracing the history of the State movements in Rajkot, Jaipur, Orissa States, Hyderabad and Kashmir, and how efforts were made there to crush them, Pandit Nehru said that

Gandhiji was like a political thermometer and there could not be a better judge to find the nation's temperature. Gandhiji had repeatedly warned the British Government and their agents in India of the far-reaching consequence of this conflict.

It was manifestly impossible for the conflict to be confined to particular States, and for the Congress at the same time to carry on provincial administrations involving a measure of co-operation with the British authorities. If there was this major conflict, then its effects would spread to the remotest corners of India, and the question would no longer be limited to this State or that, but of complete elimination of the British power.

Mysore

mysore administration

A general and all-round improvement in the administration of Mysore State during the year ended June 30, 1938, despite the unrest in the political atmosphere which characterised this period, is recorded in the Administration Report of the Government of Mysore.

The expenditure on Education was Rs. 52.7 lakhs. The scheme to vernacularise high school education was completed with the extension of the Vernacular as the medium of instruction in Science subjects. All non-language subjects are now taught in Kannada. A scheme of vocational middle schools was sanctioned and experimental work commenced in two centres.

The strength of the Mysore University pupils was 8,167. Of them 252 were women students. Inclusive of the Government grant of Rs. 10,70,416, the income of the University was Rs. 12,51,980.

Hyderabad

SATYAGRAHA IN HYDERABAD

The opinion that the Satyagraha campaign in Hyderabad was inopportune, was expressed at the States' Peoples' Conference, which concluded at Ludhiana on Feb. 17, after passing a number of resolutions.

The resolution on Hyderabad was adopted after incorporating Muasht Ahmed Din's amendment that the Conference was of opinion that the Satyagraha movement in Hyderabad, started with the object of getting religious disabilities removed, was inopportune, as it tended to have communal repercussions and gave a pretext to the State to suppress the movement for responsible government under cover of communalism.

EDUCATIONAL COLONY

An Educational Co-operative Colony has been opened under the auspices of the Co-operative Department.

The chief feature of this Colony is that it aims, not only at schooling the boys in the ordinary sense of the term, but in training them for some practical work which will ultimately enable them to make a living from what they have learnt at the Colony.

Cochin

COCHIN AND FEDERATION

Sir B. K. Shanmukham Chettiar, Dewan of Cochin, replying to the toast of H. H. the Maharaja of Cochin proposed by Sir P. S. Sivaswami Ayyar at the State Banquet at Ernakulam on January 80 observed:

"The fate of Indian Federation is on the lap of the gods. But whether Federation comes or not, I might say here and now that so far as the Ruler of Cochin is concerned, we will always be prepared to work in co-operation with the people of British India and other Indian States in evolving the political destiny of this country."

Baroda

BARODA IN MOURNING

Baroda was plunged in sorrow on February 7, when thousands of his late Highness' subjects gathered near the railway station precincts, when the special train from Bombay carrying the body of the Gaekwar drew alongside in the morning.

The body was taken to the Luxmi Vilas Palace where it lay in State. Townsmen and villagers from the interior flocked past to have a last look at His Late Highness.

Shrimant Yuvaraj Pratapsingh Gaekwar has been proclaimed as the successor. His Highness held a durbar in the afternoon. Court mourning is being observed for three months.

NATIONAL PLANNING

The Government of Baroda have offered their co-operation to the All-India National Planning Commission and have expressed their willingness to place at its disposal the services of any of their officers if needed.

Benares

MAHARAJA'S PROCLAMATION

"I have no intention of unnecessarily delaying the fulfilment of the reasonable aspirations of my subjects," says the Maharaja of Benares in the course of a Proclamation made known recently throughout the State through district authorities, town committee and *mukhias*. No Durbar could be held due to the indifferent health of His Highness.

The Proclamation announces the appointment of a Committee under the chairmanship of Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha of Patna for exploring the avenues of further progress in the State.

The Committee is expected to meet in the first week of March and will submit its report at an early date, after which the New Constitution will be announced.

Travancore

NEW HALL FOR LEGISLATURE

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar, Dewan of Travancore, opened the new buildings intended to house both Houses of the Legislature in the State at Trivandrum, on February 8.

The Legislative Sessions were usually held in the Victoria Jubilee Town Hall. From the time the Assembly was reconstituted at the time of the present Maharaja's investiture, it was found very difficult to provide suitable accommodation for the increased number of members in both Houses of the Legislature. It was, therefore, decided to construct a new building with sufficient accommodation and on up-to-date lines.

The new building consists of a Council and Assembly Hall 99½ ft. long, 54½ ft. broad, a main staircase hall 54½ ft. x 26½ ft. a dais for the President, the Dewan's retiring rooms and cloak room.

The foundation-stone of the building was laid by His Excellency Lord Willingdon, the then Viceroy of India, on December 12, 1938.

THE MAHARAJA'S STATUE

The pleasant function of laying the foundation-stone of the pedestal for a statue of H. H. the Maharaja of Travancore in commemoration of the historic temple-entry proclamation, issued by His Highness in 1936, was performed at the grounds of the Iron Villa in the Fort area by H. H. the Maharaja of Bikaner, on January 26.

The function was attended by nearly 5,000 invitees, denors, Government officials, Judges of the High Court, Members of the Bar, prominent businessmen and many leading Nambudiris.

Kashmir

KASHMIR REFORMS

A measure of constitutional reforms is announced by His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir in a Proclamation issued on February 11.

The elective seats in the Praja Sabha (the State Legislative Assembly) are increased from 38 to 40 seats and the non-elective seats are reduced from 42 to 35.

Provision is made for a Deputy President to be elected by the Members.

While the Council of Ministers will continue to be responsible for the administration of the State, it is proposed to have Praja Sabha Under-Secretaries attached to the Ministers so that the administration may be run with the co-operation of representative public opinion as expressed by the Praja Sabha.

In future, proposals of the Councillor for appropriation of revenues and monies for expenditure on votable items will be submitted in the form of demands which may be assented to or refused by the Sabha.

Bhopal

BHOPAL REFORMS

On the occasion of H. H. the Nawab's birthday in January last, the following reforms were announced by the Durbar.

Firstly, two more elected seats have been added to the Legislative Council from the Bhopal City and Sehore Cantonment.

Secondly, the strength of the Municipal Board of Bhopal has been increased by five more elected seats.

Thirdly, under the Municipal Act of the Government of Bhopal, a Municipal Board for local administration, consisting of five nominated and five elected members, has been created. The Chairman will be nominated by the Government from members of the Board.

INDIANS OVERSEAS

South Africa

TRANSVAAL INDIANS

A plea for justice and fair treatment to the Indian Community is made in a leader in the *Johannesburg Star*, a leading daily of Transvaal. The paper says:

"To-day close on 70 per cent. of the Indians in this province are Transvaal-born.—No others can enter here from outside. Yet there remains an insatiable determination on the part of a section of the European community to harass and repress this minority.

The Congress Memorandum not only furnishes refutation of the charges which led to the Commission being appointed. It asks—as it is entitled to ask—that the Commission will recommend the repeal of such legislation as discriminates against the use, occupation or ownership of land by Indians, and it invites the Commission to report that there has been no penetration or intrusion by Indians into European areas. This plea should not go unheard. The fundamental question is not whether the Indian trader comes into occasional commercial conflict with the European. It is a deeper issue than that. We have closed the door on any Indian immigration into the Transvaal. We have withheld from a minority of people—far too few ever to be a political or social challenge to our order—any part whatsoever in the making of the laws they have to obey. We have segregated them from any residential contact with our own people. Is this not security enough against any peril they might once have constituted? Or are they now to be penalised in advance for evasions of the law they are not yet committing but which our unnatural restraint on their legitimate enterprises might very well provoke?"

Fiji

INDIANS IN FIJI

On his way back from Australia, Pandit Kunzru visited several places in the Far East including Fiji and the Straits Settlements, studying various problems affecting Indian residents there.

In an interview with a representative of the *Statesman*, Mr. Kunzru said that Indians in Fiji, who formed 48 per cent. of the population, were at present concerned with renewal of leases of agricultural lands held by them from the Government or from Fijian Chiefs, which were about to expire. The education of their children was in a more backward condition than that of the Fijian children, and the community felt its political inferiority in more ways than one.

The organization of labour, which has a vital bearing on the future of Indians in Fiji, Mr. Kunzru observed,

is virtually impossible at present, as both the labourer under contract who absents himself from work, and the man who induces him to do so, can be punished with fine and imprisonment.

The Indian community keenly desires that an agent of the Government of India should be appointed in Fiji, and strongly feels that the absence of such an officer is a handicap to its effort to raise its position both socially and politically. The question has already been placed before the Governor of Fiji. It is a matter of cardinal importance which should receive the immediate attention of the Government of India. Owing to the distance of Fiji from India, an Agent of the Government of India is even more pressing there than in Ceylon or the Malaya States.

Considering the class of Indians that have emigrated to Fiji, the progress they have made there is a tribute to their self-reliance and enterprise and reflects great credit on their motherland. But they have arrived at a stage when questions relating to their future require very serious consideration. The status of Indians in Fiji would virtually determine the status of Indians in the Pacific.

Malaya

MALAYA INDIANS' MEMORANDUM

No emigration of Indian labour to Malaya without a guarantee of citizenship rights to them, and rights both of entry and citizenship to Indians of non-labouring classes, is the gist of the demands made by Messrs. S. M. Sharma and L. R. Chandran, the representatives of the Central Indian Association, Malaya. The process of sending shiploads of labourers to Malaya when the rubber industry is in need of labour, and shipping them back to India when there is no further need, has done immense harm to the country, they declare.

INDO MALAYAN NEGOTIATIONS

Members of the Standing Emigration Committee were informed at a meeting held on February 8, at New Delhi, that the Government of India had come to the conclusion that negotiations with the Malayan Delegation could not usefully be continued any longer. The Committee is reported to have approved the action of the Government of India.

Zanzibar

ZANZIBAR INDIAN ASSOCIATION

The news of Sardar Patel's visit to East Africa along with H. H. the Aga Khan has been received with jubilation abroad. The Zanzibar Indian Association has cabled to the *Associated Press of India* as follows

"Along with the whole of East Africa and Zanzibar, we Indians are greatly enthused over the news of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel's forthcoming visit, which we heartily welcome. We earnestly hope that Zanzibar will be included in the itinerary in order to take the opportunity to review the working of the Clove Agreement, with particular reference to the recent Government preference to two European and Java firms."

Jamaica

INDIANS IN JAMAICA

Disappointment with the Indians' working and living conditions in Jamaica was expressed by Mr. J. D. Tyson.

Mr. Tyson is investigating the economic conditions of Indians in the British West Indies.

The East Indian National Union presented him with an address asking for free homeward passages for all destitute and disabled Indians, grant of lands to immigrants who fulfilled indenture obligations and who continued their residence without claiming a proportion of the passage money to which they were entitled in respect of their return to India, and a money grant in lieu of land grant.

The address also requested the appointment of an officer with powers of the defunct office of the Protector of Immigrants.

Mr. Tyson, replying to the address, hoped to prepare the way for something being done. He whole heartedly sympathized with the request for a Protector.

As regards repatriation, he said that those who were poor would find great hardship if they returned to India. It was better if they could make a living in Jamaica.

Tanganyika

MR. PATEL'S VISIT TO TANGANYIKA

In a special cable to *The Daily Herald*, Gandhiji says that Sardar Patel may accompany H. H. the Aga Khan on his visit to Tanganyika. The object of the visit is purely to study the condition of the Indian community there. He does not confirm the earlier Press reports that Mr. Patel will organise the Indians to agitate against the return of former German colonies to the Reich.

TOPICS From PERIODICALS

INDUSTRIAL PLANNING IN INDIA

To exploit fully a country's resources and thus secure the maximum national gain, a definite co-ordinated scheme of economic activities is necessary which should be controlled by a central authority. Is such a scheme, or in technical terms a 'national plan', possible in India at present on the lines adopted by Russia, Germany, Italy, and America? Mr. S. P. Saksena considers this important problem in the January issue of the *Twentieth Century*.

The four important national plans—the Soviet plan, the Nazi plan, the Italian plan, and the Roosevelt plan are all essentially different in their outlook, method, and objective, though their common aim is attaining the best for their country. Says Mr. Prasad Saksena:

"The Soviet plan was based on the idea of a total reconstruction or revolution of the entire economic organism—the methods of production and distribution—in Russia with a view to increase the total material wealth in the country and to insure general prosperity for all citizens to a more or less equal degree. It was a plan of an all-round economic development under peace-time conditions directed towards the welfare and the happiness of the toiling masses. The Nazi plan was a scheme of production guided by the theory of economic self-sufficiency and promoted by the ideal of economic nationalism of a military state. The whole plan was based on war-time economy—the production of the weapons of destruction and defence, and the security of war supplies, e.g., cloth, food, chemicals and the raw materials. The Italian plan was modelled on similar lines with minor alterations according to the exigencies

of the situation. The American plan was to regulate the distribution of national dividend between the various factors of production. The industrial codes of Roosevelt lead to the fulfilment of the desire to limit the profit motive in industries, to effect a more equitable adjustment of national income and in general to subordinate individual interests to the needs of the vast majority of the people."

Any such plan presupposes three things:

1. A complete knowledge of the resources, demands, services, possibilities and extent of State help and the present stage of production and industrial organisation.
2. A complete control of the planning authority over all factors of production.
3. An absolute control of the fiscal policy of the State.

Mr. Saksena feels that to talk of any effective planning at this juncture is premature, as none of the above-mentioned conditions is present in India. He finds necessary a general plan for the country as a whole, and a second plan—a partial plan—for the provinces which would provide a base for the All-India plan. Considering the existing conditions, the Gandhian plan, he says, holds out the best prospects and possibilities of success. The merits of the Gandhian cottage and village industries scheme are:

"(1) It can be put into operation immediately under the provincial governments. (2) It would enrich the large mass of poor cultivators and thus increase the purchasing power. (3) It can be the basis of any future plan, including even the Soviet plan."

RESPONSIBLE GOVT. IN STATES

Writing on the above subject in the February number of the *New Review*, Mr. A. Appadurai points out the relative position of the States and the Paramount Power in respect of the State-people's demand for responsible Government. In States like Mysore where there is a clause in the treaty requiring the consent of the Paramount Power for any change in the administration,

"it is obvious that the consultation of that Power is obligatory. But even elsewhere, legal obligation apart, prudence dictates that it is best for the Ruler to consult the Paramount Power, at least to forestall difficulties which might subsequently arise. There is another advantage: the Paramount Power is in a position to advise from the vantage-ground of a wider experience in other States as well.

Secondly, the Ruler cannot consistently with his obligation to the Paramount Power concede by a unilateral act full responsible government. He must reserve to himself certain special responsibilities somewhat analogous to the special responsibilities of the Governor and the Governor-General. The removal of this limitation can only be by a joint act of the Ruler and the Paramount Power."

Three considerations are likely to weigh with the Paramount Power in tendering advice with reference to full or partial responsible government:

"The most important is that the Paramount Power must have adequate guarantees from the new authorities for the fulfilment of the obligations due to it. The criterion of adequacy must necessarily depend upon the circumstances of each State. Another consideration is that owing to its duty of maintaining the rights of the Ruler, the Paramount Power cannot countenance any attempt at eliminating him. And the third is that the Paramount Power is admittedly bound to prevent misrule and disorder in the States, in the interests both of the States and of all India."

It may be argued that in the long run the best preventive of misrule and the most effective guarantee of adequate government is the adoption of responsible government.

Whether the States can act against the advice of the Paramount Power is at best an academic question. In practice, the writer points out, it can hardly be doubted that the States will have no option but to accept the advice.

SCIENCE AND RELIGION

If religion means dogma, creed or communalism, then surely science is antagonistic to them. All sorts of superstitions and supernaturalism are denied by science. But as Huxley has said: "True religion and true science are but twin sisters." Einstein believes that it is the study of science alone which makes one truly religious, says Mr. A. Ganguli in *Calcutta Review*.

The religion which science teaches is cosmological and not communal. The marvels of the microscopic world within an atom or a spermatoza amazes the student of science.

Again, the study of the great cosmos with billions of stars of magnitude equal to or greater than that of the sun, this earth of ours being a mere speck in the Universe, teaches us humility.

The love of truth which science infuses is the highest form of ethics. It is this cosmic religion which will bring about a better understanding between man and man and end the senseless squabbles of communalism and class war. As Bertrand Russel has said, the two things which can bring salvation are love and knowledge, and scientific knowledge will surely play an important role in the evolution of a better world.

• "THE MARTIAL CLASS"

Writing on the Government of India's classification as martial and non-martial class for recruitment to the Indian Army, the *Modern Review* editorially comments as follows:—

"In the Indian section of the army in India, Sipahis belonging to the Punjab and N. W. F. Province and the Gurkhas have been the predominant element for many decades past. Owing to the British policy, an impression has been allowed to grow up that they are the only martial people in India and that they alone can fight.

But the greater portion of the British empire in India was acquired with the help of Sipahis of other provinces and those parts of India which at present are wrongly considered to be the only nurseries of soldiers were conquered by Indian men belonging to those other parts of India which are at present wrongly considered to be inhabited by non-martial people."

The real truth is that all parts of India can produce both privates and officers. In the course of his inquiries in France, Dr. B. S. Moonje found that many French military officers were sons of grocers, bank clerks, etc., and that the parentage of some is unknown, they having been brought up in orphanages.

"Changes have taken place in the Government of the several Provinces. Similar changes are rapidly taking place in the Indian States. When the Federation will be established, quite radical changes will take place in the Constitution of the Government of India. Under the circumstances, the Indian Army cannot remain in its composition what it is to-day, that is, practically a monopoly of the Punjab and the N. W. F. Province.

The autonomous Provinces will have to be represented in the army according to the proportion of their population. Recruitment for the army will have to be thrown open to the Indian States also. This cannot be done unless the artificial distinction of martial and non-martial class is done away with."

THE ECONOMICS OF PEACE

Mr. Richard B. Gregg, discussing the economic basis for world peace, observes in the course of an article in the *Aryan Path*:

"To end unemployment and to build up social satisfaction in work, I see no reform so hopeful as the revival of handicraft work of all kinds carried on mainly in small groups among the unemployed and the intellectually or spiritually alienated.

Of special importance are hand-spinning and hand-weaving, because the product is a necessity, the spinning tools can easily be transported and brought to group meetings, the work is easily learned, can be done by all ages and kinds of people at all seasons and at almost any time of the day." This is, of course, Mahatma Gandhi's proposal.

Continuing, he writes:

"To those who protest that to take to handicrafts means the abandonment of that immensely fruitful industrial principle of division of labour, I would answer that the invention of automatic machinery has already caused the discard of that principle over wide industrial areas and that discard is steadily and rapidly proceeding, nor does this proposal mean for society the abandonment of machinery. But to those whom machine industrialism under financial control has robbed of self-respect, work, satisfaction in work and a happy and stable social life, the exercise of handicrafts in groups will restore that which was taken away, will provide durable standard of living, will give poise and significance to life. It will build democracy and help to heal the existing dangerous ill-feelings in society."

BEST LINGUA FRANCA

How Hindustani helps to a great extent as *lingua franca* for the Indians abroad is described by Rev. C. F. Andrews in the *Harjan*.

In addition to the familiar language which may be spoken at home, he says, there is only one *lingua franca* which, in different forms and many corruptions, holds its place with English as a common medium. This may rightly be called Hindustani, if that name may be used for a speech which no one would recognise as pure Hindi or pure Urdu, though both languages have gone to compose it. The corruption has chiefly been caused by the introduction of *pidgin* English (a mixture of corrupt English and foreign words as to serve as a sort of *lingua franca*). Such was the state of things when I first visited Fiji. Owing a great deal to the efforts of the Arya Samaj, the Hindustani that is now learnt is simple and grammatical.

In British Guiana and Trinidad, the basic language has been Hindi; for, the vast proportion of settlers have come from the U. P. and are Hindus. There are very few from South India; therefore the question of finding a common language hardly arises. In the schools of Trinidad, the Hindi language has been far better taught than in British Guiana where the mother-tongue of the children has been terribly neglected. It has often seemed to me, from my own practical experience in the different colonies, that the one where new teachers sent from India were most needed was British Guiana. I would specially urge that some Indian women teachers should find their way out, whose mother-tongue was Hindi.

PHILANTHROPIIC CENTRES

Writing under the caption 'Agriculture and Industry', *Industrial India* observes:

It seems very plain from the economic, political and social view-point that industry must co-operate with agriculture.

Businessmen, landlords and industrial magnates must be sympathetic to the legislative needs of the agriculturists and they must not oppose every programme put forth by Congress leaders and Ministers.

Secondly, industry must co-operate in the decentralisation of manufacturing a process that will greatly aid the advancement of agriculture. It will be beneficial both to industry and agriculture.

Thirdly, industry must be of some assistance in the decentralisation of philanthropy. The great cities of the country are filled with museums, institutions of learning and hospitals—almost all of them are gifts of public-spirited men. It may be wiser and better for the country if more of such gifts are applied to betterment in the rural and small town areas of the country.

A great Congress leader has expressed an opinion that it might be wiser to halt the endowments of universities located in some of the great cities and spend a large portion of this money in locating educative institutions in rural parts and small towns.

Fourthly, there must be co-operation between agriculture and science. If through science, agriculture can broaden its market and place progressing industries side by side with agriculture, a very great step forward will have been accomplished.

'IF CHRIST CAME TO-DAY'

Every one has a conception of Christ and His Mission on earth, even those who do not propose Christianity. Suppose He came on earth, what reception would be accorded to Him by the millions who call themselves Christians, asks Swami Paramananda in the *Message of the East*. What would be His reaction to a world feverishly engaged in preparation for war—and what a war! Bursting bombs, poison gas and wholesale destruction of defenceless men, women and children! If He came to-day and found these existing conditions, would He give up His dream of peace-making as an impractical visionary idea and surrender to the inevitable?

"At the time Christ came on earth, He was considered by many as a revolutionary and a radical—one who was unwilling to accept any compromise or to adopt any half way measures. His aim was to establish a kingdom of love and peace on earth. He was not interested in starting organizations or establishing churches. His mission was rather that of giving expression to great truths and inspiring men to put them into practice by the force of His own radiant example. Perhaps we would again hear Him say: "I am come not to destroy but to fulfil." It is far from likely that He would rise up against the advancement of science; that he would condemn inventive genius or that He would abolish the comforts and conveniences which the scientists and inventors have provided for common usage. He might even use them for the furtherance and the fulfilment of His mission. Someone once asked me: "If Christ were on earth, would He ride in an automobile?" Of course He would—if He saw it would help Him save time and enable Him to cover greater distances in carrying out His mission of love and compassion. All master-spirits have practical minds. Christ and other great spirits might even use the airplane if it helped them to speed their

cause of mercy and service. A Christ would have no quarrel with the outer things of life but rather with the motives of men who make ill use of great inventions for purposes of revenge or for selfish gratification of greed for gain. A Christ would be willing to accept progress but He would also try to inspire men with the idea that the force of love and tolerance is greater than all other forces."

The most outstanding contribution of Christ to the time in which He lived was that He became a vivid example of the great spiritual truths, which the people were able to quote but which they had not demonstrated in their times.

"Christ was the embodiment of the Truth He taught. He not only talked about the Light, He was the Light; and to be a light and an example to men is the greatest contribution possible. This it is which differentiates Christ and Christlike beings from the rank and file of humanity."

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FUNDAMENTALS OF ARYAN CULTURE

In the course of a paper published in the *Indian World* for February, the Hon. Mr. K. M. Munshi explains the essentials of Aryan culture as distinguished from other cultures. The first essential feature of Aryan culture is

"family life dominated by strong patriarchal traditions and, as its corollary, imposing strict regard for feminine virtue which would preserve in name the purity of the race, but in substance the purity of culture.

To this normal institution created by social evolution, Aryan culture has contributed special significance. It lays down:

(a) that the father's supremacy has to be maintained not only by respect but by emotional worship of all male forefathers traced right up to a Vedic or Puranic semi-divine person, and by an identity of interest between three consecutive generations of male descendants; and

(b) that the mother's (*i.e.*, the wife's) identity with the father (*i.e.*, the husband) has to be absolute and inalienable.

In many ancient countries, Rome and Greece, for instance, the first idea was accepted. But in India, both these ideas have been worked into rituals, ceremonies, beliefs and laws."

The next essential feature is a conception of society as made up of an inalienable interdependence of classes of men divided according to their functions, that is, "(a) the creative, the intellectual and the idealistic classes; (b) the organisational and protective classes; (c) the classes producing and distributing wealth; (d) the classes which render essential services to society. This organisation of society was conceived irrespective of territorial limits. Every man was held to have been born with *Svadharma*, a word connoting both aptitude and function.

This was the idea of *Varnasrama*, but it was more than this. The four castes were interdependent components of one harmonious whole. Society was conceived as an association of four castes for the maintenance of social order as inspired and controlled by *Dharma*."

The third essential of this culture was an unwavering faith in Aryavarta, the holy land of the Aryans, leavened by an abiding veneration for those who lived

and died so that Aryavarta may live one, indivisible and eternal.

"A keen sense of historic continuity has been preserved through a belief in the *Vedas* as the ultimate source of all inspiration, giving to all races of every origin and period a conscious unit of life and history.

This value is achieved by associating Aryavarta with *Samskrita* which, according to Aryan values is not merely a language perfect in structure and classic in expression with a rich, varied and beautiful literary achievement. It is the living embodiment of the cultural ideals of the race an Aryavarta in verse and prose of undying beauty woven into the mind and life of every cultured home."

THE JEWISH PROBLEM

"Palestine belongs to the Arabs in the same sense as England belongs to the English. It is wrong and inhuman to impose the Jews on the Arabs," declares Mahatma Gandhi, writing in the *The Church of England Newspaper*

Referring to the cry for a "National Home" for Jews, he asks: "Why should they not, like other peoples on earth, make that country their home where they are born and earn a livelihood?"

Referring to the persecution in Germany, Gandhi says:

"The tyrants of old never went so mad as Herr Hitler seems to have gone."

Regarding the Jews in Germany, he writes:

"I am convinced that if someone with courage and vision can arise among them to lead them in non-violent action, the winter of their despair can in the twinkling of an eye be turned into a summer of hope. And what has today become a degrading man-hunt can be turned into a calm and determined stand offered by unarmed men and women, possessing the strength of suffering given to them by Jehovah. It will then be a truly religious resistance offered against the godless fury of a dehumanised man."

THE FOUR PATHS OF YOGA

"In India, aspirants who take to spiritual life seriously are expected to follow one or the other of the Yogas," writes *Vedanta Kesari* on Sri Ramakrishna's teachings.

The original meaning of the word 'Yoga' is union. In application to spiritual life it means union with God, and the several Yogas may be described as the ways of union with the Divine. They are generally described as four in number: Jnana Yoga or the way of knowledge; Raja Yoga or the way of psychic control; Bhakti Yoga or the way of love; and Karma Yoga or the way of work.

While all the four of these have their own distinctiveness and can be described as separate paths, the general tendency is to reduce them to two: the way of knowledge and the way of love. The reason for this is not far to seek. For, Raja Yoga deals mainly with the technique of concentration, and concentration being essential for every path, Raja Yoga can be easily incorporated with any of them.

Kama Yoga too can be interpreted as the ethical discipline of the different paths.

In the master's teachings also this tendency is in evidence. For example, one of the important and, perhaps, the unique feature of Raja Yoga is the control of breath with a view to suspend it completely as an aid to concentration.

According to the Master, this state of suspension, technically known as Kumbheka, comes naturally when the clamourings of the mind are hushed. It is also attained through Bhakti Yoga; for, when the mind is filled with intense love of God, the breath gets suspended.

As for concentration and meditation, these the Master recommends to all who take seriously to spiritual life.

THE JUDICIARY

The separation of Judiciary from the Executive is not advisable, argues a writer in *Triveni*.

The High Courts, he points out, are not in any way amenable to executive influence. If the executive should abandon its control of the subordinate judiciary, which is all it can now control, it would be relegating them to the complete control of a body judicial no doubt but which is not constituted by the people, the members of which are not necessarily appointed by a Cabinet subject to popular control, nor even in theory removable by the Legislature, and the jurisdiction, of which cannot altogether be altered by popular vote. Even the procedure it has to follow, or the laws it has to administer, are not completely subject to provincial control.

In the absence of a check over the Judiciary, why should a popular Executive and through it the people themselves give up their limited control over the subordinate judiciary? Even as it is, the High Court has, under the Act, extensive powers of superintendence and control over the subordinate courts. The people would then be surrendering something valuable which the new Act has given them.

In theory, and if the Electorate is sensible in practice, we need have no dread of the Executive any longer. There is no scope for the application of pure and strictly theoretical constitutional principles to the relations *inter se* of a judiciary and an executive such as we now have.

THE PRESS IN INDIA

The history of the press since its birth in the early eighties of the eighteenth century to the outbreak of the Mutiny for nearly 80 years has been one of chequered existence. Mr. Ram Nihore Chaturvedi in the December issue of the *Journal of Indian History* makes an analysis of the period under review.

1780-1818. The press was subject to preventive rather than punitive measures and rigorous Government supervision and control were exercised over it.

1818-1823. The censorship was abolished, Government control relaxed and prohibitory regulations issued throwing much more responsibility upon the editors and printers.

1823-1828. The stringent regulations were restored and the press was stifled.

1828-1835. The road towards the freedom of the press.

1835-1857. Complete freedom of the press and the heyday of its prosperity.

During the early days the papers generally "teemed with the scurrility of the worst kind and there was little real vitality in them". Lord Wellesley subjected the press to rigorous supervision to suppress libellous and politically offensive matters. Thus the condition of the press throughout the reign of Minto remained miserable. Lord Hastings, a man of some liberal views with an idea of effecting reforms removed the restrictions from the press, which act was received with appreciation by the public. This freedom was short-lived, and Sir Thomas Munro, in 1828, concluded that the Native press was dangerous in the highest degree to the existence of the British in India. The Editor of the *Calcutta Journal*, Mr. Buckingham, availed himself of the partiality shown to the British Press and commented freely on the public measures with a great boldness. So bold was his comment on an appointment to a well-paid office that he received an

order to leave India for ever "in consideration of his disrespectful expression". Thus once again the stringent regulations were restored and the press was stifled.

The freedom of the press was timidly foreshadowed in spite of the existent stringent regulations during the regime of Lord Amherst. Lord Bentinck, later on, thought there was "no subject that the press might not freely discuss" and regarded it as an "auxiliary to good government". Thus with a few reservations, the press once again enjoyed practical though not legal freedom. Lord Bentinck had to depart from his policy of non-interference on the occasion of the First Burmese War, when his 'Half-Bhatta Order' met with a great hue and cry in the papers, and he found it was necessary for the public safety that the press in India should be kept under the most rigid control. Sir Charles Metcalfe, at that time a Member of the Supreme Council, after a fierce, bitter struggle, brought out a measure which gave the press its freedom in 1835 and thus the press was found to be rather the handmaid than the antagonist of Government.

The period 1835-1857 is of importance, because the press enjoyed complete freedom, and a number of papers started during the period are still running, notable among them being *The Calcutta Review* and *The Times of India*.

INDIA IN PERIODICALS

INDIAN WOMEN AND THE VILLAGE. By Dame Edith Brown, D.B.E., M.A., M.D., M.C.O.G. [The Asiatic Review, January 1939.]

WHEN MADRAS WAS ATTACKED. By Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari. [The New Review, February 1939.]

MY VISIT TO INDIA. By Dr. A. H. Reginald Bulter, D.Sc., LL.D., F.R.S. [Prabuddha Bharata, February 1939.]

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL. By a Member of the R. A. S. [The Modern Review, February 1939.]

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS

* DEPARTMENTAL *

NOTES

Questions of Importance

GANDHIJI ON MR. BOSE'S ELECTION

Mahatma Gandhi has issued the following statement on the election of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose as Congress President:-

Mr. Subhas Bose has achieved a decisive victory over his opponent Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitharajnayya. I must confess that from the very beginning I was decidedly against his re-election for reasons into which I need not go.

I do not subscribe to his facts or the argument in his manifesto. I think that his references to his colleagues were unjustified and unworthy.

Nevertheless, I am glad of his victory.

And since I was instrumental in inducing Dr. Pattabhi not to withdraw his name as a candidate when Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad Sahib withdrew, the defeat is more mine than his. I am nothing if I do not represent definite principles and policy. Therefore, it is plain to me that the delegates do not approve of the principles and policy for which I stand. I rejoice in this defeat.

It gives me an opportunity of putting into practice what I preached in my article on the walk out of the minority at the last A.-I. C. C. meeting in Delhi.

Subhas Babu, instead of being President on the sufferance of those whom he calls Rightists, is now President elected in a contested election.

This enables him to choose a homogeneous cabinet and enforce his programme without let or hindrance.

There is one thing common between the majority and the minority, namely, insistence on the internal purity of the Congress organisation.

My writings in *Harijan* have shown that the Congress is fast becoming a corrupt organisation in the sense that its registers contain a very large number of bogus members.

I have been suggesting for the past many months the overhauling of these registers.

I have no doubt that many of the delegates who have been elected on the strength of these bogus voters would be unseated on scrutiny.

But I suggest no such drastic step. It will be enough if the registers are purged of all bogus voters and are made foolproof for the future.

The minority has no cause for being disheartened. If they believe in the current programme of the Congress, they will find that it can be worked, whether they are in a minority or a majority and even whether they are in the Congress or outside it.

The only thing that may possibly be affected by the changes is the parliamentary programme.

The Ministers have been chosen and the programme shaped by the erstwhile majority. But

Parliamentary work is but a minor item of the Congress programme.

Congress Ministers have after all to live from day to day. It matters little to them whether they are recalled on an issue in which they are in agreement with the Congress policy or whether they resign, because they are in disagreement with the Congress.

After all, Subhas Babu is not an enemy of his country. He has suffered for it. In his opinion he is the most forward and boldest policy and programme.

The minority can only wish it all success.

If they cannot keep pace with it, they must come out of the Congress. If they can, they will add strength to the majority. The minority may not obstruct on any account. They must abstain, when they cannot co-operate.

I must remind all Congressmen that those who, being Congress-minded, remain outside it by design, represent it most.

Those, therefore, who feel uncomfortable in being in the Congress, may come out, not in a spirit of ill-will, but with the deliberate purpose of rendering more effective service.

Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, the Congress President, reacted thus to Mahatma Gandhi's statement in an exclusive interview with a representative of *Associated Press*:

It will always be my aim and object to try and win his confidence for the simple reason that it will be a tragic step for me if I succeed in winning the confidence of other people but fail to win the confidence of India's greatest man.

Mr. Bose expressed the opinion that there was neither reason nor justification for a split within the Congress ranks over this issue.

CONGRESS AND STATES

Discussing the relationship between the Congress and the States over the question of reform, the *Manchester Guardian* advocates "discreet and tactful intervention" by Britain in the matter.

Characterising the Government's present attitude as one of benevolent neutrality, the *Guardian* says that if the Paramount Power wished to exert pressure on this occasion, there would be no lack of precedents.

Utterances of the Day

PANDIT NEHRU ON THE STATES

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, in the course of his Presidential Address to the All-India States' People's Conference at Ludhiana on February 15, observed:

The people of the States are rapidly coming into line with the rest of India; they are no longer a burden and a dead weight keeping us back. They are setting the pace for India to-day and our national politics are dominated by their struggle. The time has come, therefore, for the integration of these various struggles in the States *inter se* and with the major struggle against British Imperialism. There are no longer many different struggles going on for independence; there is only one mighty struggle for India's freedom, though its aspects may vary and though its battle-fields may be many. As Gandhiji has said, the struggle for liberty, whenever it takes place, is a struggle for all-India. It is in the fitness of things that at this moment of vital crisis for the States, India's leader, ever thinking of her freedom and jealous of her honour, should step out, and in his ringing voice of old, that we remember so well, give faith and courage to our people. Gandhiji's lead has finally settled all the old arguments that obscured the issue, and that issue stands out now, clear and definite.

The conflict in the States is only incidentally with the Rulers; in effect it is with British Imperialism. That is the issue, clear and simple; that is why the interference of the British Power in the States against the people has a special significance. We see this on an increasing scale, not only by the Political Department of the Government of India and its many Agents and Residents, but through its armed forces as in Orissa.

This interference, in order to crush the popular movement, is no longer going to be tolerated by us. The National Congress will certainly intervene with full vigour if the Government of India intervenes to crush the people.

MRS. NAIDU'S ADVICE

Addressing the Rotary Club at Delhi, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu said:

My dream of to-morrow is of a world in which the soul of man is unfettered, not only by the tyranny of man, but also by social, economic or political prejudices—a world in which humanity lives for the common purpose of making life beautiful.

I confidently believe that youth will triumph and to-morrow will see the establishment of the right type of ideal under which the spirit will find wider scope for expression and for work, not for self but for the common good and common service. I am confident that youth will make its great contribution to humanity by abolishing monopolies of power, selfish, narrow-minded nationalism and economic exploitation. The spirit of to-morrow stands for service above self, for an international conception of humanity, for unity of purpose and for liberty of thought and action.

C. R. ON CONGRESS GOVERNMENT

Sjt. C. Rajagopalachariar, Premier of Madras, proposing the toast of the Motherland as the chief guest of the Y. M. C. A. Annual Dinner at Madras, said:

There is an analogy, which is false, which I want you to give up in your association of ideas in this connexion. What I refer to is the party system of Government.

Because we have read histories of party government in other countries, we have bad analogy that to-day also the Congress is running a party government, I emphatically say 'No'. The Congress objective, the Congress ideal, the Congress philosophy and the Congress practice are entirely different from this notion.

It is not a party government. You can have a party government if you have two fairly well-balanced parties tugging at the rope; sometimes the one winning and sometimes the other, and you can have a tug-of-war notion of party government or system. But the Congress did not start in that way, does not believe in that way and, I maintain, does not practise that way.

There is no Party which we consider as our Opposition which is likely to be capable of and willing to take up the Government from the Congress.

We claim it, follows from the nature of the things because the Congress claims to represent the people as a whole. The Congress was not started to take over party government. It was formed, it was nurtured, it has been constituted to take over the Government from a foreign power, not the Government from any other party in the country.

The Congress is an army; it is not a party. You have an army to fight for the country and you have asked and allowed the Congress to fight. You did not imagine that it was a party. It could not suddenly become a party yesterday if it did not start as a party, if it did not believe itself as a party and it would be wrong very suddenly to call it a party and look upon it as a party whether for good or evil. If, therefore, any people belonging to the Congress commit the mistake of imagining that they are a party, think and act in that sense, you should not take it as correct. It is an aberration or mistake which has to be corrected.

I think you will not misunderstand me if I say, therefore, that we are simply governing and we are not governing as a party.

We govern well or ill according to our capacity. If we go wrong it is because we are not to that extent capable of governing. It is not on account of the fact that we 'belong to a party'. Everyone, therefore, should look upon the Congress as representing everybody. To the extent that they do not, it is your duty to ask them, to represent to them, to bring them into line, discuss and argue with them but do not look upon them as a different party or as strangers.

WORKING COMMITTEE'S RESIGNATION

Thirteen members of the Congress Working Committee: Sardar Vallabhai Patel, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Babu Rajendra Prasad, Mrs. Naidu, Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Mr. Sankerrao Deo, Mr. H. K. Mehtab, Acharya Kripalani, Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan, Mr. Jairamdas Daulatram, Mr. Jamnalal Bajaj and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru resigned from the Committee on February 22.

Pandit Jawaharlal sent his resignation separately and issued a long statement explaining his reasons and indicating that he will not be prepared to co-operate with the new Committee.

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and eleven others telegraphed to Mr. Bose informing him of their resignations. The following is the text of the telegram:—

We regret that your illness has prevented our meeting. Hence no opportunity for personal discussion on the present situation. In the circumstances we regrettably decide to resign from the Working Committee. The letter of resignation follows and we are also giving it to the Press to avoid public misunderstanding and unfounded rumours.

GANDHIJI'S ADVICE TO BOSE

What Gandhiji is reported to have told Subhas Chandra Bose during the latter's recent visit to Wardha appears in *Hindusthan Times*. The report runs:

I personally appealed to you to withdraw from the presidential contest, warning you that, if you persisted, you would lose the sympathy and support of the Right Wing in addition to weakening the solidarity of the Congress. Yet, you fought and won. The majority of delegates are with you. Why don't you carry on and why do you seek coalition with the Right Wing, who, in your opinion, had reduced you to a mere figure-head? After making serious charges against them of compromising with our enemies how can you expect them to support you? Nor is it in the interests of the Congress that there should be divided counsels in the High Command. Therefore it is best, in the circumstances, that you should carry the Presidential election to its logical conclusion and take charge of the Congress machinery and run it with those men in whom you have confidence and who will accord whole-hearted support to your ideology.

THE LATE MR. KESAVA PILLAI

Glowing tributes to the memory of the late Dewan Bahadur P. Kesava Pillai



MR. P. KESAVA PILLAI

were paid by several speakers on the occasion of the unveiling of his portrait at the Madras Legislative Council Chamber, Fort St. George, on February 15.

Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar unveiled the portrait. The Hon. Mr. B. Sambamurti, Speaker of the Madras Assembly, presided.

The portrait, which has been drawn by Mr. M. S. Nagappa, is a gift to the Chamber by the Kesava Pillai Memorial Committee.

B. P. C.'S ULTIMATUM

"With a view to making India's demand for self-determination irresistible, a period of six months should be fixed within which the British Government would be expected to give a categorical reply to India's national demand," says a resolution passed at Jalpagiri on February 5, by the Bengal Provincial Conference on Federation.

THE WARDHA SCHEME

The Central Advisory Board of Education has generally approved the principle of the Wardha Scheme which is one of



SIR GIRJA SHANKAR BAJPAI

education through activity, stated Sir G. S. Bajpai in the Central Assembly. He said:

"In accordance with the recommendation made by the Central Advisory Board of Education, the Government of India proposed to forward a copy of the report of the Board's Sub-Committee on the Wardha Scheme, together with a summary of the discussion of the subject at the Board's meeting held on 8th December 1938, to the Provincial Governments and Local Administrations for consideration and such action as they might consider necessary. It will be for the Local Administrations in the centrally administered areas to consider in the first instance what action, if any, should be taken in the matter within the areas under their control. Any proposals on the subject which may be made by the Local Administrations will be considered by the Government of India in due course."

THE MODERN SCHOOLS

Mr. Mohanlal Saxena, President of the U. P. Congress Committee, said at the Hindu High School, Lucknow:

"Modern schools lay stress on brain work and the dignity of manual labour is thoroughly neglected. The idea behind such an education is to produce 'Babus' and clerks, but these days are fast fading away." *

GANDHIJI'S TELEGRAM TO SASTRI

The following telegram has been received by the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri from Mahatma Gandhi:—

"Never knew anything was serious in your University. Full letter received yesterday gave me shock. My heart went out to you. I pity students who have been so unworthy of your great stewardship."

SALARY FOR VICE-CHANCELLOR

As a measure of economy, it is understood, the United Provinces Finance Sub-Committee has recommended to Government that the Vice-Chancellors of the Lucknow and Allahabad Universities should draw a monthly salary of Rs. 500 each. Further retrenchment in the general cost of Provincial Administration is being considered.

EDUCATION IN ASSAM

The Assam Cabinet is providing Rs. 50,000 for college and secondary education and Rs. 25,000 for primary education amongst the Tribal, Scheduled, and other minority communities in addition to the usual grant for education in the next budget.

DR. A. SANKARA AIYAR

Dr. A. Sankara Aiyar, Assistant Professor of Sanskrit, Presidency College, Madras, has been appointed to act as Superintendent of Sanskrit Schools.

JUSTICE SIR S. VARADACHARIAR

One of the most distinguished jurists of South India, Mr. Justice Varadachariar of the High Court of Judicature at Madras,



SIR S. VARADACHARIAR

is appointed Puisne Judge of the Federal Court of India in succession to the Hon. Mr. Justice Jayakar, who has been appointed a member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. The appointment has given general satisfaction as Mr. Varadachariar is held in high esteem alike for his learning and character. Simple in his habits and deeply religious in private life, Mr. Varadachariar has been distinguished alike for his great culture and stern sense of duty. As the Advocate-General truly remarked, the appointment is a fitting recognition of Mr. Varadachariar's learning and ability and of his great distinction as lawyer and as a Judge.

As we go to Press, comes the welcome announcement that the King has been graciously pleased to approve that the honour of Knighthood be conferred on Mr. Varadachariar.

AGRICULTURISTS' RELIEF ACT

The Chief Justice of the Madras High Court, in delivering judgment on behalf of a Full Bench of the High Court on three references on the question whether those provisions of the Madras Agriculturists' Relief Act which relate to the scaling down of debt and interest were *ultra vires* of the powers of the Provincial Legislature on the ground that they were repugnant to the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935, regarding the distribution of subjects for legislation by the Federal Legislature and the Provincial Legislatures, observed :

"When examined, the Madras Agriculturists' Relief Act is in substance within the express powers of the Madras Legislature and the fact that in particular cases it may operate to reduce liability on contracts evidenced by negotiable instruments cannot affect its validity.

Even if the matters dealt with in the Madras Agriculturists' Relief Act do not come within the exclusive powers of the Provincial Legislature, the Act can be supported on the ground that it relates to contracts falling within the concurrent Legislative List."

The Bench consisted of the Chief Justice, Mr. Justice Wadsworth and Mr. Justice Krishnaswami Ayyangar.

PRISON REFORMS IN ENGLAND

Drastic prison reforms planned by Government are described in the Criminal Justice Bill published in England.

These include the abolition of corporal punishment except for serious prison offences, the abolition of "penal servitude, hard labour, and the ticket of leave system, and the abolition of the use of the word 'convict'.

FEMALE LIFE INSURANCE

Indian Insurance Companies find it a knotty problem to assess the risks on female lives. This is due to the absence of reliable and adequate data on which assessment of risks could be made. Some Insurance Companies are very cautious in entertaining proposals for female lives and most Companies do not entertain the proposals at all. Dr. (Mrs.) Suborna Mitra, in the January number of *Insurance World*, considers the handicaps that are felt regarding female life insurance.

In the course of her long experience in regard to medical examination of female lives, she says, she found that ordinary female lives are generally as good as males except for the important factor, of 'the child-bearing risk and also for a few other factors indirectly influencing female lives, in India, and they are as follows:—

1. Unhygienic conditions of living;
2. Absence of outdoor work and physical exercise;
3. In comparatively poor families inadequate nutritious food for the female members;
4. During the period of maternity, lack of adequate attention to health which leads to some women being permanently maimed and this being followed by gradual deterioration of health, and,
5. Owing to unsatisfactory general health, the susceptibility of Indian women to tuberculosis and other fatal diseases.

She suggests that Indian female lives belonging to educated families living in important towns could be accepted without much hesitation. She concludes that child-bearing is a great risk for female lives particularly in India, and as this risk may not be sufficiently covered by the small extra fees imposed by the Insurance Companies, they should do well to include in their contract that in case of death during the first child-birth only a reduced sum will be payable.

POSTAL INSURANCE BONUS

In announcing a second bonus to holders of Post Office insurance policies, a resolution of the Government of India states:

"A further valuation of the fund as at 31st March 1987, has again shown a substantial surplus, of which a considerable portion can be distributed without affecting the financial stability of the fund. The Governor-General-in-Council is accordingly pleased to grant to the holders of policies in force on 31st March 1987, a simple reversionary bonus as an addition to and payable with the sum assured at the rate of one per thousand thereon, both in the case of whole-life assurances secured by premia payable throughout life, or for a limited period, or for which as further premia are payable, and in the case of endowment assurances, for each full month during which the respective policies were in force between 1st April 1982, and 31st March 1987."

INSURANCE FIRMS & DEPOSITS

Reciprocal arrangements between the Government of India and Indian States with regard to deposits to be made by insurance companies were urged by the Committee of the Punjab Chamber of Commerce at a meeting held in Delhi.

The Committee's suggestion was that an insurer who had made deposits with the Government of India should be exempt from the requirement to make deposits with the Government of Indian States.

The question arose out of the Mysore Insurance Bill, now in its third reading stage, requiring every insurance company operating in the Mysore State to make deposits similar to those required by the British India Insurance Act.

INDIA AND WORLD TRADE

Trade conditions in the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Italy, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Belgium, Holland, United States of America, Argentina, Brazil, Japan and India are surveyed in relation to Indian trade and commerce in the report on the work of the Indian Trade Commissioner in London during 1987-88, published recently.

"India being predominantly an agricultural country, the prosperity of her trade is dependent on world commodity prices," says the Deputy High Commissioner for India in London, commenting on the report. "In 1986-87 India derived the full benefit of the progressive rise in commodity prices. To some extent this boom was due to an element of speculation and a fall in prices was inevitable. But the decline in the early months of 1988 was so steep that her exports fell off considerably both in quantity and value."

In particular, the position in regard to wheat was most unsatisfactory, the price having dropped to so low a level as to preclude the possibility of further export on a large scale.

Similarly, India's exports of linseed and castor seed have dwindled considerably in the early months of 1988. India has lost ground to other exporting countries.

In raw cotton and cotton waste, there was a slight improvement in 1987, but this was followed by a serious decline in the first quarter of 1988, which was due to American competition, reduced demand from Japan owing to the Sino-Japanese war, and the difficulties experienced by the Lancashire cotton industry. Similarly, the export of wool, which showed an encouraging expansion in 1987, registered a heavy decline during the first quarter of 1988.

LANCASHIRE AND INDIAN COTTON

The hope that the Government of India and the various Provincial Governments of the country will not hesitate to stand by the Indian cotton grower in the event of Lancashire manufacturers boycotting Indian cotton, is expressed by Mr. Krishnaraj Madhowji Thakersey, President of the Bombay Millowners' Association, in a statement commenting on Mr. Platt's (Lancashire Cotton Corporation Managing Director) article in the *Oldham Chronicle* about the Indian textile industry.

Mr. Krishnaraj categorically denies "India having retained high tariffs and bolstered up great profits secured by terribly low wages." He asserts that Indian tariffs are by no means high and that, in judging the case for protection, one must take into consideration that India has a duty on raw materials, such as cotton, stores, dyes; a duty on machinery and spare parts; and a duty on chemicals, etc., whereas no such duties are payable on these items in the United Kingdom.

The statement adds that Lancashire is not purchasing Indian cotton due to any philanthropic intentions, but solely owing to the fact that Indian cotton can be had at favourable rates compared with American or any other cotton.

THE CALTEX OIL TANKER.

M. S. China, one of the world's largest oil tankers, is owned by the Caltex Company. The transportation at one time and in one hull, of six million and fifty thousand gallons of oil, is a storage and freightage achievement possible to very few single deep-sea vessels in the world—and one of them is the new 10,781 ton oil tanker, *M. S. China*.

Women's Page

WOMEN IN POLITICS

"The place of women in politics" was the subject of an interesting lecture by Mrs. Mona Hensman at a meeting of the Students of the Pachaiyappa's College, Madras.

Mrs. Hensman referred to the long struggle of women in England to obtain suffrage, whereas in this country it was fairly easy because women were welcomed into politics in 1919. Now, however, women outside India had a greater influence and power in politics than the women of India.

Continuing, Mrs. Hensman said women in politics had first to look after social welfare and social legislation and the harmony that should exist among its workers.

They were learning in this country that union was strength. Women in politics and outside it felt alike in the matter of disarmament. There was a great future for women in politics, if they could influence the policy underlying disarmament. What was wanted was an active form of peace.

Mrs. Hensman pointed out with regard to franchise that Indian women had not only the literary franchise as in the case of men, but also franchise based on other qualifications such as ownership of property, etc. If woman was to take her rightful place in politics alongside men, high ideals of electioneering should be kept up.

And women in politics had to deal with the progress of the nation as a whole, not confining themselves to the women's problems, for example, women's education. They had not only to deal with the present generation, but as mothers, had to consider a generation ahead.

SEX EDUCATION FOR GIRLS

Nowadays women are taking the most important roles in all the activities of our country, including police. Parents are adapting to new innovations and giving their daughters adequate education so that they may serve their duties creditably and efficiently. *The Bombay Sentinel* publishes an informing article by a shrewd sociologist who says that it is as true as anything that apart from other duties, the most real duty a girl has to know is sex knowledge during her education. Pleading this cause, the writer says:

"A nation is built upon its sons and daughters and it is always the mother who is to rear them from childhood. But very few understand the profound responsibility of becoming a mother or a father. Most of the mothers think little on the subjects which every one ought to think very seriously, namely, that on what particular condition they are to procreate and when to control the birth of the children."

MRS. CHAMBERLAIN

Mrs. Neville Chamberlain deserves the first place among the wives, whose help and unfailing encouragement have directed their husbands' careers to the happiest consummation. In a recent speech the Prime Minister paid this tribute to his wife:

"No politician owes more to his helpmate than I do. My wife rejoices in my successes, encourages me when I am disappointed, guides me with her counsel, warns me of dangers, and never allows me to forget the humanity underlying all politics. She has been privy to all my secrets and she has never divulged one!"

THE LATE MR. W. B. YEATS

The news of the death of W. B. Yeats, the celebrated Irish poet, playwright and philosopher, has been received with the greatest regret by all lovers of English literature and with particular poignancy in India, where he has been well known for his sincere admiration and love for Hindu culture and institutions. He was one of the supreme literary artists of the day and was fittingly awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1923.

In a tribute to Yeats, Dr. J. H. Cousins, who collaborated with Yeats for some time, says that for 50 years Yeats gave the world the most distinguished verse in the English language, and some of the choicest of its prose. He led the dramatic revival in Ireland, gave it a series of idealistic plays that will survive the fluctuations of theatrical fashion, and encouraged a realistic drama that healthily influenced the European and American stage. His art was exercised for the sake of his vision of an Ireland freed from external imposition to rise to the height of the "eternal beauty" that he saw as her spiritual birthright. Dr. Cousins adds:

Behind the varied enthusiasms of a complex personality, I always felt Yeats to be an essential mystic, who saw the external world as a perpetually changing improvisation on eternal verities and the purpose of life as the bringing of the outer personality into harmony with its inner being. Dr. Cousins says that the influence of Indian mythology is seen to Yeats' earliest poems.

MR. EDWIN HAWARD

Mr. Edwin Haward has been appointed the British Member of the Information Section of the League of Nations Secretariat, with his permanent residence in London.

Mr. Haward, who recently retired from the Editorship of the *North China Daily News*, has had a distinguished career in Indian journalism. He came to India to join the staff of the *Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, and was for some time the Delhi-Simla correspondent of *The Times*. Later, he was the Editor of the *Pioneer*.

NEW APPOINTMENTS

A *communiqué* announces that the King has approved the following appointments consequent on the expiry on December 6, 1939, of Sir Harry Haig's term of office as Governor of the United Provinces:—

Sir Maurice Hallett, at present Governor of Bihar, to be Governor of the United Provinces.

Sir T. A. Stewart, at present a Member of the Governor-General's Council, to be Governor of Bihar.

Mr. A. G. Clow to be a Member of the Governor-General's Council in succession to Sir T. A. Stewart.

Sir Maurice Hallett is resigning his post as Governor of Bihar on August 6, 1939, and will proceed on leave until he assumes office from Sir Harry Haig. Sir Thomas Stewart is resigning his office on April 1, 1939, and proceeding on leave pending assumption of office from Sir Maurice Hallett on August 6, 1939.

THE LATE MR. PATWARDHAN

It is with profound regret that we record the death of Mr. A. V. Patwardhan, founder-member of the Servants of India Society, aged 66. Mr. Patwardhan was a well-known worker in the cause of the States' people, and edited for 18 years till his death a weekly Marathi Journal to promote that cause.

In him the country has lost an unostentatious worker, and the loss to the Society to which he gave his all, is well-nigh irreparable.

DR. E. RAGHAVENDRA RAO

The Marquess of Zetland, Secretary of State for India, has appointed as his adviser under Section 278 of the Government of India Act, 1935, Dr. E. Raghavendra Rao in succession to Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, who is returning to India at the end of April to take up the appointment of Commerce Member to the Government of India.

Mr. E. Raghavendra Rao was twice Minister in the Central Provinces and acted as Governor of C. P. in 1936.

A PRIVATE CANCER HOSPITAL

The Hon. Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar, Premier of Madras, declared open the new buildings of the well equipped Madras Radiological Institute and Private Cancer



Dr. P. RAMA RAU

Hospital run by Dr. P. Rama Rau, the well known Radiologist, on the Poonamallee High Road, Madras, on 2nd February, in the presence of a large gathering consisting of many distinguished members of the Medical profession. The Hon. Dr. T. S. S. Rajan, Minister for Public Health, who laid the foundation-stone of the buildings last year, was also present.

The Premier, at the outset, paid a tribute to the energy and enterprise of Dr. Rama Rau. The Government in this country could not start as many hospitals as the sick population needed and as many schools as the illiterate people required. It was not a bad arrangement by which it was proposed to have some free wards for the poor people to be maintained by the money given by the paying patients in other wards. They should not on that account run away with the notion, "oh, people have to pay and where is the charity in it?" "People who can pay should pay, so that those who cannot pay, may get healed and not be left in their huts," declared the Premier.

MORTALITY FIGURES FOR BRITISH INDIA

A study of the mortality figures for British India shows that about 49 per cent. of the total mortality in a year is among those people who are 10 years of age, whilst the corresponding figure for England is only 12 per cent. During the first year of life India's proportional mortality is about $8\frac{1}{2}$ times that of England. At the next period, between 1 and 5 years, it is five times greater; and between 5 and 10 years, it is three times as high. About 25 per cent. of the total deaths were among infants under one year, the English figure being about 7 per cent. Another significant fact is that whilst in England women have lower mortality rates than men at all ages, in India the female death rate exceeds that of the male during the reproduction years 15—40.

ON CHEWING *pan*

The Indian habit of chewing *pan* (betel leaves), says the *Indian Medical Journal*, appears to be an adjunct to correct nutrition. Betel leaves are rich in carotene and calcium. The carotene content is nearly a quarter of the carotene content of red palm oil and the calcium content is nearly the double that of milk. The practice of chewing *pan* along with lime is, perhaps, an additional factor towards the better assimilation of calcium as the lime precipitates all oxalic acid of *pan* before ingestion.

RELIEF FOR EYE-STRAIN

Regular adequate rest periods are advocated as a remedy to relieve the eye-strain, says the *Life and Health*.

Modern civilization has placed an abnormal burden upon the eyes. Eye-strain is brought about by excessive use of the eyes, inadequate rest periods, improper lighting conditions.

COL. COTTER

Colonel Cotter, I.M.S., Deputy Public Health Commissioner, succeeds Colonel Sir A. J. Russell as Public Health Commissioner, Government of India.

SIR JAMES TAYLOR ON SCHEDULED BANKS

Sir James Taylor, Governor of the Reserve Bank of India, addressing the annual meeting of Shareholders at Madras, said:

"The past year has seen important developments with regard to the establishment of closer connections with scheduled banks. The closing of the doors of a



SIR JAMES TAYLOR

scheduled bank with many branches in this part of the country brought to the forefront the question of the relations of the Reserve Bank *vis-a-vis* scheduled banks in distress.

In view of the experiences gained during the crisis, we addressed a letter to the scheduled banks asking for more detailed information regarding their bills, advance and investments. We also offered to depute an officer of the Bank to establish informal contacts with them.

In accordance with this policy, closer contacts with some of the South Indian banks were established during the year. The advantage of such connections are obvious. In the first place, the arrangement is entirely voluntary on both sides and affords an opportunity for frank and confidential discussions between the officers of the Reserve Bank and those of the scheduled banks. Secondly, it keeps the Reserve Bank more fully informed of the financial position of the member banks and enables the latter in certain cases to ward off trouble by the receipt of timely advice or guidance from the Reserve Bank.

THE RAILWAY BUDGET

Sir Thomas Stewart, the Railway Member, presented the Railway Budget for 1939-40 in the Indian Legislative Assembly on February 18, while Sir Guthrie Russell presented it in the Council of State.

The estimates show that as against a realised surplus of Rs. 2'76 crores in 1937-38, the revised estimates for the current year show that the surplus in the current year is expected to be Rs. 2'05 crores and in the coming year Rs. 2'18 crores.

The following Table gives the essential figures:—

	Accounts 1937-38.	Revised Estimates 1938-39.	Budget 1938-40	[In crores of Rupees]
Gross Traffic Receipts (State lines)	95.01	94.65	94.75	
Working Expenses (including depreciation)	62.04	63.55	64.25	
Net Receipts	32.07	31.10	30.50	
Net Miscellaneous Receipts	--.05	.23	.59	
Net Revenue	32.02	31.33	31.09	
Interest Charges	29.26	20.28	28.96	
Surplus	2.76	2.05	2.18	

The surplus of 2 crores goes to the central revenues. The gross total works programme is 15 crores.

On the question of railway rates, Sir Thomas Stewart said:

To meet road competition which, having none of the general obligations laid upon the railways, has concentrated on the cream of the traffic, the railway administrations have not been slow to quote special rates in particular areas, but it is obviously not a proposition which can be justified on any grounds, practical or theoretical, that road competition can be met by a universal reduction in rates. Railway rates in India are low, the average rate per ton being amongst the lowest in the world. It can hardly be urged that we have been making excessive profits at the expense of the general public.

We have our financial obligations which we must meet and if over and above that obligation we make a profit, it goes not to the individual capitalist but into central revenues to the relief of the general tax-payer or, as at present arranged, to the assistance of provincial administration whose financial necessities are only too well known to all of us.

A PLEA FOR STATE THEATRES

"Menaka" (Mrs. Leila Sokhey) broadcast a talk from the Madras Air Station on "The dilemma of a dancer". *Inter alia* she said:

"Every province in India should have a local centre of Academy for the preservation of its particular type of dancing. There should also be a theatre in which the most talented and trained artistes should be employed permanently and be able to get systematic work without being worried about their livelihood. These theatres should be a national organisation supported by the State just as in all European countries where art is still alive and flourishing.

Our present-day autonomous provinces should extend their support and sympathy and give their aid as the Indian States are doing and the ancient royal patrons and Princes were doing for all our national arts. Modern India can never hope to take her place as a first class nation until her arts flourish and take a pre-eminent place in the life of the community."

SIR EDWIN LUTYENS

The election of Sir Edwin Lutyens, as this year's President of the Royal Academy in England has more than a passing interest for India. The aesthetically much criticised but imposing buildings of the Indian capital at New Delhi were planned by this great architect. Amongst his other works may be mentioned the Whitehall Cenotaph, the British Pavilion at Paris and the new British Embassy at Washington.

KING GEORGE'S STATUE

H. E. the Governor of Madras, unveiling the statue of the late King George V, the Memorial erected by the people of Madras near the Victory Memorial, observed:

"Many have been the tributes paid to him (the late King George V) since the day of his passing, and there could be no more fitting subject for eloquence or more splendid example wherefrom to illustrate the highest virtues—virtues in which, though he shared them with many, he was rivalled by none."

SPORT

MR. J. CHINNA DURAI

Mr. J. Chinna Durai of Middle Temple, London, has been elected foreign secretary of the All-India Lawn Tennis Association, of which the patron-in-chief is the Viceroy of India.

Mr. Durai is well known in South India, having captained the Salem College Football XI in 1918-14, playing at centre-forward. During the same period he held the record for the 100 yards and hurdle events in the Inter-Collegiate Sports.

In 1926, in England, he met F. J. Perry in the Finchley County Club Tournament and took a set off him. In 1927, he was elected to act as umpire in a tennis match in which His Majesty King George VI (then Duke of York) played. Last summer he won the singles championship of the Lindfield Hard Courts Club, Surrey.

He plays table tennis for the Cator Club, Beckenham, in the Surrey League matches. He is also a member of the Elmers End Sports Club.

GERMAN MOTORIST'S FEAT

Rudolf Carracciola, the German motoring ace, driving a Mercedes Benz car, broke the International Class 'D' record for cars between 2,001 and 3,000 c.c. by covering a kilometre, standing start, at 177.52 kilometres an hour, beating his own previous record of 175.097 kilometres an hour.

DON BRADMAN

Don Bradman, by scoring 185 runs for South Australia against New South Wales in the Sheffield Shield match, equalled the world record established in 1901 by C. B. Fry, of scoring six successive centuries.

JOE LOUIS

The *New York Daily Mirror* says that Joe Louis, the heavy-weight champion of the world, will defend his title against Tony Galento at New York on June 29.

PRESIDENT, FOOTBALL ASSOCIATION

The Earl of Athlone has been unanimously elected President of the Football Association in succession to the late Mr. William Pickford.

CHEMISTRY AS ANNIHILATOR OF CIVILISATION

The ability of advances in chemistry either to overthrow civilisation, or to confer hitherto untold benefits upon mankind, was stressed by a Nobel Prize winner at the meeting at Ottawa of the American Association for the advancement of Science. Professor Harold C. Urey, who won the Nobel Prize in 1934, sounded this warning note: "Chemistry can and, perhaps, will destroy our European civilisation," he said. "I do not believe it is too much to say that a complete destruction of our civilisation may result."

INDIAN TELEPHONES

An "Indian Telephone" incorporating improvements of both a technical and mechanical nature, with particular regard to Indian conditions, may be produced in the near future. The necessary experiments are in progress at the Government Telegraph Workshops in Calcutta, where a drive for manufacturing telephones in India has been launched.



Dr. W. C. RONTGEN

Discoverer of X-rays (1845-1923)

SABU IN "BURMESE SILVER"

Alexander Korda announces that he has engaged Sir Robert Vansittart, a famous British diplomat, to write the screen-play for "Burmeese Silver", Edward Thompson's best-seller which Korda has purchased for filming during the next season. Mr. Thompson will collaborate with Sir Robert Vansittart on the film version of his novel, which will be photographed entirely in technicolor. Sabu, the Indian child star, and Conrad Veidt will play the leading roles.

Production of "Burmese Silver" will follow Mr. Korda's production of "The Thief of Bagdad", in which Sabu will play a thrilling adventurous role of the thief. The picture, we are told, will be in technicolor.

MR. A. NARAYAN

The death of Mr. Narayan removes from South India a notable film personality who was fully aware of the needs of this industry, having been the pioneer producer of both silent and talking films in South India. To him the industry owes a great deal.

Mr. A. Narayan had travelled widely in Europe and America and had his training for a fairly long period under Carl Laemmle Sr. in Hollywood.

Besides his feature productions, he made several news reels and short films on educational and health subjects.

SHIRLEY TEMPLE'S POPULARITY

For the fourth consecutive year, Shirley Temple, the child film star, has been elected the Box Office Queen of Movies in the poll of the American theatre owners. The complete poll is as follows:—Shirley Temple, Clark Gable, Sonja Henie, Mickey Rooney, Spencer Tracy, Robert Taylor, Myrna Loy, Jane Withers, Alice Faye and Tyrone Power.

"THE DRUM"

After re-examination of the British film "The Drum" (starring Sabu of "Elephant Boy" fame) the Government of Bombay have ordered the deletion of such portions as appeared objectionable and have instructed the Bombay Board of Film Censors to certify the film, whenever requested to do so, in the approved form.

MOTOR MANUFACTURE IN INDIA

Mr. D. E. Gouch, the India representative in Bombay of the Society of Motor Manufacturers and Traders, Limited, of London, has issued a statement, dated January 1939, in which he invites attention to a report of the Australian Tariff Board, which expressed itself as opposed at present to the manufacture of complete motor cars in that Commonwealth. In the same circular, Mr. Gouch invites attention to the scheme for the manufacture of automobiles in India and states that most of the conditions which induced the Australian Tariff Board to form its opinion are equally applicable to India, and concludes with the view that in India, too, it is "better to buy than to build".

Commenting on this statement, Sir M. Visveswarayya, Member of the National



SIR M. VISVESWARAYYA

Planning Committee, has made the following observation to the *Associated Press*:-

Mr. Gough does not appear to be aware of the reception given to the Tariff Board report by the Government and the public of Australia. In tabling the Tariff Board's report in the Australian House of Representatives, the Minister of Customs, Mr. White, said in October, 1938: "The Government adheres to the policy of encouraging the establishment of an industry for the manufacture of engines and chassis in Australia. The Government invites prospective manufacturers of engines and chassis, or parts thereof, to submit their proposals with details of the assistance required, not later than March 31, 1939. Consideration will be given to any proposal for complete manufacture."

AVIATION

CIVIL AVIATION IN INDIA

Addressing the Rotary Club of Jamshedpur on "Civil Aviation in India", Rotarian J. R. D. Tata, Chairman of Tatas, said that India had a mixture of favourable and unfavourable factors influencing the growth of Civil Aviation in the country. The favourable factors were:

- (1) The territorial magnitude of the country;
- (2) the comparative slowness and insufficiency of surface means of communications;
- (3) excellence of climate from the flying point of view for the greater part of the year; and
- (4) the air-mindedness of the people in general.

The unfavourable factors were the general poverty of the country and the illiteracy of its people.

The former was responsible for a restricted volume of trade, both internal and external, and, therefore, of business correspondence and passenger traffic and also for the limited funds at the disposal of Government for the encouragement of such objects as the development of air transport. Illiteracy resulted in almost a negligible volume of private internal mail.

In the absence of adequate internal mail and passenger traffic and in view of the Government of India's 'No-subsidy policy', Indian air transport had to look elsewhere for means of subsistence. Fortunately foreign mail traffic was both abundant and concentrated, and almost the whole of it passed through Karachi on its way into or out of India. Thus it was that the air transport system of India was largely based on the carriage of foreign mails, the principal internal air lines acting as feeders to the main air route between Europe and India.

AN AIRPLANE CRASH

"Aero do Aircraft" Np. De Hcr, a new German monoplane, which arrived at the Madras Aerodrome for demonstration purposes, crashed as a result of the left wing having snapped while the plane was in air at Minambakkam recently. The occupants, Flt. Lt. Hurst, Pulkowski the German pilot, and a student of the Madras Law College, died as a result of the accident. Since its inception, this is the first fatal accident that has taken place in the Minambakkam aerodrome.

The ill-fated plane was a two seater and was in charge of Flight Lt. Hurst-Pulkowski and Second Lt. Rudolph Jannet. The plane, it might be recalled, established a world record for such planes in a non-stop flight of 4,000 miles from Tripoli to Gaya early in January.

INDUSTRY

CEMENT INDUSTRY

Presiding at the Annual General Meeting of the Associated Cement Companies Ltd. at Bombay, Sir H. P. Mody, the Chairman, said that the results showed a considerable



SIR H. P. MODY

improvement over those of the previous year. Commenting on the uneconomic competition with which the Company had to contend, he said:

"To put it quite bluntly, the economics of the cement trade are being completely ignored by this amazing and indiscriminate onslaught on the available markets in the country. We have never been, and do not desire to be, a monopolistic concern. Our objective all along has been to serve the needs of the consuming public by production regulated according to demand, and from time to time to effect a balance between the interests of the investor and those of the consumer by a steady well-directed policy of price reductions voluntarily undertaken without any pressure from any interests, competing or otherwise."

TATA CHEMICALS LIMITED

Once again the House of Tatas are launching out into what is a comparatively new but an essential key industry for India. The Tata Chemicals Ltd. will manufacture heavy chemicals such as Soda Ash and Caustic Soda, and fertilizers such as Ammonium Salts and Potash. During the last 20 years imports of these heavy chemicals have overdoubled and the figure now stands at about 74,000 tons. The Tata Chemical Company will be the first Indian Company to manufacture such chemicals.

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RETURN OF FORFEITED LANDS

The little village of Verad in the Bardoli Taluk in Surat District witnessed an impressive ceremony on January 29, in connexion with the return of the forfeited lands to their original owners. Both Mahatma Gandhi and Sardar Vallabhai Patel attended the function.

The Hon. Mr. Morarji Desai, Revenue Minister, Government of Bombay, announced that all the forfeited lands in the Surat district had now been returned to their original owners.

Mahatma Gandhi said that although the occasion was undoubtedly a very auspicious one, he desired to make his audience bear in mind that they should know how to be prepared once again should the occasion arise to lose their now restored lands.

Sardar Patel paid a tribute to the valour of the Gujarat peasants.

THE RENT CLAIM

Speaking on the Estates Land Act Committee's report in the Madras Legislative Council, the Hon. Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar, Prime Minister, said the Government would not reject the appeal for justice to the zemindars, whatever the consequences or 'cost' might be. But the same consideration should be extended to the ryot and the cultivator. Unqualified pity for the poor was responsible for the Committee's proposals.

He maintained that the patidar and not the zemindar was the owner of the land and that the zemindar was only the holder of an office created for the collection of revenue.

There was no question of confiscation or expropriation. On the contrary, to give the zemindar the right to the land and the right to take half the gross produce as rent, according to a hard-hearted assessment of current prices, would mean the expropriation of the entire land of the ryot.

GRANT TO CATTLE SHOW SOCIETIES

A non-recurring grant of Rs. 2,50,000 has been made by the Government of India to the All-India Cattle Show Society, which has now been registered and placed on a footing of permanence.

INDIAN LABOUR IN MALAYA

In a memorandum submitted to the Government of India, the Central Indian Association of Malaya make the following suggestions :—

"Labour in Malaya is South Indian, and on this question Madras is more vitally interested than any other Province. We suggest that the task of working out the policy of the Government of India as regards emigration to Malaya might well be handed over to the Madras Government. What we have in mind is a Department of Malayan Emigration under the immediate control of the Madras Government, who will be in charge of the selection, recruitment and despatch of labourers requisitioned by Malaya according to her needs."

The memorandum states that while the Indian community in Malaya is highly gratified at the temporary suspension of emigration to Malaya and the stand taken by the Government of India to check the methods by which Malayan employers managed to procure "voluntary" emigrants in large numbers, they feel at the same time that the whole question has to be examined and an arrangement based on full recognition of the principles that should guide Malayan emigration hereafter should be entered into between the Government of India and the Malayan authorities.

PLANTATION LABOUR

The Ministers in charge of Industries and Labour, Agricultural and Rural Development and Public Health have had occasion recently to investigate on the spot the conditions of labour obtaining in the Plantations in the Anamallais. Mr. D. N. Strathie, I.C.S., whom the Government subsequently deputed to examine these conditions in greater detail has, after consultation with the interests concerned, submitted an interesting report. In the light of the material before them, the Government now proceed to make the following recommendation :—

"The Commissioner of Labour considers that as in the case of the higher paid employees on the estates, the cuts imposed on the basic rates of wages during the period of depression should now be removed. The Government agree with the Commissioner of Labour and consider that this recommendation should be given effect to at least from May 1, 1938. The tea industry to-day is prosperous enough to be able to afford to pay better wages to the workers. The basic rates of wages should accordingly be revised."

A NATIONAL FLAG FOR BURMA

In recognition of the position of Burma as a unit of the Empire, His Majesty has approved of a national flag for Burma, which hitherto had no distinctive flag.

The flag approved is a Blue Ensign, bearing in the Fly emblem, an emblem of a peacock in natural colours on a circular gold background. The peacock is generally regarded as a national emblem of Burma.

GLADSTONE AND TEA

Mr. Gladstone used to boast that he consumed more tea between the hours of midnight and 4 a.m. than any other man in the House of Commons. When he was not in the House but in his own bed, he used to fill his hot-water bottle with boiling tea in order that it might fulfil the twofold purpose of warming his feet and quenching his thirst.

Y. M. C. A. IN GERMANY

The Young Men's Christian Association at Dresden, Leipzig, Chemnitz, Plaun, Zwickau and Burgstädt has been dissolved. Its property will be liquidated.



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INDO-BRITISH TRADE AGREEMENT

BY MR. GAGANVIHARI L. MEHTA

(President, Indian Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta)

THE conclusion of the protracted negotiations for an Indo-British Trade Agreement to replace the Ottawa Pact brings into relief the vital importance of the British textile industry in Indo-British trade relationship. From the early days of the East India Company, Lancashire has thrived on political influence exerted through Parliament and the India Office and has enjoyed a privileged position in the Indian market. It is now apparent that although bilateral trade benefits and reciprocity between members of the British Commonwealth have been urged as grounds for preferential treatment to Imperial goods, the main purpose of the trade negotiations has been to assist Lancashire to recapture some portion of its lost market in India. The economic position of the British cotton industry has been worsening rapidly of late and the industry has, therefore, been demanding that special attention should be paid to the claims of the cotton trade in negotiating commercial treaties and agreements. This demand, of course, ignores the theory underlying trusteeship and mandates, because as long as Britain professes to govern Colonial possessions and Dependencies in the interests of its inhabitants, it has no right to impose Lancashire goods on

them either by excluding cheaper products which they can afford to buy from other countries or by preventing the growth of indigenous industries in such territories. Nor are the possibilities of helping Lancashire by means of trade agreements very great in practice. It is noteworthy, however, that during the whole of the Indo-British trade negotiations, the pivotal point has been the question of preference to imports of British piece-goods. Instead of the interests of the consumers being the plea, as hitherto, for not preventing British imports, the interests of the Indian agriculturist is the ground on which Lancashire demands preference. Cotton was being produced all these years in India, but it was not considered worthy of purchase by Lancashire. The hearts of the Lancashire manufacturers have been filled with Imperial emotion only when they could not market their goods in India, and after Japan entered into bilateral arrangement with India based on purchase of cotton against export of cotton piece-goods. Moreover, the increase in the purchase of Indian cotton by the United Kingdom has been hardly adequate and when it reached its peak in 1936-37, it was due to the price parity being in favour of Indian

cotton as compared to American or Egyptian cotton.

The new Agreement mainly hinges upon the elaborate proposals to link up the imports of United Kingdom cotton piece-goods with exports of Indian cotton to the United Kingdom. It is mentioned in the text of the Agreement that the object of the new Agreement was to devise a scheme which would meet the demand for a lowering of the duty on United Kingdom cotton piece-goods without injuring Indian interests and at the same time securing an expanding market for Indian cotton in Britain.

In other words, the object of the whole Agreement is to preserve the Indian market for Lancashire piece-goods even if it is at the cost of the interests not only of Indian consumers but of the national textile industry itself. The plain fact must be faced that the Indian taxpayer and consumer have to pay for the inability of the British manufacturer to compete with his foreign rival as well as his Indian competitor in the Indian market on equal terms. Textile interests and experts will no doubt examine all the details of the sliding scale provided in the Agreement along with its system of rewards and punishments. But certain broad facts are evident even to a layman. The minimum limit for the import of Lancashire piece-goods into India, which is 850 million yards, has been placed at a much higher level than was recommended by the unofficial Advisers in their report in September 1938 and also exceeds the last year's total import of 266 million yards and this year's estimate of about 200 million yards. It is necessary to point out in this connection that the protective duty of 25 per cent. to the Indian textile industry against imports of British piece-goods was already reduced to

20 per cent. in June 1938 and will now be brought down to 18 per cent. by the new Agreement. Moreover, as the imports will not come up to the stipulated minimum, there will be a further reduction of $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in the import duty according to the terms of the new Agreement, thereby making it a duty of 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Thus the duty on imports of British piece-goods will be halved in the course of three years. On the other hand, the cost of manufacture of finer piece-goods, which particularly compete against Lancashire imports, has been enhanced through the recent increase in the import duty on raw cotton. Nor is that all. Preference, if it has any necessity or meaning, should involve differentiation in import duties between the different countries sending their goods to India. But in this instance, preference to British piece-goods means an artificial restriction on the development and growth of the Indian textile industry. The very fact that the minimum import of piece-goods laid down in the Agreement is nearly 150 to 225 million yards more than the present imports involves a corresponding reduction in the production of Indian textile mills. This is objectionable in principle and detrimental to national economic interests in practice. It may be that in the absence of a planned economy for India, and in view of the doctrine of *autarchy* and national self-sufficiency in several European countries, India may have to make some special arrangements for the disposal of its surplus cotton. For this purpose, the Indian textile industry might have to be called upon to undergo some sacrifice in the wider interests of the country and, particularly, of the cultivators. But the

sacrifice demanded in the new Agreement is far in excess of what is equitable and what would have been conceded if India had been negotiating with Britain on a basis of equality and untrammelled by constitutional limitations or political subordination. Imperial preference in one form or another has become an integral part of our fiscal policy and a *sine qua non* of protection to Indian industries. It is one thing to arrive at bilateral agreements or pacts on a free and equal basis for reciprocal benefits. It is quite another thing to compel India to give preferences to British goods as a price of protection to indigenous industries, which question should be judged on its own merits. It is no secret that some sort of preference for steel and textile industries of Britain has been made a condition for the grant of protection to Indian industries, whatever the form in which this condition might be disguised. There is no genuine reciprocity or preferential treatment in such arrangements, which are the outcome of political relationship between Britain and India.

Nor do the terms about the off-take of Indian cotton by the United Kingdom provide a *quid pro quo* for the restrictions and burdens which are to be imposed on the textile industry. The note submitted by the unofficial Advisers to the Government of India in September last, and the estimates by the Indian Central Cotton Committee, indicate that it is possible for Lancashire to consume upto 1 million bales of Indian cotton. The minimum stipulation in the new Agreement, however, is only of 400,000 bales which is even below the off-take by Lancashire during the last three financial years by about 100,000 bales. Apart from the fact that the quantity laid down in the Agreement falls below the minimum demand, there is no stipulation regarding the quality to be taken by the United Kingdom which, according to the suggestion of the unofficial Advisers, should have included at least 65 per cent. of Bengal, Oomras, Berar and other short and fair staple varieties.

The other provisions of the Agreement, although important in themselves, have received and will receive relatively less

public attention, as they have been overshadowed by the proposals relating to cotton textile imports. It might be stated, however, that although the unofficial Advisers recommended that the preferences granted to the United Kingdom in the Indian market should not exceed Rs. 8 crores, the present Agreement proposes to grant preference of over double that figure, namely, Rs. 768 lakhs. This is much more than need be given to the United Kingdom, particularly because these imports mainly consist of manufactured goods, in some of which at any rate Great Britain is and might prove a keen competitor of our nascent or growing industries. Besides, such imports might also affect, to a lesser or greater degree, the development of new industries within the country. It is essential to add in this connection that the Ottawa preferences do not include steel, which is not a part of the Trade Agreement but should be taken into consideration in assessing the value of preferences granted to Great Britain in the Indian market. As regards preferences derived by India in the United Kingdom market, the bulk of them is raw materials, some of which like jute or mica or myrabolams are monopolies, while others like tea are governed by the international restriction scheme. The unofficial Advisers have calculated that out of the figure of Rs. 88½ crores on which India gets preference in the United Kingdom market under the Ottawa Agreement, there are goods worth only about Rs. 6 crores on which India enjoys effective preference. Even if the insurance value of the preference on other goods is taken into account, the value of effective preference enjoyed by India in the United Kingdom is not more than what it would be on a trade of Rs. 11 crores. Some of these preferences, such as on jute, coir, undressed leather, spices, tobacco, castorseed, ground-nuts, cotton yarns and manufactures, etc., existed even before the Ottawa Agreement and did not constitute any gain out of that Agreement. Nevertheless, the total value of these preferences is to be reduced under the present Agreement. It should be emphasised that these raw materials are in several respects essential to Great Britain, particularly when Great Britain is rearming so feverishly and

when countries like Germany are demanding the return of Colonies in order to obtain the supply of raw materials.

If a Trade Agreement between India and England is to be based on any principle of *quid pro quo*, or reciprocity, what are called items of "invisible imports" into India should be fully taken into account and should receive a recognised bargaining status. The payments which India has to make in respect of the services such as banking, shipping, insurance, etc., should strictly be taken into account in determining the balance of payments as between India and Britain. It is disappointing to note in this connection that the opportunity of this Trade Agreement was not availed of to secure a reasonable share of the Indo-British maritime trade for Indian shipping. India's bargaining power based on India's market could and should have been utilised in order to secure the expansion of Indian shipping in this trade. In Britain's Trade Agreements with Soviet Russia and Lithuania, provisions have been made for the utilisation of British shipping services in those maritime trades and British shipping interests have demanded that in Trade Agreements concluded by the British Government, a specific share of the carrying trade should be reserved for British shipping.

Indeed, British shipping made this claim even in respect of the Indo-Japanese maritime trade which is based on India's market. Indian shipping is entitled to demand that it should have an adequate participation in such trades as emanate from India or are based on India's purchases.

It cannot be gainsaid that any Trade Agreement between Great Britain and India in the present political relationship between the two countries is bound to be of an unequal nature. Trade advantage or preference conceded to Great Britain under this Agreement will be stereotyped into a trade privilege whose continuance and permanence in the Indian fiscal policy will be ensured in future. The very nature of India's export trade makes it imperative that any Trade Agreement with Great Britain should not jeopardise its foreign trade with other non-Empire countries or weaken India's bargaining power *vis-a-vis* such countries. It is essential that India's export trade should be considered in a comprehensive manner so as to co-ordinate its internal economic development with its export trade on the one hand and its external obligations on the other. The Indo-British Trade Agreement arrived at after nearly two and a half years' negotiations is unfortunately such as cannot satisfy conditions fundamental to the national economy of India.

INDIA'S FINANCES

BY DR. P. S. LOKANATHAN, M.A., D.Sc. (Econ.) (Lond.)

THE finances of India both at the Centre and in the Provinces have now entered upon a critical phase. The Central Government and most of the provincial governments found themselves on the wrong side and had to resort to various expedients to balance their budgets during the year that has just elapsed. The fall in Customs revenue was so serious that despite considerable economies in civil works and civil administration, the Government of India was compelled to resort to a raid on Sinking Fund to make both ends meet. In the provincial

sphere on account of famines, floods and other vicissitudes of Nature, many of the provinces had to surrender a considerable percentage of land revenue and had to incur additional expenditure to meet the resultant distress. The decline in the yield from stamps and registration was wide-spread throughout India and the fall in revenue seems to be of a permanent nature. The methods adopted by provincial governments to meet the deficit varied from province to province. The Madras Government found in the Minor Ports Fund a convenient windfall just sufficient to wipe

out the deficit. Some provinces resorted to fresh taxation while others were content to allow a diminution in their revenue reserves. It was left to Bengal, however, to adopt the unavoidable method of trying to meet the current and prospective deficits by resorting to a loan of one crore of rupees.

Again, the financial year 1988-89 is notable for another event of great importance. The elaborate and finely balanced financial structure so carefully built up by the Government of India Act, 1935, has revealed certain weak and dangerous spots which are likely to undermine it. Sources of revenue, definitely regarded as falling within the Central or Federal sphere, were subjected to a flank attack by provincial governments with results highly damaging to the integrity of Federal finance. Whatever the legal aspect of the matter, taxes like sales taxes and employment taxes impinge upon the same sphere, have the same incidence and affect the same "subjects" as Excise duties and Income-taxes. Where two Governments, each exercising its own right, begin to tax commodities and income without regard to the effects of each other's action, the result would be an intolerable increase in the price of the articles taxed and in the burden on the taxpayer.

The need for a new adjustment of finances between the Centre and the Provinces cannot long be deferred. But the problem is by no means easy of solution. The provincial governments are firmly convinced that the Centre must give up further revenues to the provinces, so that the latter may go forward with their nation-building activities. Thus the Finance Minister of Bombay, in presenting the budget for 1989-40, said:

We have reached the utmost limits of tax possibilities. Further assistance must come from the Centre.

The same idea was expressed in Madras by her Premier Finance Minister in even more strong language:

"The proper solution of the financial problem on which prohibition hangs is finally the reduction of Central expenditure and the transfer of more revenues to the provinces. The time will arrive when the weight of these burdens will furnish

the justification and the strength for readjustment between the Centre and the Provinces."

But there is grave doubt if the Central Government could surrender any fresh revenues to provinces beyond the obligation it has undertaken to give up 50 per cent. of the income-tax in a short period of time. The Central Government's budget for 1989-40 round about 82 crores of rupees of revenue and expenditure shows how narrow are the margins available for further taxation or retrenchment. The Defence expenditure has settled itself round about Rs. 45 crores and considering the world situation it cannot be regarded as excessive, although greater efficiency may be secured by avoiding wastes of every kind. Interest rates having considerably declined during the last few years, the service of internal and external debt has reached the lowest practical point. There is probably some room for economy in civil administration, but the possibilities thereof have been undoubtedly exaggerated. In the sphere of taxation there is but little scope for any large increase, as Customs duties in general are as high as is consistent with a maximum yield. The yield of increased income-tax has to be shared with the provinces, while as regards internal Excise, the recent decision of the Federal Court actually amounts to saying that the Centre has no exclusive jurisdiction but that it must share with the provinces a concurrent jurisdiction. In the circumstances it would be excessive optimism to hold that much can be expected from the Centre. Indeed, one has to be thankful that the budget of the Government of India was balanced without any additional taxation other than the doubling of the import duty on raw cotton—a measure as indefensible as it is unnecessary. The argument that the tax will cause the growth of long staple cotton in India neglects both the geographical and time factors involved in the process and affords no justification for placing a handicap on an industry by taxing its raw material.

That the financial position of provinces is in a quandary and must be rescued from the very difficult plight into which it has fallen cannot be doubted. Nature and man have both combined to

bring about this situation. Flood and famine have caused serious inroads into the financial equilibrium of Congress and non-Congress provinces alike and the Punjab and Bengal no less than Madras, United Provinces, Bihar and Orissa have suffered therefrom. But it is the social policy of Congress Governments both in regard to expenditure and in social reform that holds the key to the financial condition of the provinces. Every province where Congress is in power has definitely quickened the pace at which prohibition is applied. Bombay by one large bound has resolved upon having prohibition in one-third of its total area and with that end is giving up this year a revenue of Rs. 150 lakhs besides the Rs. 80 lakhs surrendered last year. In the United Provinces four more districts will be brought within the prohibition area in the coming year. Central Provinces have an ambitious plan of completing prohibition in the entire province in three or four further instalments. It is only in Madras that her conservative Finance Minister is wisely proceeding step by step and has brought only one more district into the prohibition belt. The financial effects of prohibition are everywhere now apparent, and the difficulties envisaged in the review of provincial finance by the present writer a year ago* are now seen to be grave and real.

If provinces have boldly sacrificed large bits of revenue by their policy of prohibition, they have not desisted from pushing on with their plans of economic and social amelioration. While the revenue has shrunk, expenditure increases and the gap widens. Only the Punjab and Bengal have been content to have a mere carrying-on-budget. It must be said to the credit of the financiers in charge of provincial finance that they have not allowed expenditure on nation-building activities to be curtailed. The new direction given to plans of economic improvement and rural welfare continues to govern Congress policy, and if anything, the pace is quickening. Thus in the coming year Bombay has planned for a new scheme of rural development

by which at the village end a paid worker is appointed for a compact group of villages who will be the salaried secretary of the *panchayats*, co-operative societies and other rural associations. An extra provision of Rs. 5½ lakhs is also provided for the additional staff required for the rural development department. The United Provinces has embarked upon a definite road programme to be completed in three years costing about Rs. 2 crores. With a view to placing rural economic development on firm foundations, a rural development bill is shortly to be introduced. The Central Provinces, Orissa and even North-West Frontier Province have sought to expand their expenditure on education, medical relief and public health in the rural areas.

Further, the idea of planned expenditure to which reference was made in the previous review of provincial finance still continues to govern the policy of public expenditure. The Road Fund of the United Provinces, the Special Development Fund in Bombay, the Village Development Fund in Orissa, the Water Supply Fund in Madras and the Special Development Fund in the Punjab are all efforts at planned finance by which important schemes of expenditure are placed beyond the hazards of fluctuating current budgets. In all the above instances, sanctioned expenditure will run continuously without fear of funds lapsing on a particular date. Expenditure from these ear-marked funds will not be affected by the revenue surpluses or deficits. India's finance ministers are to be congratulated on chalking out an independent line of budgetary practice which is entirely in consonance with the spirit of the times.

But the problem of finding funds to replace the loss of revenue from prohibition and to finance new expenditure is becoming more and more pressing, and everywhere finance ministers have shown a surprising degree of ingenuity in embarking upon new schemes of taxation with a view to getting increased resources at their command. They are also determined not to restrict expenditure on welfare activities and are prepared to take the bull by the horns and extricate themselves by bold

* "Indian Review", April, 1938.

action from the dilemma of Drink *vs.* Education presented by their opponents. It is, however, necessary to examine their new proposals of taxation to find out how far they are productive and conform to sound canons of taxation. Before doing so, attention should be drawn to the strikingly new point of view stressed by the Premier of Madras in respect of prohibition. Hitherto prohibition was only regarded by friends and critics alike as a powerful engine of social reform. But it has been rightly pointed out that it is also a method of redistributing taxation more equitably; for liquor Excise tax bore very hardly on some of the poorest sections of the population and prohibition has released them from this intolerable burden. It is but right that in any review of the new measures of taxation, full allowance must be given to the favourable distributional aspect of the abolition of Excise duties.

The tax proposals adopted or suggested in the provinces fall under two or three distinct heads. The most important is the group of taxes falling under the category of Sales Taxes. Since the Central Provinces introduced the sales tax on petrol and succeeded in getting the decision of the Federal Court in its favour, nearly all provinces have embarked upon sales tax on petrol and motor spirits, while a few have extended it to include other articles like electricity, tobacco, etc. Bombay has extended the principle to include a tax on cloth. But retail sale of motor spirit is now subject to a tax in nearly all the provinces. Few will be found to question the soundness or the equity of a sales tax on petrol. Not that it has no injurious effect on transport or on the poor bus passengers. But its adverse effects are negligible. Electricity tax cannot also be condemned, although here it is doubtful if nearly as much revenue cannot be obtained at least in Madras by way of profit by the Government's ownership and management of hydro-electric industry.

Another category of new taxes falls within the group of income and property taxes. The taxation of agricultural incomes proposed in Bombay, Assam, and Bihar,

the profession tax in Bengal, the property tax in Bombay are in principle unobjectionable, though in their detailed application may reveal some defects which should be rectified. For example, the somewhat high property tax proposed to be levied in Bombay City for provincial expenditure is of doubtful expediency.

But of all the new tax measures in the anvil, two have come up for special attention. One is the employment tax in the United Provinces and the other is the turnover tax in Madras. The employment tax is a graduated tax, levied on all incomes over Rs. 2,500 within a minimum tax of Rs. 90 per annum rising in amount till it reaches Rs. 32,000 per annum on incomes exceeding Rs. 8 lakhs per annum. That it partakes of the nature of an income-tax and, therefore, entrenches upon the Federal sphere and that in effect effects a cut in salaries all round cannot be doubted. If a reduction in salaries is the end in view, the United Provinces' employment tax is a more sensible way of bringing it about than the proposed cuts in the salaries of Government servants alone sought to be introduced in various provinces.

Of even more controversial kind is the general turnover tax proposed in Madras. The tax is to be 1 per cent. on sales of goods of all kinds, the only goods that are exempt being agricultural commodities raised by the cultivators and sold by them directly. Businesses with annual turnover of less than Rs. 10,000 are exempt and those having a turnover between Rs. 10,000 and Rs. 40,000 will be taxed at fixed consolidated rates. The general turnover tax in Western countries and in America was born in crisis and has ever since been the subject of acute controversy. It is uncertain and uneven in its incidence and is entirely regressive. It offends against the principle of taxing according to ability. It is administratively difficult to collect. But it has one great virtue, productivity. Even allowing for exemptions, it is likely to yield a very considerable revenue to the Government.

But if the tax is not to result in an intolerable burden on the poor consumer, or in the wiping out of the merchant

trading on very low margins, the tax should be levied at a very low rate. The proposed rate of 1 per cent. is excessive and should be limited to 1/12 even 1/16 per cent. Otherwise many a trade will be adversely hit and the cumulative effect of taxation at various intermediate stages between production and final consumption will raise prices seriously. If the revenue be found inadequate, it should be possible to select certain commodities for special retail sales tax; for example, cloth, cement, motor tyres, tea, etc.

One thing is clear and that is the future of prohibition hangs upon the willingness of the public to bear the burden of new taxation. The future of provincial finance is indeed grave. But the fact that the provincial governments are facing up to the problem and are prepared to embark upon apparently unpopular schemes of taxation with a view to achieving their end shows both the strength of their convictions and their courage in execution.

A landmark in the history of provincial finances is the floatation of Treasury bills by Madras and the United Provinces. While the revenue comes in big bits only in certain months of the year, the expenditure is continuous and the lag of revenue behind expenditure has been met by the issue of Treasury bills. Although this year the Governments had to pay rather heavily for short-term funds, the principle of going to the market for

short-term funds is of great moment. Treasury bills with a currency of six months were issued in Madras last August and since then 8 months bills were issued. The total issue of Treasury bills for 1939-40 is estimated to be Rs. 5 crores in Madras.

In the view of the present writer, the ultimate solution of the problem of provincial finance lies in increasing the earning power of the masses of the population. For this purpose, schemes of rural development and welfare, which are now in contemplation in many provinces, are undoubtedly essential. But equally important is the preparation of a carefully planned scheme of capital expenditure in all provinces. Madras, United Provinces and the Punjab are ahead of others in this respect. But it is unfortunate that the pace has considerably slackened during this year and further diminution in capital expenditure is likely to occur in the next year. With the exception of Bihar, where Rs. 2½ crores is provided for rural grid electrification scheme, the other Provinces have budgeted for diminished capital expenditure. But the development of irrigation, electric, road and housing schemes and other works of public utility combined with planned industrial and rural development will alone secure the necessary basis for the raising of large revenues for the growing needs of the provinces. The credit of the provinces stands high and must be utilised fully to secure a vast increase in the purchasing power of the people.

TABLE
(IN CRORES OF RUPEES)

1939-40	GOVERNMENT OF INDIA	MADRAS	BOMBAY	BENGAL	U. P.	PUNJAB	BIHAR	C. P.	SIND	N. W. P.	ASSAM
Revenue	82.70	16.23	12.55	13.78	13.31	11.67	5.38	4.85	3.83	1.98	2.84
Expenditure	82.65	16.40	12.88	14.65	13.69	11.96	5.37	4.83	3.76	1.87	3.01

"DO WHAT YOU WILL"

BY MR. ANILBARAN ROY

MODERN rationalistic civilisation seems to be reducing itself to absurdity. It has not only created more evils than what it has cured, it is cutting the very branch on which it sits. Civilisation began when men found the state of the cave-man an intolerable one. In that state men had no rules or principles consciously laid down to regulate their lives, they followed their natural impulses and lived a beastly life as best as they could. But human beings were not meant to live eternally in that condition though in their upward evolution men had to pass through it. They felt the urge towards a higher life of peace and beauty and love and joy and they found that the natural state was not at all conducive to the fulfilment of these high aspirations. So they evolved rules and laws to discipline their crude natural impulses, so that men might have sufficient freedom and opportunity to develop their potentialities. These rules and laws founded on deep insight and age-long experience constituted the Shastra of all civilised peoples. They found sanction in the moral and religious impulses inherent in men, and civilisation grew up on that basis. But now the whole edifice seems to be on the point of collapse. People find religion, morality, idealism all to be mere social conventions or illusions which have done more harm than good. They seem to have been instruments of tyranny in the hands of unscrupulous exploiters. The modern man is for sweeping away all these illusions and going back to the freedom of the cave-man. As twentieth century Science under the lead of Einstein

and Minkowsky has found that there is nothing fixed or stable in this world that everything is in a state of flux, so civilisation under the lead of Science has found that all human standards are mere makeshifts and have no stable or eternal values. Even Science itself has been overtaken by this nemesis. It is now being widely realised that Science cannot give us any certain truths; it is also a body of conventions or illusions. "Then where are we to stand, Mother Tara?" The reply of rationalism seems to be that there is no such resting place; you must constantly whirl on the wheels of your blind passions and impulses. "Science itself," says Aldous Huxley, the arch-bhighbrow of modern times, "is no truer than common sense or lunacy than art or religion. Every human mood has a philosophy and morality appropriate to it; one is not more authoritative than another; do what you will."

This attitude of the modern mind seems to have given a charter to the grossest passion in men and women, and passions, as is well known, never follow the dictates of reason. Given a free rein, they are bound to produce anarchy everywhere. Thus rationalistic civilisation is digging its own grave.

Through thousands of years the crude natural impulses in men have been kept in some sort of check by social conventions and moral and spiritual ideals. Now they are coming up with a vengeance. This is seen specially in the matter of sex, the most turbulent of all natural impulses. It is not that people did not commit excesses before; but that was

regarded as an error, as a sin; and the good sense of men always strives to keep it in its proper place. But now it is being openly preached that sex has nothing to do with ethics or morality. The sex impulse, naturally too strong to require any encouragement, is being fanned by every possible means. The result is a sex-obsession which is making men and women worse than beasts, worse because animals never commit excesses like human beings who have not learned to discipline themselves. A shrewd English observer thus writes about the condition now prevailing in Europe, the centre of modern civilisation: "What with Freud and the cinema and the enfranchised women writers, the susceptible mind has to-day become sex-conscious to the point of obsession."

And this is not confined to Europe; it is spreading all over the world, and India has not been an exception. We have no lack of admirers of Freud; the cinema is doing havoc; our great novelist Saratchandra has given us the fascinating portrait of an arch-highbrow in the character of Kamal in *Sesh Prashna*. Kamal revels in trampling upon all moral and spiritual standards hitherto prized in India. Her message is: Disregard all external standards, be a law unto yourself, do what you will. This life is precarious, its joys are fleeting, wring as much honey out of it as you can without bothering about any thing.

But where does it lead, all this mad pursuit of sensuous pleasure? Let Mr. Aldous Huxley himself say: "Me personally the unflagging pleasures of contemporary cities leave most lugubriously unamused. The prevailing boredom—for oh, how desperately bored, in spite of

their grim determination to have a Good Time the majority of pleasure-seekers are—the hopeless weariness infects me. Among the lights, the alcohol, the hideous jazz noises, and the incessant movement I feel myself sinking into deeper and ever deeper despondency. By comparison with a night club, churches are positively gay." This is a sad commentary on his own dictum: 'Do what you will. It is not what it seems to be, a counsel of freedom, so loved by all right-thinking men. A man who gives a free rein to his impulses soon becomes a slave of his own passions, the worst of all slavery. It is for this reason that the spiritual discipline of India called them enemies, *ripu*, which must be conquered at the very beginning. By rejecting all traditional standards, modern civilisation is taking away the chief inducements to self-control without being able to substitute anything for them. Freud has said that death is the goal of life, that all life is a round-about way to the *nirvana* of death. "After life's fretful fever he sleeps well," that is the only prospect the rationalist can hold before mankind. "Do what you will" is not really giving a definite rule or standard of human action, but rather an admission that human reason cannot give any satisfactory solution. Whatever you do, you are bound to come to grief and at last to death. So let men do whatever they like and take the consequences. This is veritably a counsel of despair at which all rationalism is bound to arrive, sooner or later.

II

But rationalism is not the last word of humanity. This dismal view of human destiny rises only from a superficial

knowledge of the nature of things. Those who have a deeper vision of Reality and of the real nature of man, have seen that infinite joy and not "fretful fever". Immortality and not death is the true promise of human life. Control of the senses following external standards or *shastras* is not goal by itself but a means, a preparation for the divine freedom of the spiritual life. It is said *of the authority of modern Psycho-analysis* that the repression of the natural impulses is responsible for much evil and useless suffering. But is this such a new truth unknown to the Indians? Must we go to Freud to learn this? The Gita clearly lays down that the natural powers of men should not be mutilated by repression or self-torture. "All existences," says the Gita, "follow their own nature and what shall coercion avail?" The modern cry is to do away with all external standards and follow one's own law. The Gita emphatically lays down: "Death in one's own law of being, *swadharma*, is better, perilous is it to follow an alien law." And *dharma* does not mean religion, it means law of being; thus it is the *dharma* of fire to burn, it is the *dharma* of water to cool. "The right order of human life as of the universe is preserved according to the ancient Indian idea by each individual being following faithfully his *swadharma*, the true law and form of his nature and the nature of his kind and by the group being the organic collective life, doing likewise. The family, clan, caste, class, social, religious, industrial or other community, nation, people are all organic group beings that evolve their own *dharma* and to follow it is the condition of their preservation, healthy

continuity, sound action." No higher ideal of freedom has been preached or so systematically followed anywhere else in the world.

Where then is the difference between the Indian ideal of *swadharma* and the modern cry of: "Do what you will"? The difference is in the depth of insight into the real nature of man. To the rationalist, human nature consists of the ordinary feelings and sensations and emotions, thoughts and desires and actions. To the spiritual seer this is only the superficial nature of man full of discord, strife and sorrow. There is a higher nature in him made up of peace, harmony, light, bliss in which he is similar to the Divine. Man must discipline and purify his sensations and feelings, his thoughts and desires which constitute his lower nature so that he may be permanently established in his true divine nature and this is the true object of all spiritual practice or *sadhana*. The nature of *sanavana* or true self-discipline is made clear in the Gita: "By the self thou shouldst deliver the self, thou shouldst not depress and cast down the self (whether by self-indulgence or suppression); for the self is the friend of the self and the self is the enemy. To the man is his self a friend in whom the lower self has been conquered by the higher self; the lower self is as if an enemy and acts as an enemy." Self-indulgence and suppression are both extremes which have to be avoided. Society being something like a machine is liable to go to one extreme or the other. India went to the extreme of suppression; it became too civilised and has paid the penalty; the life-force of the people has been crushed by too many

rules and regulations, *vidhi nishedha*. The modern world is rushing headlong towards the other extreme of self-indulgence. But it is only by following the golden mean that we can speedily reach the goal. We have to discipline our lower nature by following some *shastra*, that is, science of conduct based on the truths of human nature. But the last perfection will be reached when we shall go beyond all *shastra* and external rule of conduct and shall be established in the freedom of

our higher nature. That is the last injunction to Arjuna in the Gita: "Abandon all laws of conduct and take refuge in Me alone." This "Me" is the God seated in every heart, the higher self of every human being. We have to find this Higher Self in us in which we are one with God and with all humanity. That is the spiritual basis on which alone man can realise his long-cherished ideals of Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, and bring down the kingdom of Heaven on the earth.

THE AIMS OF RURAL RECONSTRUCTION

BY SIR T. VIJAYARAGHAVACHARYA.

ONE of the most striking passages in the historic Montagu-Chelmsford report on Indian Constitutional Reforms is where the authors refer to the pathetic contentment of the dark, dumb millions of the Indian peasantry and express the hope that the political reforms they propose to inaugurate would rouse them out of it. It is doubtful if these reforms which were introduced in 1920 had the effect that was intended. But they certainly, by the transfer of agriculture and other nation-building subjects to the control of Ministers responsible to the Provincial Legislatures, aroused popular interest in the usually dry subject of agriculture. Ministers were pressed by their constituents to devote more attention to the development side of the State's activities than their bureaucratic predecessors did. One of the ways in which this activity manifested itself was in the increased grants made by the Legislatures to agricultural departments. A comparison of the pre-War budgets with those of 1921 and later years establishes beyond doubt

that the transfer was a salutary measure, though the extent of the benefit was often restricted by harassed Finance Members of Council, whose previous official training lay rather in the field of Law and Order than that of Economic development. The organisation of the Central Executive Government is still in the pre-War stage and the tendency to treat development as, comparatively speaking, a luxury comes out in those periodic fits of economy and retrenchment which attack Finance Members. On such occasions the scientific departments are the first to come under the axe. The administrator's attitude towards these branches of State activity is reminiscent of the Middle Ages. Only we are more civilised in our methods. In those days they treated the scientists as professors of the black art and burnt them at the stake. We now retrench them.

What the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms failed to accomplish has now been effectually done by the measure of provincial autonomy introduced about

twenty months ago. The pathetic contentment of the rural population has become a thing of the past. The trouble is no longer how to awaken the Indian countryside. Our problem is how to use this newly born discontent as a lever to uplift the cultivators out of their age-long deplorable condition.

Returning to India after an absence of six months abroad, nothing impressed itself so much on me as the new spirit that seemed to pervade the Indian countryside. It was a spirit of feverish restlessness, a feeling that they, the cultivators, had till now been treated as of no weight in the counsels of Government, and a slowly-forming determination to assert themselves. I wondered what all this pointed to. Does it all mean that the peasantry is drifting away from its old moorings, that the discipline and self-restraint imposed for ages even more by religion than by the State are being lost, and that the old bases of life are being cut under? India is passing through omens, some of them formidable, into a new world. Wisdom and courage, perhaps even more of the latter quality than of the former, are required to guide the transition from the old world to the new. That the passage will be attended with a good deal of friction, that there will be many risks, pitfalls on the way, I have no doubt. But I am confident that the resources of Indian statesmanship will be found equal to the task, that the dangers will be surmounted, and that the transition will be accomplished peacefully. The passage will take many years and, of course, I am assuming that India along with its fellows in the British Commonwealth will be safe from

the grave external dangers that now confront the civilised world.

One of the most gratifying symptoms of the new spirit that is passing over India is the interest aroused in every part of the country in what is generally known as rural uplift or rural reconstruction. It is, of course, no new thing, this work of social service in villages. Several voluntary organisations have been dealing with it for years, long before provincial autonomy, long before even the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms. But it is no detraction from the admirable work of these bodies, and of the individuals whom I shall not mention specifically but whose names are held in honour, to say that their labours touched only the fringe of the problem. The field was so large, the workers were so few, and their efforts, dispersed over an enormous area, were un-co-ordinated. It is only in the last two years that Provinces have set up organisations that cover the whole ground with machinery to control and direct them from a provincial centre.

In the course of my travels in India, I am often asked what is meant by rural uplift or rural reconstruction and what are its aims? Some recent speakers at rural conferences have said that the words mean the infusing of new life into the villages and making the villagers happier. But while no doubt that should be the result of all such endeavours, we want some more specific statement of their aims. If I may venture to formulate them item by item, perhaps the following will serve as a rough and ready statement:

- (1) the improvement of the material condition of the agriculturist, which will include measures for getting him a better price for his products and for relieving

him or easing him from the burden of his indebtedness;

(2) the improvement from the sanitary point of view of his surroundings and the provision of better medical relief, not only during epidemics but normally throughout the year;

(3) the improvement of rural education;

There are many schemes of educational improvement on foot and doubtless they will be dealt with later on in this Conference by the distinguished men who are experts on the subject and who have very kindly consented to assist us. What I have myself in mind is giving the cultivator that degree of literacy which will enable him to read with comfort a daily newspaper published in his own mother-tongue. Just enough in fact to prevent him from being imposed upon by the sharp wits of the urban area and from being preyed upon by the underlings of the Government Departments;

(4) the provision of amenities in the village so as to make living in the village tolerable and make the villager's life a little more colourful than it is now.

A question, often warmly debated, is whether the economic position of the agricultural classes in India has improved in the last one hundred years. I have been present at many discussions in which heated arguments have been used on both sides and when a vote was finally taken, usually the "Noes" had it. That is to say, the majority decided that the ryot's lot had not improved. In fact it was rather inclined to the finding that his condition had actually deteriorated. My feeling on such occasions was that there was a paucity of facts, a large number of doubtful or at least unproved assumptions, and political views and opinions on

currency and high finance coloured the minds of the speakers. I propose to examine some of the assumptions with a view to ascertain how far they are founded on fact.

The assumption with which most of the speakers on the side of the "Noes" started was that much of the most valuable agricultural land in India had been cultivated for centuries, in fact it had been under tillage from a date beyond men's memories, the continuous process should be exhausting its fertility, and consequently there should be progressive deterioration. Translated into scientific language, the proposition may be stated thus: Year by year the produce of the land is being removed from the soil, and this is not counterbalanced by the additions which nature and the practice of the cultivator make to it. As a Revenue Officer in Madras, I was familiar with the agricultural conditions in the Tanjore delta which is, perhaps, one of the oldest cultivated tracts in India. That the delta in the upper reaches of the Cauvery river must have been under continuous rice cultivation for at least a thousand years is proved by the fact that the Grand Anicut was built by a great Chola king a thousand years ago. In all likelihood, the culture of rice in that tract was centuries anterior to the building of that dam. The most fertile portion of the delta, which is known popularly as the breast of the Chola Kingdom, still continues to produce as heavy crops as it used to do in old days. Unfortunately, there are no records of crop out-turn over a long period of time, but as far as I could gather from local enquiries there was no proof, not even an allegation, that there had been

a diminution in the fertility of the soil. What is the explanation?

The Royal Commission on Agriculture in India made an elaborate inquiry into the question of general progressive decline in fertility. It was a most important point, as if true, it would have pointed to an alarming state of things. Doubtless the remedy is not beyond the resources of science, but the poverty of the mass of the ryots precluded the application of any expensive fertilisers. In fact, in the deltaic tract I referred to, the cultivator depends on the silt that the Cauvery brings down in its annual floods and not on artificial manures. The result of the investigations made by the Commission led to the conclusion that where land is cropped year after year, when the crop is removed and no manure is added, natural gains balanced the plant-food materials removed by crops, a stabilised condition is reached and a low but permanent standard of fertility is established.

To the above conclusion I would add the following facts:—Through ages of inherited experience, the Indian ryot, who, though often illiterate, is certainly not deficient in shrewdness, intelligence and practical wisdom, appreciates the value of a regular rotation of crops and knows that the fertility of his soil, except where Providence has given him river silt, cannot be maintained at the same level if the same crop is taken too often in consecutive years. He knows too which crops are particularly exhausting and which exercise an ameliorative influence on the soil. In this matter, there is nothing which an expert agricultural officer can teach him. As an example of the ryot's skill, let me mention

the system, so common, of growing mixed crops, usually of gram or pulse with a cereal. Nothing has upheld the fertility of soils more than this. The scientist's explanation is that Indian soils are normally deficient in nitrogen and that the roots and the leaves which fall from the pulse plants, particularly the arhar or tuar, are rich in that element.

It is thus possible to bring in a moderately optimistic verdict on the question of soils and crops. But agriculture includes not only the raising of crops from soils but also cattle-breeding and dairy-farming. This is a fact which is too often forgotten in India, and many of the troubles of the ryot at the present day are traceable to this. The capital fact in English farming is the intimate union of stock breeding with crop production. In the early stages of the history of English farming, England suffered from what has been called the "fundamental weakness" of the farming system; the production of grain for human food was separated from the production of fodder for animal feed. But this was remedied in the eighteenth century when the practice common in Flanders was copied and a system of rotation introduced. First wheat, then turnips, then barley and then clover. The turnips and clover were fed to the animals, and the wheat and barley went to the humans. This produced not only much more meat than before but also much more farm-yard manure and so bigger crops of wheat and barley. The result is summed up by Sir John Russell in the saying: "More cattle, more manure; more manure, bigger crops; bigger crops, more cattle."

Unfortunately in India, except in a few special cases, such as that of the Pattakar

of Palayakottai in the Cuddalore district of Madras, probably the best cattle breeder in India, there has been a complete divorce between cultivation of land and the breeding of cattle. Instead of there being an ascending scale of improvement, as there has been in England since the eighteenth century, there has been a progressive deterioration in the condition of farm cattle, the cattle population in India is the largest in the world, but it is probably in general efficiency (always subject to the recognition of the fact there are many excellent breeds of draught and milking cattle) one of the poorest. In the last one hundred years, owing to the enormous increase in the human population of the country, there has been a considerable extension of cultivation. Instead of the extension being met at least partly by an increase in the efficiency of the working cattle, it has been wholly met by an increase in their numbers. Simultaneously there has been a reduction in their quality. The village grazing lands on which animals mainly depend for their feed are inadequate, cultivation encroaches on the better pastures whose soil is suitable for conversion into arable land, and consequently cattle have less to eat, and as the conditions for rearing them become worse, their size decreased, and more cattle had to be produced to do the work. A vicious circle has thus been set up, and the task of breaking it is a gigantic one. It is obvious that this lies at the root of the prosperity of Indian agriculture. Fewer cattle and better fed ones should be our ideal.

I have dealt with two questions of fundamental importance to the ryot, namely, the condition of his soil and the condition of his stock. But in a

tropical country, the thirsty land requires water. Irrigation is, therefore, a third point of fundamental importance in estimating the economic condition of the cultivating classes. On this question, luckily, we are not afflicted with the usual lack of economic statistics and have something better than guesses, impressions, inferences, and generalisations to go upon. We know that 90 million acres nearly a seventh of the whole area under crops in British India are irrigated from about 300 works belonging to or constructed by the State, this figure excluding the very small tanks of which Madras alone has over 85,000. We also know that fifty years ago the area under State irrigation was $10\frac{1}{2}$ million acres. The addition of nearly 20 million acres to the irrigated area means a considerable increase in the annual value of crops, besides securing so much more country against the risk of famines. An estimate made of the annual value of the produce from the State-irrigated area puts it at 100 crores of rupees.

The mention of famines brings up the question of railways and other improvements made in the internal communications of the country. There can be no doubt that the ryot is vitally interested in this matter. For one thing it is no longer inevitable that villagers should die when there is a wide-spread failure of crops and the local sources of subsistence dry up. The railways make it possible to transport quickly grain from a tract of plenty to a tract of scarcity. Hereafter, it is a question of the energy and humanity of District Officers and the vigilance and the resourcefulness of Provincial Governments. In normal times the great value to the ryot of railways

and better roads and better transport facilities is the increased price that they bring him for his produce. Unfortunately, much of this benefit has been intercepted by the wholesale dealer and merchant. Better marketing facilities and more village roads are wanted to pass on a larger proportion of the benefit to him. In a recent visit to my old district in Madras, I noticed that the transfer of the executive control of local boards entirely to non-official hands, while it had resulted in a definite loss of certain qualities, which obtained before, had added a large number of village roads which would not have been built in the old regime. This addition and the springing up of motor lorry traffic had enlarged the market for agricultural products other than the staple crops. In the old days, unless there was a town within easy reach, it hardly paid the villager to raise, for instance, a kitchen garden. He was content with growing such vegetables as his modest needs required. But with altered conditions, his market extended to towns as distant as 200 miles.

While much of the economic benefit that has resulted to the country from the creation of overseas markets for commercial crops like cotton, jute and ground-nut has gone to the broker, the merchant and the shipper, it must in fairness be conceded that the economic position of the ryot in the tracts which produce these crops has improved with results visible to the eye. Tiled houses have replaced thatched cottages, silver jewellery has driven out brass, and townships have sprung up in the place of sparsely peopled hamlets. The rise of the Indian sugar industry in the last few years

affords a spectacular example of the way in which an industry which, from the necessities of the case is located in villages, can help the agriculturist by not only giving him better prices for his cane, but also by improving the conditions of the place in which he lives.

The conclusion that can be drawn is that better prices can be secured for the agriculturist by improvement of communications, by improvement of transport facilities, by provision of better marketing arrangements, by mixed farming and by intensification of scientific research. Into the burning ground of the currency and of the anticipated effects of an alteration of the exchange ratio of the rupee, I do not venture to tread. That is a matter for high financiers and not for a rural development conference. Similar considerations forbid a discussion of the tenancy laws and of possible economic results that may accrue from their alteration. Reduction of expenditure on marriages and on funeral ceremonies is part of any campaign of rural betterments and needs no more than a passing reference here.

There was a time, and that not so long ago, when the mechanisation of agriculture was considered to be an important factor in the improvement of agriculture. But there has been a marked change in European opinion in this matter since the war. The peasant farm with its simple implements, its diversity in crop production, and its mixture of animal husbandry has in the present period of agricultural depression proved that it has its own points as against mechanised farming with a cereal crop as the necessary, sole object of production. The inevitable displacement of human labour by machinery is not discussed by modern economists with the same equanimity as their learned predecessors of an earlier generation,

FRANCE VIS-A-VIS FASCISM

BY MR. PULLELA VENKAT BAO

FRANCE has, in recent years, sustained a considerable loss of prestige and influence. Her diplomacy has met with discomfiture, her aspirations with disappointment. Both the Francophile world and the lovers of Freedom and Democracy cannot, therefore, view without embarrassment and apprehension France getting relegated into the background.

This relegation is not a *fata morgana*; it is a grim reality. It is unmistakable. It goes a long way in the ultimate devitalization of the combination of Democratic forces.

Yes; France is dwindling, as is much apprehended in many quarters, into a second-rate power. What is the cause of this national deterioration in the scale of international power and importance? Is France herself responsible for this state of affairs, or, has any extraneous force or combination of forces worked its way to this deplorable accomplishment?

The answer is clear. The total and continued dependence in recent years of France on Britain for support and guidance, in her international relations and activities has deprived her, in course of time, of the necessary stimulus for spontaneous action. She has become a satellite revolving round Britain without any political individuality, without any consciousness of her inherent strength as a national entity. She is the virtual shadow, as it were, of Britain projected on the Continent across the Channel.

Her intelligentsia represents different schools of political thought. The operation in the country of various centrifugal political forces such as Socialism, Communism, Radicalism and multiple other items has undermined her national

solidarity. No political wicket lasts long; no party is confident of a prolonged innings in tranquillity.

Besides, Germany, though once "shorn of her locks" is now reasserting herself; and the strength of Berlin is the weakness of France. The rapid growth of Fascism has successfully accomplished the violation of Frontier demarcations. In less than a quinquennium the map of the Continent to the west of Asia has been recast.

Britain's indifference in the Manchurian episode was dangerously copied by France in the Abyssinian adventure of Mussolini. Britain did not stand in the way of Japanese ambition experiencing materialization. Her interference would have, argued Britain, amounted to an act of indiscretion inconsistent with tact and possibility as well.

A strong Japan, reasoned Britain, was a condition *sine qua non* for checkmating the possible Bolshevik expansion; and Bolshevism is diametrically opposed to the Capitalist Democracy of England. The remoteness, moreover, of Manchuria to Great Britain made effective intervention or armed intercession in behalf of the wronged, practically impossible.

But this expensive indifference is an unpardonable piece of accomplished impolicy. It cut at the root of collective security. It gave an impetus to unilateral aggression and territorial absorption. It is responsible for the rape of Abyssinia, for the forced *anschluss*, for the Spanish tragedy, for the ignominious surrender of the Sudetenland and nobody knows, as yet, for what more in future.

Had French policy been backed by considered determination and not by

timid vacillation while the Italian bombers were still bumming over the Abyssinian heights with their diabolical load of fatal connotation, circumstances, one is more than half-tempted to say, would possibly have been of a different complexion. But she was divided between her head and her heart—her head swaying towards England, her heart towards Italy. The chief that presides at the Quai d'Orsay neither mounted the Alps down to the other side to shake hands with Mussolini, nor crossed the Channel to enjoy a puff, in a *tete-a-tete* with Mr. Baldwin. Downing Street is not ardent in amity, but irksome in enmity. Support for Rome is inconsistent with her avowed principles, but alignment against Italy is calculated to be detrimental to her (French) legitimate interests. Hence the French vacillation and her successful persuasion for Astro-Hungarian neutrality.

Hitler's Germano-centric ambition kodaked the opportunity. Berlin took advantage of Parisian vacillation. Hitler patted his cousin down below the Alps. *Stresa* was torpedoed.

This German sympathy extended when Italy was branded the aggressor, when she was isolated and economically cornered soon developed into a warm reciprocity that later has blossomed into the Rome-Berlin Axis; and France, her terror of "German Danger" transcending all consciousness of her strength has, perforce, to fall on Britain, for assistance. The work of years of diplomatic French labour on the Continent was undone in a short time. The diplomacy of M. Barthou had only with that gentleman gone. Neither M. Laval nor M. Blum nor M. Chautemps could throw in a wedge between Berlin and Rome.

The octopus of Fascism has spread far and farther its pernicious tentacles. After the *anschluss*, Mussolini, under the imperative stress of circumstances, is dancing to the tune of Hitler. Rome cannot, without immediate detriment to her legitimate interests, extricate herself from the clutches of the Axis.

Hitler is the master of the whole of Central Europe. The *Little Entente* is no longer with France. German influence is immanent.

The fortification of the Rhineland is ominous. Soon after Munich is the demand for Colonies. But it is only a red herring or a little sardine—a stratagem calculated to divert attention necessary for the realisation in another quarter of a major territorial ambition; for Hitler wants to enact, once more, the thrilling drama of "Bloodless Victory". But the scene is not the Sudetenland but Ruthenia. The success of the performance will possibly be rewarded with Ukrانيا, wrested from Warsaw.

So Mussolini must attack France. His demand is for Tunis, Corsica, Nice, Djibouti, etc.

How long will France continue to tolerate this Fascist insolence and unwarranted provocation? What, otherwise is the alternative to bank upon? She has unfortunately got alienated the sympathies of the Comintern which, in spite of unilateral verbal repetition by way of contradiction, is nevertheless an unsophisticated fact.

But if England can see eye to eye with Russia, and America comes out of her isolation, the Fascist menace can with success be checkmated by co-ordination and collaboration of England, France, America and Russia.

If Russia is taboo to England—which is indubitable—it is time that Democracy knew that she could not go back to the days of the first repudiation of international obligations.

The policy of appeasement of Mr. Chamberlain is consistent with British realism and correct understanding and appraising of the totality of the circumstances; for things are different now. Italo-German intervention in Spain is another step in the direction of Fascist encirclement of France. It is, therefore, more strategical than even economic.

The Mediterranean is the Italian sea. Ceuta, Salamanca and the Rhine land are

the loaded pistols directed towards the head of France.

Japan in the Far East, in view of the military significance of the Anti-Comintern pact, is a potential danger to the British Imperial interests. Unrest in the Empires of Britain and France constitutes a veritable internal danger, the character and magnitude of which cannot, under any circumstances, be belittled or underrated.

The only course, therefore, open in the case of Russian exclusion and continuation of American isolation, is appeasement—appeasement which comprehends federation of Imperial possessions as much as provision for collective exploitation of colonial wealth.

HOLIDAYS AT HOME

BY DR. G. S. KRISHNAYYA, M.A. (Madras); M.A., Ph.D. (Columbia)

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HOW can we ensure that our young people will make such use of their leisure that it will bring improvement to themselves, benefit to others and pleasure to all? While the trials and tribulations of parents are genuine and great, not less are those of the children themselves who are tied down to the home in boredom, idleness and prohibitions insufferable. This problem is incapable of solution without the whole-hearted co-operation of school and home.

The school is under obligation to study the needs of its clientele and to strive to supply them. That means, so far as the problem in hand is concerned, that if the citizens of to-morrow are to live full, rich and happy lives and know how

to get the best out of their leisure, they must be taken in hand while in school. If holidays are to be rescued from being dry, drab and dreary, and become the active, useful, delightful things they should be, a host of 'interest pockets', or 'interest pegs', should be provided in children's lives during school days. Innocent pastime and wholesome recreation must be made sufficiently alluring, and achievements in art, music, craft and literature should be held up as ideals worthy of pursuit. How can this be done better than by opening up before the adolescent new and attractive vistas and inviting him to appropriate some part of the glorious heritage which is his birthright? And since there is no other social

institution willing or competent to discharge this obligation, the school has to function here as elsewhere as the 'residuary legatee'.

The school can and should set up standards and develop tastes, which will help to determine the choice of proper forms of recreation and also develop habits and interests which will continue to provide enjoyment during the leisurely hours of the holidays. To realize these objects, the school should press into service all its activities, curricular and extra curricular. In this article, however, we shall concentrate on the home.

WHAT THE HOME CAN DO

Many parents take no share at all in training their children for the worthy use of leisure. But there is much which they can do, both before children start going to school as well as when the master's watchful eye cannot reach the mischievous youngsters. The home should reinforce the efforts of the school and see that the forms of recreation taught at school are followed with satisfaction during the holidays. Facilities which some of the activities demand should, whenever possible, be made available. An active enthusiastic interest on the part of the parents in the holiday pursuits of their children will go a long way to solve the problems of peace, orderly progress, and discipline at home. What children need is opportunity for the use of their energy. Provide desirable channels and there should be no need to spend the day shouting: "Don't do this" and "Don't do that." Surround them with things they *may* do, and with temptation out of the way, they are delivered from evil.

The value of interesting hobbies can never be exaggerated. They enable children to pass their spare time profitably and pleasantly and without injury to others. Resourceful parents can get their children enthused over hobbies associated with several of the school subjects. Collecting stamps, coins, picture postcards, quaint stones and shells, leaves, etc., can prove very instructive. Photography, fretwork, gardening, carpentry, dairy-farming, poultry-raising and bee-keeping represent other useful and absorbing pastimes. Social intercourse is regarded as an essential part of every child's training for life, and so clubs, socials, parties and entertainments should be provided. These are all activities which might well occupy some part of any one's leisure and, therefore, practice in actual social organizations and in happy association with others should not be withheld from our young folk.

Another avenue of useful holiday activity is social service. In a country so obviously full of misery and misfortune, sorrow and suffering, he must be made of stone who has not heard a soul-stirring S.O.S.! Experience in scouting, social service leagues, rural uplift, adult education and co-operation with hospitals and child welfare centres should prove extremely valuable. What a contribution our pupils could make along any line of national welfare if only they tried seriously enough and received a little guidance. As a small return for the health and strength they enjoy, young people should try to serve for a while during the holidays those less fortunate than themselves and share with them some of their great privileges.

Too often the older children of large families are deprived of a fair chance to

play, because their help is needed at home. Girls suffer in this way more than boys. Play is a tonic which can be had without price and without money. Though some work at home may be necessary and reasonable, parents should see that the natural craving for self-forgetful, exhilarating play is not unduly suppressed. Outings and picnics, boating, swimming, and games, indoor and outdoor, should be encouraged and entered into whole-heartedly as far as possible by all the family. The pathetic children who don't know how to play seem silently to reproach the homes from which they come. It is not enough to provide dolls and toys and play materials; parents must teach the children how to use them intelligently and must play with them occasionally to show them all the possibilities for fun which lie in constructive play. They can help the little ones to cultivate a taste for reading by early exposing them to good literature. If parents would read to children every day while they are small and later choose with care books for them to read themselves, there should be no cause for anxiety on this score.

During the holidays children should be encouraged to do some of the many things they could not do during term-time, seeing places, visiting their friends and relatives, arranging their possessions, tidying the house, helping others at home and outside, reading, writing and painting, pursuing hobbies of all kinds and making up of deficiencies in their studies. Adult assistance is needed to ensure that children convert their liabilities into assets by giving extra time and thought to their peculiar weak subjects instead of neglecting them as they are likely to do.

Parents here will be in a danger zone. Reviewing previous work and reading portions in advance are not taboo by any means. As a device to ensure adequate attention to competing interests and demands, a time-table has much in it to commend itself. It is necessary to stress this because most children imagine that vacation is another name for 'vacant time' and are inclined to refuse to countenance 'anything that resembles serious activity. When this has been said, it must be added that it is a grave mistake to bind children down to books and private tutors during their holidays and make their lives miserable. Parents should see that their children return to school not weary and worn out but rested, refreshed and recreated, ready like a strong man to run a race.

Briefly, the school should recognise the importance of teaching through play, and of providing for the proper use of leisure by developing an appreciation of the best in literature, drama, music, art and the many forms of wholesome recreation. The home may co-operate by encouraging play, by providing play materials and joining in the play, by taking the children to good pictures and concerts and seeing that they have a fair share of parties, picnics and social opportunities. In this connection the call of social service must not be ignored. Storing up interests against days of leisure is not less important than laying up skill and information against the academic day of judgment. Our children must be prepared not merely for days of work and worry but for the weeks and months of leisure and holiday-making. They must be taught how 'to stand and stare' when life is not 'full of care'.

ELEPHANTS IN INDIAN HISTORY

By Mr. S. SRINIVASAN

ELEPHANTS were in the news recently in connection with the Khedda operations in Mysore. To many this may perhaps mean nothing; but not so to those who know their Indian history. These royal beasts, they will recall, had shaped the destinies of dynasties, invasions and historic battles in the storied past of this ancient land. To-day elephants make mere news, centuries ago they made something far more important—they made history.

Elephants were India's King-makers in the Vedic period. Like Falstaff's lion, the state elephant was credited with an unerring instinct to spot out the scion of the royal blood. Did a king die childless? Was an heir to the throne kidnapped or lost during childhood? Was there a succession dispute? In all such cases it was always the Royal elephant that was summoned to cut the Gordian knot.

Sage ministers asked the state elephant to be brought, handed it a garland and respectfully followed it with all the royal paraphernalia. The gaily caparisoned animal then flung the garland round the neck of whomsoever it chose and lifted him on to its back. Thus was the new King found and the courtiers who followed the beast, hastened to do obeisance to their "heaven sent" monarch.

The elephant's choice was by no means restricted to those living in or near the capital. In Puranas cases have been recorded of state elephants tramping for days on end through hills and dales in search of the rightful ruler, patiently followed by the state army and officials. Many a humble peasant lad had in his fashion suddenly found himself

exchanging his sheep hook for the sceptre, his tattered garments for the royal purple.

If elephants made Kings, they, like true King-makers, often proved to be the undoing of several princes in historic battles. There was confusion among the serried ranks of war elephants on the banks of the Indus 2,265 years ago and India's gates were flung open to a foreign invasion for the first time in her history. In his gallant fight against Alexander, the Indian king Poros relied chiefly on the strength of his two hundred war elephants, which formed the front and centre of his army. No sooner did the Indian ranks break before the onslaught of the splendidly disciplined Macedonian cavalry, than they all rushed towards their elephants for shelter as to a friendly wall. In the words of a historian these monsters, which at first sight struck terror in the hearts of Alexander's intrepid hordes, did no less damage to their friends than to their foes, trampling them under their feet as they wheeled, pushed and lashed in their fury. Poros lost the battle, leaving the Greek triumphant.

Nearly eleven centuries later, a similar tragedy was enacted once again in the Indus Valley, which paved the way for subsequent Muslim invasions into India. The naphtha arrows of the Arab invader, Mir Kasim, and his men found their mark unerringly to the consternation of King Dahir's war elephants. The maddened beasts, trumpeting wildly, retreated like a ship backing water with their faces to the enemy, trampling and maiming hundreds of those who brought them into the field. The Arabs, no longer

afraid of the black leviathans, rammed home their advantage and Mir Kasim accomplished his brilliant military tour de force into Sind and back to Arabia.

On only one occasion did the elephants score and that was when the dreaded Mongols, led by Timur, that celebrated scourge of Asia, quailed before these "invincible beasts". The fierce nomads, who knew not what fear was, refused to fight these 'devils incarnate'. Thanks to their elephant bogey, India was spared the horrors of a prolonged invasion by Timur.

The colourful annals of the Rajputs contain many stories of victories turned into routs all on account of the elephant carrying the leader turning *must* during the critical moments of a battle. An Indian army in the olden days was nothing more than a mere rabble, once, it lost sight of its leader or king, who was invariably seated on a huge elephant.

A Moghul prince learnt this lesson at the cost of his life and throne. Emperor Aurangazeb, the last of the Great Moghuls, would have ended his days in obscurity as a *fakir* or probably might have had a bloody end in battle if his brother Dara had not committed the fatal mistake of dismounting from his elephant in the critical hour of the battle.

The old Emperor Shah Jehan (builder of the Taj Mahal) died. In those days Kingship knew no kinship and Dara's (the eldest son of the Emperor) succession to the throne was disputed by his brothers, the youngest of whom was Aurangazeb. The latter, joining his forces with those of his another brother, marched against Dara and the loyal troops who backed the claims of the eldest born,

The battle raged loud and long. At long last, Dara's men seemed to be getting the upper hand. Seated on a beautiful Ceylon elephant, towering above his horsemen, Dara was urging and cheering his troops onward; he was within an ace of victory. Poor man, he did not know that the Gods had willed it otherwise. Leaving his position on the elephant, he jumped on a horse and rode to the front to join his men at the front. It was then that the inevitable happened; The army saw Dara's elephant standing riderless, thought their leader killed, broke and fled in panic. Aurangazeb saw his chance, charged amidst the confusion and, after poisoning his other brother, entered the Imperial city in triumph. Dara was slain in the *melee* that ensued.

A curious feature of this battle, which changed the course of Moghul history, was that elephants were the chief actors in the drama, both on the winning as well as the losing side. While an elephant with an empty imperial *howdah* caused a rout on one side, the other side owed its triumph to a phalanx of chained elephants. The wily Aurangazeb had given orders that all the elephants on his side should be chained to one another so that the beasts might not get excited by gun-fire and cause a general stampede, that would be fatal to the discipline of the army. He reaped the reward for his foresight.

Indian history did not relegate elephants to battle-fields only. When the animals were not fighting the enemy in war, they were forced to fight one another in single combat and in an organised manner. Two elephants, invariably tuskers, tried to gore each other with a low wall betwixt them, while the respective *mahouts*,



Smt. SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE
President, Tripuri Congress

seated on their backs, assiduously egged them on with spears to greater fury until one was completely vanquished. Witnessing such combats was a favourite pastime with the royalty. The practice is indulged even to this day in some of the native states.

For a long time elephants continued to be instruments of torture. A common mode of execution in ancient India was being trampled upon by elephants. So humane an emperor as Akbar adopted it.

There was once a king called Menander (one of the Greco-Bactrian rulers) who ruled in northern India over two thousand years ago. He took a unique delight in seeing elephants rolling to their death down the steep sides of a hill or mountain. With laborious care he had the enormous beasts first hauled up to the mountain tops to be subsequently hurled from those giddy heights.

Coming to our own day, elephants are not denied their share of making one sort of history or other. Who does not know "Kala Nag" that has made film history? Perhaps there are not as many who know that another elephant made electioneering history in America as recently as August 1986. The Republican Party in the United States imported an elephant from India in that year to give life to their traditional emblem in the Presidential election campaign of 1986. The animal was duly anointed on her arrival; a bottle of wine was broken over her head and she was christened Susannah. Susannah toured the United States holding a contribution box with her trunk. If that was not electioneering history, what else was it anyway?

Legend credits Paderewski with having invented the following elephant story:—

Five men of different nationalities each write a book about an elephant. The Englishman goes to India, organises a hunt and composes a thick illustrated travelogue, 'How I Shot My First Elephant'. The Frenchman casually visits the Zoo and promptly produces a yellow-book 'L'Elephant et Ses Amours'. The German plunges into research and emerges some years later with a five volume work, 'Introduction to a Monograph of the Study of the Elephant'. The Russian gets drunk on vodka, retires to his garret and issues a slim philosophic treatise 'The Elephant—Does It Exist?' The Pole sits down in the national library and turns out a fiery pamphlet 'The Elephant and the Polish Question'?

An Indian, given the same task, after delving into historical records and musty parchments, would, in all likelihood, come out with a volume entitled 'The consequences of the Elephant in Indian History' wherein he would attempt to "prove conclusively" that India let the legions thunder past, not because she was in any way inferior to the invader in the matter of martial prowess but because of her misplaced confidence in that immobile, though formidable looking beast—the elephant.

Perhaps he would have begun his thesis with a statement somewhat on these lines: "If Cleopatra's nose had been shorter, said Pascal, the Frenchman who thought a lot, the whole aspect of the world would have been altered. With more or less equal truth one can say, if elephants had been scarce or absent in India, the entire course of her history would have been different."

THE TRIPURI CONGRESS

THE 52nd Session of the Indian National Congress met at Tripuri, a village in Mahakoshal, in the second week of March. The Session met under exceptional circumstances. For the first time in Congress history, the President Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, had scored in a contested election, and the repercussions of that contest had hardly subsided. Added to this, Mr. Subhas himself was in indifferent health. Much against the advice of his doctors, he had dared to travel to Tripuri and fulfil his responsibilities. Indeed, he was so ill that the open session of the Congress and much of the proceedings of the Subjects Committee had to be conducted without him. Above all, the shadow of Rajkot, where Mahatma Gandhi was engaged in a life and death struggle over the State question, was casting a gloom over the session—a gloom relieved only by the breaking of the Mahatma's fast ere the actual proceedings of the Congress began. It was in every way a trying session with grave issues hanging in the balance. The Mahatma's absence for the first time in twenty years from the Congress was weighing heavily on the vast concourse of over two hundred thousand people gathered in Tripuri. But it was evident his spirit was hovering over the scene and the Congress was dominated all through by the one desire to be guided by his sagacious leadership. His chief lieutenants saw to it that the resolutions of the Congress were in complete accord with his principles and policy.

PANDIT PANT'S RESOLUTION

For three days the All-India Congress Committee had battled with a resolution

signed by a majority of members, which affirmed its faith in the old Working Committee members and in the Mahatma's lead. Socialists read in it a suggestion of want of confidence in the elected President. The resolution was sponsored by Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, who spoke with admirable restraint in the Subjects Committee. Over a dozen amendments were moved, and a dozen speakers including Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Mr. S. Satyamurti and Acharya Narendra Deo took part in the debate. The Premier of Madras in the course of his speech declared that the statement by Mr. Bose on the eve of the Presidential election clearly indicated a change of policy and principles and therefore, Mahatma Gandhi had accepted "defeat". The delegates, if they wanted the continued leadership and continued contact of Mahatma Gandhi, should set "matters right" by passing this resolution expressing confidence in his leadership.

Mr. Satyamurti, in a fighting speech, declared:

I ask you delegates to place your hands on your hearts and say whether you are not sorry for the aspersions. Speaking for myself, I should have demanded an apology.

I want Mahatma Gandhi to continue to be the friend, philosopher and guide of the Congress. In 1929, when the Civil Disobedience movement was decided upon, Mahatma Gandhi was made the sole dictator of the Congress. Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru was the President then. Did this mean any reflection on Pundit Nehru?

Acharya Narendra Deo, supporting Jai Prakash Narain's Socialist amendment, made an impassioned appeal to the old members of the Working Committee to give in on minor details, because they could afford to be generous whether they were on the Working Committee or not, because they were the undisputed leaders of the country. The debate was inconclusive and the House adjourned.

WELCOME ADDRESS

The open session of the Congress met on the 10th. Welcoming the delegates, Seth Govind Das, Chairman of the Reception Committee, struck the key-note of the Session when he observed :

Turn wherever we may, we find ourselves faced with difficulties. At this juncture what we need most is solid patriotism, political sagacity and sound leadership. What a pity that at this very critical hour in our history signs of internal strife should manifest themselves! We have begun to think of changing horses in the mid-stream!

After referring to the low level of international morality in Europe to-day and the danger that India is in, the Chairman reaffirmed his faith in the methods and policy pursued by Gandhiji.

To-day we have assembled here under peculiar circumstances. Mr. Gandhi has declared the election of this year's President as his own defeat. It is also stated that the new programme is to resort to direct action once again, if necessary, after giving six months' ultimatum to the British Government. I plead ignorance of secrets, but as far as I am aware Mr. Gandhi or any one of his colleagues has never expressed himself in favour of accepting the Federal part of the Government of India Act.

If this position is conceded, and I have no reason to suspect otherwise, I make bold to say that the issue before us is quite simple. A struggle against Federation is a foregone conclusion. What remains for decision is the time and the manner of initiating the campaign. I hope that the fight will be a non-violent one. Mr. Gandhi is the Acharya of non-violence and knows best the technique of non-violent struggle. It is, therefore, naturally expected that it should be left to the good old teacher to decide when and how the next fight should be started.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

The President did not attend the opening session in view of the state of his health, and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, as the seniormost ex-President, took the chair in his stead. The English version of Mr. Subhas Bose's Presidential address, which created a record in brevity, was read out by his brother, Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose, while the Hindustani version was read out by Acharya Narendra Deo.

The address had to be very brief. The main issue touched on was Federation. Mr. Bose said :

I must give clear and unequivocal expression to what I have been feeling for some time past. The time has come to raise the issue of *swaraj* and submit our national demands to the British Government in the form of an ultimatum.

The problem to-day was no longer one as to when Federation would be forced down their throats. It was what they should do if the Federal scheme was conveniently shelved. They should submit their national demands in the form of an ultimatum with a time-limit, at the expiry of which a reply should be demanded. If the reply was not received within time or was not satisfactory, they should resort to whatever sanctions they had at their disposal.

There were certain people in the Congress, he said, so pessimistic as to think that the time was not ripe for a major assault on British Imperialism. But looking at the situation in a thoroughly realistic manner, he did not see the slightest ground for pessimism. The President proceeded :

With the Congress in power in eight provinces, the strength and prestige of our national organization have gone up. The mass movement had made considerable headway throughout British India. Last but not the least is the wide-spread awakening in the Indian States. What more opportune moment could we find in our national history for a final advance in the direction of *swaraj*, particularly when the international situation is favourable to us? If only we sink our differences, pool our resources and pull our full weight in the national struggle, we can make our attack on British Imperialism irresistible.

Shall we have the political foresight to make the most of our present favourable position or shall we miss this opportunity, which is a rare opportunity in the life of a nation?

A STORMY SCENE

When the Congress resumed its sitting the next morning, it was announced that Mr. Bose's condition had grown serious and doctors had advised his immediate removal from Tripuri. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad presided. Mr. M. S. Aney brought in a motion suggesting that Pandit Pant's resolution on the future leadership of the

Congress should be referred to the A. I. C. C. at a later date in view of the serious condition of Mr. Subhas Bose's health. The motion was adopted amidst some confusion, but when Maulana Abul Kalam Azad began to announce the result, there ensued a storm of opposition followed by noise and shouting of slogans from the Bengal block, which practically made further deliberation impossible. It was in vain that more than one leader tried to restore order out of the chaos of confusing demands from a section of the House which appeared to insist on a poll being taken. Maulana Azad said that in view of the pandemonium, polling was not possible then. He held that it should be taken at the Subjects Committee the next day.

Order was restored after repeated efforts and after the announcement that Mr. Aney was going to withdraw his resolution.

Accordingly Mr. Aney withdrew the resolution. But before he did so, Pandit Nehru made an impassioned speech in which he said that during his connection with the Congress for the last 25 years, he had never witnessed scenes as he witnessed that day.

PANDIT PANT'S RESOLUTION

Following the failure of the Right wing leaders to postpone consideration of the resolution seeking Gandhiji's continued leadership, the Congress met at the Subjects Committee panel on the third day of the session. Visitors were excluded though the Press was allowed to remain and comparative calm prevailed. The proceedings, however, were marked by heated discussion on various amendments moved by members of different groups in the Congress. All amendments having been rejected by large majorities, the

Congress passed Pandit Pant's resolution expressing confidence in Mahatma Gandhi's leadership, his principles and policy by an overwhelming majority by show of hands amidst resounding cries of "Mahatma Gandhi ki jai".

Several members who moved amendments, including Sardar Sardul Singh Cavasheer, Mr. K. F. Nariman, Mr. Bharadwaj, Mr. Sidwa, and Maulana Nuruddin Behari, stressed that the clause relating to 'aspersions' should be deleted and expressed the view that the resolution virtually meant censure on the Congress President, Mr. Subhas Bose.

Pandit Pant, replying to the debate, asserted that the resolution was in no way a vote of no confidence against the President but was only a reaffirmation of the confidence of the Congress in the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi and his principles and policy.

The resolution as finally adopted at the plenary session of the Congress on the last day of the session reads:

The Congress declares its firm adherence to the fundamental policies of the Congress which have governed its programme in the past years under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi, and is definitely of the opinion that there should be no break in these policies, and that these should continue to govern the Congress programme in the future.

The Committee expresses its confidence in the Working Committee, which functioned during last year and regrets that any aspersions should have been cast against any of its members.

In view of a critical situation that may develop during the coming year and in view of the fact that Mahatma Gandhi alone can lead the Congress and the country to victory during such a crisis, the Committee regards it as imperative that the executive authority of the Congress should command his implicit confidence and requests the President to nominate the Working Committee for the ensuing year in accordance with the wishes of Gandhiji.

Following the decision of the All-India Socialist Party to remain neutral in the voting on Pandit Pant's resolution, a number of members of the Congress

Socialist Party from Bengal, the Punjab, and the U. P. resigned their membership of the Congress Socialist Party.

In the absence of the President, Maulana Azad, who presided over the Subjects Committee, suggested that a Sub-Committee including Pandit Nehru and four others be appointed to frame other resolutions as the Working Committee was not functioning. Accordingly, Pandit Nehru presented five resolutions touching on important subjects like Congress policy and programme, Indian States, corruption, etc., which the House discussed at length.

THE NATIONAL DEMAND

The House thereafter proceeded to discuss Pandit Nehru's resolution on the National Demand. The significance of this resolution lay in the rejection of the Congress President's plan of an ultimatum to the British Government, in order to ensure that the Congress demand common to both groups was met within a prescribed time limit.

Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose suggested a time-limit of six months, but Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said that they would be deceiving themselves if they thought that they could win their freedom from the British Government by using bombastic phrases and words. What was required was an enunciation in clear terms of the national demand and preparation for the struggle through strengthening and purifying the Congress organization.

A number of amendments by Socialists were put forward and lost, the ultimatum tactics and the resignation of Provincial Ministers being particularly discounted. The mover, however, accepted certain suggestions made by Mr. Maherally which are incorporated in the last paragraph of the resolution,

Referring to some of the amendments, Pandit Nehru said that he was opposed to Ministers resigning. In his opinion, Ministers ought to fight the Government from within. The time for empty threats, he said, had passed. To-day British Imperialism was not so weak as to be frightened by mere wordy ultimatums and empty threats.

In the open session when Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose intervened with an objection, Socialists themselves protested against the attempt to back out of an agreed resolution in the Subjects Committee and the original resolution was adopted without further ado. The text of the resolution as finally adopted is printed on page 265.

BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY

Resolutions on British Foreign policy, India and Egypt and China's struggle followed. The Congress condemned the British policy as

one of deliberate betrayal of democracy, repeated breach of pledges, the ending of the system of collective security, and co-operation with Governments which are avowed enemies of democracy and freedom.

It referred to the low level of international morality in Central and South-western Europe, viewed the Nazi baiting of the Jews with profound horror and declared that it

dissociates itself entirely from the British foreign policy, which has consistently aided the Fascist Powers and helped in the destruction of democratic countries. The Congress is opposed to Imperialism and Fascism alike and is convinced that world peace and progress require the ending of both of these.

In the opinion of the Congress, it is urgently necessary for India to direct her own foreign policy as an independent nation, thereby keeping aloof from both Imperialism and Fascism and pursuing her path of peace and freedom.

INDIAN STATES

Pandit Nehru then moved the important resolution on Indian States, which after justifying the Haripura resolution conceived to enable the States'

people to develop self-reliance and taking into account the great awakening among the States' peoples as a result of the restraining imposed by the Congress, reiterates the Congress objective as complete independence for the whole of India inclusive of the States, which must have the same measure of political, social and economic freedom with the rest of India. This was a striking departure from the Haripura resolution which declared

that under the existing circumstances the Congress is not in a position to work more effectively to this end within the States, etc., etc. In view of the different conditions prevailing in the States and the rest of India, the general policy of the Congress is often unsuited to the States and may result in preventing or hampering the national growth of the freedom movement in the States.

The Tripura resolution (see page 252), on the other hand, contemplates "removal of the restraint which the Congress imposed on itself, thus resulting in an ever-increasing identification of the Congress with the States people".

Babu Rajendra Prasad, who moved the resolution in the open session, declared that the success of the Haripura policy was apparent in the progress made by the freedom movement in the States since then.

The success of this policy enunciated at Haripura was apparent to-day. Nobody doubted the wisdom and success of this policy. The Congress had always adjusted its policy in accordance with circumstances, and this was true of its policy with regard to Indian States. No policy could be permanent. There was nothing in the Haripura resolution which prevented them from changing their policy. The Haripura policy of non-interference was self-imposed and not dictated by any outside authority.

We may have to change this policy, and, if and when necessity arises, we shall certainly change it.

CORRUPTION

The subject of corruption in the Congress has engaged Gandhiji's attention for some time past. And alike in his articles in the *Harijan* and in his message to the Congress President, Gandhiji had laid stress upon it. The resolution moved by

Sri Prakasa, as finally adopted, reads as follows:—

Inasmuch as experience has shown that the working of the Congress machinery is often rendered difficult by abuse in the method of enrolment of members, elections and otherwise, and inasmuch as it is urgently necessary to remove all such defects, the Congress authorized the A.I.C.C. to take all steps that may be necessary to attain that end including changes in the constitution.

The Congress directs the Working Committee to take all necessary steps to investigate and rectify existing membership rolls, and to take all further action with a view to strengthening the organisation and making it conform to the Congress constitution.

INDIANS OVERSEAS

The resolution on the position of our countrymen overseas was moved by Mr. Satyamurti in the open session. It ran as follows:—

This Congress notes with grave concern and anxiety the rapidly deteriorating position of Indians overseas, especially in countries within the so-called British Commonwealth of Nations, and extends its sympathy and support to all Indian nationals abroad in their just struggle for the assertion of their legitimate rights, political, civic, and economic.

This Congress notes with particular anxiety the danger to Indian life and property in Burma, the hostile attitude towards Indians in Ceylon, the reservation of Kenya Highlands to Europeans to the exclusion of Indians, and the attempt to segregate and pass unjust laws against Indians in South Africa.

This Congress expresses its opinion that only a free and independent India can effectively help its nationals abroad. In the meantime, the Congress calls upon the people of this country to do everything in their power to help the cause of Indians overseas.

Mr. Satyamurti said:

The treatment of Indians abroad is particularly notorious in the British Commonwealth of Nations. While we are fighting our own independence, we assure our brethren abroad of our full sympathy in their difficulties.

We would remind our people abroad that they should learn the lesson that minorities should adjust themselves to the conditions of the country in which they live.

The next Congress was invited to be held in Behar in December next. President Bose is expected to get into touch with Gandhiji in selecting the personnel of his Working Committee and chalk out a programme for the year.

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

By ALLAMA DR. S. N. A. JAFRI, BAR.-AT-LAW

DR. ZAKI Ali has done good service to the world by issuing the above book.* He has divided the book into two parts. The first part contains IX Chapters dealing with the life-sketch of the Prophet, the main principles of Islam, the trend of Islamic laws, the salient features of Islamic polity, and the effect of different civilizations on Islamic institutions. We find in the book a vivid portrait of the early Islam, the glory of which rested in peace, toleration, encouragement of learning and, above all, in centralising the humanity with a view to imbibe a sincere spirit for common brotherhood. The influences of heterogeneous civilizations with which Islam came into contact are also given, from which it is easy to determine how far Islam has drifted from its early path. Innumerable things have crept into the religion, which have changed both the ideology and the general outlook of Islam. If Mohammad (peace be upon him) sees his present followers, surely it will be difficult for him to own even one in one thousand of them and one is, therefore, not surprised when one reads that on the Day of Judgment the Muslims will be seen in a plight in large numbers and when asked as to the reason for this, the Prophet will say: 'O God! my nation has set aside the Quran.' Islam came with the distinct object of removing superstitions but they are rife; to stop idolatry but it is current among the Muslims themselves, sometimes in the worship of graves and sometimes in that of Tazias and Tabuts; to do away with distinctions between man and man, but

all differences in the shapes of classes and castes, which exist among other nations and communities, mostly find place among the Muslims to-day. It preached that in endeavours lay the hand of God, but the Muslims have succumbed to belief in fatalism; no wonder there is stagnation among them. It never countenanced priesthood, nonetheless not only priesthood is eating into its vitals but even the evil of mysticism, which it borrowed from different religions, has affected its fundamentals and has very much closed the door of rational thinking. But for the invaluable work of some of these mystics, the existence of that order in the social and religious polity of Islam must be considered on the whole baneful. A perusal of the above chapter of the book will give a clear idea of the situation.

The author has done well in describing the factors that led to the spread of Islam. This should eliminate the false notion that Islam was spread by sword. The fact is that the rational principles, and the simplicity of Islam, appeal to the people more than the complexity of the Christian and other religions and naturally enough people found in this a mental relief. The civilisation of the world is immensely indebted to Islam. Lebonon's book on "Arab Civilisation" has thrown good light on it. In a small book like this it was impossible to dwell on the various aspects of the contribution of Islam to the world, but the few pages devoted to it are interesting reading.

The author had, generally speaking, made a true survey of the positions of many institutions in Islam, but in some cases his descriptions of them leaves something to be desired. In the case of Caliphate,

* ISLAM IN THE WORLD. By Dr. Zaki Ali; M. Ashraf, Lahore.

for example, he gives two modes of the investiture, namely, election by the Muslim community and nomination by the preceding Caliph; of this the second one is very disputable. Moreover, the full genesis of Caliphate is omitted. It is not the place to discuss this problem here, but it may be mentioned in passing that there has been great misunderstanding about this institution. The Caliphate, as understood commonly, is in effect the temporal and the ecclesiastical headship of the Muslim nation. The Quran, however, does not mention any such institution. According to the Quran, the vicegerency of man on this earth is called the Caliphate.

The author's view about the seclusion of women is in conformity with the precepts and practices of early Islam. To say, however, that Islam borrowed *purdah* from the Byzantine Empire alone is not to say the whole truth. Many other civilizations influenced Islam in this connexion. The *burga* was taken from the Persians and the *purdah* which exists among the Muslims in India is entirely indigenous and is a relic of the ancient Indian civilization. I have discussed this point a little elaborately in my books "Flashlights on Islam" and "Philosophy of Society in Islam".

The second part consists of four chapters dealing mainly with such points which have influenced the rejuvenation of Islam. The coming of Mustafa Kemal and Raza Shah Pahlavi on the firmament of Islamic elegance has no doubt been mainly instrumental in the creation of a new spirit in the Islamic world and the author has tried to bring to light that spirit showing its full effect on the present awakening of the Muslims. Mustafa Kemal has been a unique figure in the world. He found his country in a state of degeneration and took upon himself to regenerate it. Religion as preached by Mullahs and mystics of his time was the main obstacle in his way. It was not the religion of Mohammad—not the world-wide liberation and light-giving religion of the Quran and the Prophet—but something the purpose of which was to exploit the superstitions of common folk with magic and something which will not let the people come out of the abyss

of orthodoxy and conservatism unseen in early Islam. "Islam, the religion of free thought, the religion which once banished priestly superstition and enslavement of men's mind to other men for ever from the lands to which it came had become priest-ridden." Notwithstanding that, the influences of Mullahs and Derveshis were enormous. Undaunted, Mustafa Kemal dealt hard blows to them. The path of nationalism to which Mustafa guided the Turks has been very much misunderstood and the writer also seems to be under some misconception. That path is not opposed to Islam. It is true* that Islam is internationalistic in outlook and preaches sympathy with the entire humanity, but that does not mean that it forbids us from showing the same sympathy to our countrymen. Indeed, every principle of Islam indicates that love of one's own country is an essence of religion and the feeling expressed by the Prophet while leaving his home Mecca refutes all contentions to the contrary. He said: "O Mecca, thou art dearest to me but I leave thee, for thy citizens compel me to quit." Those interested in the problems of Palestine and other Arab States are well advised to read the author's discourse on the subject in the book which, though brief, is informative.

The book contains a statistics of Muslim population of the world taken from reliable sources. It is the first genuine attempt of collecting such a useful figure. From this statistics it appears that the total Muslim population of the world approximates to forty crores. A map has also been attached to the beginning of the book, which points to the countries where Muslims inhabit.

Though brief, the book contains all that portrays a true picture of Islam. The method of description is graceful, straight and lucid. The style is not that of a research scholar, but the book is certainly the result of profuse reading and indicates deep grasp of principles and events of Islam. At the end of the book, a very useful bibliography has been given, which will be helpful to the students of Islam and Islamic History.

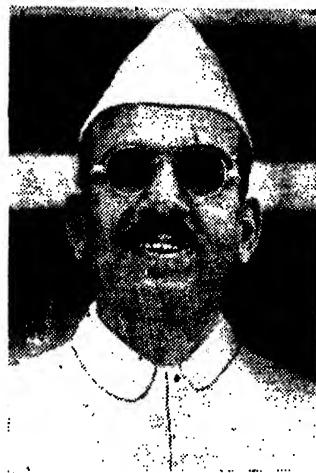
PERSONALITIES IN THE TRIPURI CONGRESS



GOVIND BALLABH PANT



C. RAJAGOPALACHARI



SETH GOVIND DAS, M.L.A.

Chairman of the Reception Committee of the 52nd Session of the Indian National Congress at Tripuri (Mahakoshal)



SARDAR VALLABHAI PATEL



Mrs. SAROJINI NAIDU

COLLECTIVE SECURITY

BY DR. E. ASIRVATHAM

(University of Madras)

COLLECTIVE security means the safety of all by all. It is the application to world politics of the homely truth "Unity is strength".

The machinery of collective security in our day has been provided by the Covenant of the League of Nations. Article X of this Covenant promises security to every member of the League against aggression or threat of aggression. Articles XVI and XVII lay down penalties known as sanctions by means of which the offending State can be brought to its knees. These sanctions are of various kinds, viz., social, economic, financial, diplomatic and military. Article XI gives to each member of the League the friendly right to bring to the attention of the Assembly or of the Council any circumstance affecting international relations which threatens to disturb peace.

So far as the machinery for international peace is concerned, it would look as though, with the inauguration of the League of Nations, the Dove of Peace had come to take its permanent abode on earth. One could well have rejoiced with the eloquent M. Briand when, with the wave of the hands, he declared in one of the sittings of the League Assembly: "Away with guns! away with cannon," even though one was aware of the fact that at the very time when M. Briand burst into this ecstasy, France was the most heavily-armed power in Europe.

How different from theory have been the facts regarding collective peace and security. The hope that the Great War of 1914-18 was a "war to end war" has proved to be a delusion. After eighteen years during which the League has been in operation, instead of peace there is chaos, and instead of collective security there is collective insecurity. The last eight years have witnessed the worst reverses possible for the reputation of the League of Nations. In 1931, Japan, a Member of the League, invaded Manchuria and after waging an aggressive and altogether unprovoked war upon China, another Member of the League, virtually annexed Manchuria. After considerable delay the League appointed a Commission of

Enquiry known as the Lytton Commission, but before its report could be published and any action taken on it, the worst in Manchuria had been done. One of the difficulties of collective security has been in promptly naming the aggressor and in putting immediate pressure upon him.

For months before the commencement of the Italo-Abyssinian War, Mussolini openly prepared for it. Under the pretext of the Wal Wal incident, he invaded the Abyssinian territory in 1935 and after raining poison gas and liquid fire upon the poorly-equipped Ethiopians, Mussolini annexed their country. Strange as it may seem, all through the war both Italy and Abyssinia were members of the League. Emboldened by their success in 1931-32, the Japanese have been waging a relentless "unofficial" war in China for the last twenty-one months, bombing open cities, slaughtering civilians, and throwing to the winds every vestige of international law and international morality. In 1937, Germany annexed Austria without any serious protest from any quarter.

Events in Central Europe during the last six months have shaken to the core our faith in solemn international agreements and collective security. In September-October 1938, at the point of the sword, Hitler succeeded in annexing the Sudeten districts of Czechoslovakia. Although France at the time was committed to the defence of Czechoslovakia, she had no hesitation in repudiating her obligation. In spite of his plighted word that he had no further schemes of territorial aggrandisement in Europe, Hitler, within the last few days, has deliberately gone back on his promises, belying the simple faith of Mr. Neville Chamberlain that at the Munich Agreement, he was able to secure peace with honour. By means of the threat of a military swoop, Hitler has annexed the Czech territory of Bohemia and Moravia as well as Memel in Lithuania and has forced a trade agreement upon Rumania. The policy which he has systematically followed is to precipitate a crisis before anybody is ready for action

and use the mailed fist rather than the recognised methods of negotiation in securing his object. Hitler seems to believe that nothing is worth acquiring by peaceful negotiation. Threat of force and display of military strength are his favourite methods. After his unconditional ultimatum of forty-eight hours to Lithuania, Germany and Lithuania have undertaken "never to resort to force against each other, nor to support the use of force by a third party against one of the two parties!"

What has Collective Security meant during all these years? It is said that there is honour among thieves, but one wonders whether there is honour among nations. Instead of the world being made safe for Liberty and Democracy, it has been made safe for brigands and aggressors. What has happened to the international guarantee given to truncated Czechoslovakia in September-October 1938, 'that she would be protected against unprovoked aggression?

In discussions on international peace, it is usual to throw the entire blame upon the disgruntled powers of the world—Japan, Italy and Germany. But the truth is that such satiated powers as Great Britain, France and the U. S. A. are equally to blame. An impartial study of recent history shows that the so-called peace-loving countries of the world have not been passionately following the ideal of peace. As Bernard Shaw rightly says: People are not pacifists in the same burning sense in which they are ratepayers. They are pacifists between wars, like the little boy who claimed that he scrupulously observed fasting between meals. If the besetting sin of the disgruntled powers is acquisitiveness, that of the satiated powers is selfishness. Italy, Japan and Germany, each in turn, gambled for territory and have won their tricks. Smaller powers and weaker nations are now convinced that the greater powers will not come to their rescue out of an altruistic motive. Unless their own interests are touched, the satiated powers are likely to yield to the threats of Dictators, forgetting that iniquity tolerated abroad will soon react upon themselves.

During the last ten years the principle of collective security has either not been applied or applied so ineffectively as to make it a byword. When China was invaded by Japan in 1931, the former applied to the League, but nothing material came of it. No sanctions were applied. During the Italo-Abyssinian War, the implementing of the League provisions was left to England and France, but neither of them was prepared to incur the wrath of Italy, or to take the risk of losing some of their African possessions. At long last when sanctions were applied, they were applied in such a half-hearted and non-provocative manner as to amount to nothing. On the contrary, they infuriated the Italians into making the war even more barbarous than it was before so as to win a speedy victory. No sanction was applied as regards oil, which was one of the most important commodities required in the war. President Roosevelt declared that the American Government would not stand in the way of American businessmen exporting oil to Italy at their own risk. Lastly, the Hoare-Laval proposals knocked the bottom out of the sanctions.

In the face of all this, collective security seems to be a mere academic dream. If it is to succeed at all, nations should cultivate a regard for principles, treaties and pledges. The outworn doctrine of absolute national sovereignty should go and there should be substituted for it the willingness to remove injustice by consultation, deliberation and adjudication. States should become "upholders of decency and justice". Conditions should be so changed that small powers will have confidence in the bigger ones.

But if collective security is an impossible ideal and politically unsound, and a League War, if and when it comes, is likely to be as ruthless as any other war, shall we try the way of Collective Neutrality with its programme of unilateral disarmament, unilateral application of sanctions and non-intervention? Of the way of absolute pacifism? Or the way of non-violent resistance on a nation-wide scale? Will these be regarded as collective suicide or collective salvation? I leave the reader to answer these questions.

INDIAN AFFAIRS

By "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

The Tata Centenary

It is a hundred years since Jamshedji Tata was born in Navsari and it is fitting that the country should celebrate the memory of one of the greatest figures in the industrial history of India. Three generations of Tatas have with filial piety and devotion built upon the foundation so well and truly laid by the great Parsi pioneer and philanthropist. The result is a network of organisations, which in output and efficiency can rival the enterprise of the most advanced countries of the West. Tata's cotton and steel and chemicals have placed India definitely on the road to rapid industrialisation. And what shall we say of the spirit of constructive philanthropy that has inspired the enterprise of the Tatas? Jamshedji had an abiding faith in the aristocracy of intellect.

It is not so much to prop up its weakest and most helpless members as to lift up the best and the most gifted so as to make them of the greatest service to the country. I prefer this constructive philanthropy which seeks to educate and develop faculties of the best of our young men.

It is in this spirit of constructive philanthropy that he created the Tata scholarships and founded the Tata Institute of Science. And the magnitude of his achievements stands out years after his death. May his tribe increase!

Mr. Bose's Presidential Address

Mr. Subhas Bose's address to the Tripuri Congress is the briefest in Congress record. Mr. Bose was too ill to attempt a lengthy address and then circumstances were so indefinite that he had to postpone the writing to the last hour. But even in that brief address, Mr. Bose could not refrain from discanting on his pet ideologies which had little to do

with the realities of the situation. Mr. Bose believes in hurling ultimatums and he gave six months' notice to Britain. Another of his pet notions is that now that England is faced with trouble in Europe, this is just the time when we should make the best of the bargain.

The ultimatum tactics, it must be confessed, savours too much of the Fascist mentality and has been rightly repudiated. Hard words break no bones and the sober elements in the Congress have shown their preference to actual performance rather than to promises and threats.

And what shall one say of a policy that would turn Britain's difficulties into India's opportunity? With what face can we condemn the doings of the Fascist opportunists of Europe while at the same time attempting to ape their manners and morals in our dealings with Britain? It is the very negation of Gandhism. One feels that apart from its being bad morals, it is not even good tactics to repeat this formula.

The Trade Agreement

In another page, the President of the Indian Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta, deals exhaustively with the recent trade pact with England and comes to the conclusion that the Agreement arrived at after nearly two and a half years' negotiations is unfortunately such as cannot satisfy conditions fundamental to the national economy of India.

This view has since been endorsed by the verdict of the Central Assembly, which has rejected the Commerce Member's motion for approval of the Pact. Any agreement with Britain, which would jeopardise our bargaining power with other countries, would be definitely against the best interests of this country.

The Viceroy's Address to Princes

The Viceroy's address to the Princes' Chamber was notable for its outspokenness. Though couched in polite and suave language, it was distinctly marked by a definiteness of purpose which could hardly be mistaken. His Excellency recognised the right of every ruler to determine the form of government, or the nature of the reforms best suited to his people. But he had no hesitation in declaring that urgent changes were necessary. With marked tact and dignity the Viceroy commented on the absentee Ruler, the Ruler who monopolised State revenue for personal expenditure, undue exactions of the State or of its officials, the lack of touch between the Ruler and his officials and subjects, and the failure to publish administration reports.

Seldom has such an indictment been heard from Viceregal lips. And yet it was all done with a gentle suggestiveness that must have gone home to the hearts of the august listeners. The Viceroy made it clear that he would not stand in the way of any ruler who wished to give effect to constitutional advances.

He who would be the father of his people must satisfy himself that all classes of his subjects are given their fair share in the benefits of his rule, and that an undue proportion of the revenue of his State is not reserved for his own expenditure. And the fact that the normal sphere of the activities of a ruler lies within the four corners of his State calls for no emphasis from me. An absentee ruler, like an absentee landlord, represents a condition of affairs that has never easily admitted of justification.

And what of those small States whose resources are so limited as to preclude them from providing for the requirements of the people in accordance with modern standards? He asked them to join together and have a common administrative machinery.

The Kenya Highlands

The attempt of the Kenya Government to segregate Indians in the Colony, and the failure of the Government of India to force that Government to do the right thing by the Indians, were the subject of an adjournment motion in the Central Assembly. Non-official members gave expression to strong feelings of resentment and indignation at the trend of events.

Two cardinal points in the debate are clear beyond dispute. Every one felt that so long as India is not free and paramount in this country, she can hardly have her words respected abroad.

The other point that should sustain us with some encouragement in this struggle is that so far as the question of Indians abroad is concerned, the Government of India are one with the people of the country. The debate proved beyond doubt that officials were no less strong in their condemnation of the Kenya Government's policy than non-officials. Sir Jagdish Prasad, Member of the Executive Council, holding the portfolio of Emigration, bluntly pointed out that

the feelings of resentment against racial discrimination and persecution certainly do not strengthen the bonds of Empire, and people with such feelings could not in times of crises join in giving help with the same moral force and enthusiasm as those who felt they were living under a system of government in which their privileges and rights were preserved.

This is certainly as strong an indictment as a member of Government could make. Sir G. S. Bajpai went a step further. He regretted that

there were no sanctions upon which the Government of India could rely in regard to Kenya and, where the Government had such sanctions, he told the Assembly that the Government of India had not been slow to act and instanced the cases of Malaya and Ceylon.

Indian Christians and Nationalism

Presiding over the last Session of the Indian Christian Conference at Madras, Dr. H. C. Mookerjee put in a suggestion to his fellow-Christians not to pin their faith in separate electorates but to merge themselves completely with the general body of Indians. Dr. Mookerjee has now elaborated and emphasised this new policy for the acceptance of his community in a recent speech at Lucknow. He is well aware that his community will thereby lose some advantages reserved to important minorities. But they will be more than offset by the benefits of the new order. He put it admirably in the true Christian spirit of service and humility.

We are looking forward to a united India. The price for this much-prized union will have to be paid and if we choose to pay it, we should not count the cost but set our face steadfastly towards the goal and advance towards it, however great the difficulties and however thorny the way.

And he rightly reminded his audience that "the future of India is a very much more important thing than the rights of any community, large or small".

Gandhiji's Fast

Thanks to the timely intervention of H. E. the Viceroy, a crisis fraught with incalculable consequences has been averted. To the great relief of his countrymen and many friends abroad, Gandhiji was enabled to end a grim fast unto death, which he had undertaken in protest against the Thakore Sahib of Rajkot. Gandhiji held that there had been a breach of faith by the Thakore Sahib who had agreed to the appointment of a committee to recommend reforms in his State, but had objected to some of the names for the committee suggested by Sardar Patel, the negotiator for Congress and the State's people. When the threat of fast was carried into effect, it caused the greatest anxiety in

the country, both on personal and political grounds. It is useless to discuss the ethics of the fast or the propriety of such methods in public life. All that the people from one end of the country to the other were concerned with, was to find a way out of the impasse and save the precious life of the Mahatma. Lord Linlithgow promptly intervened and made an offer to submit the dispute to the Chief Justice of India as arbitrator, and further agreed to use his influence to see that the Thakore Saheb carried out his undertakings. This offer Gandhiji accepted and ended the fast on the fifth day.

Lord Zetland on Paramountcy and the States

Lord Zetland, the Secretary of State for India, could hardly have pitched upon a more appropriate time for clarifying the position of the Paramount Power *vis-a-vis* the States. There are States in India where the level of administration is pretty high, but he added

there were other States where the standard of administration was susceptible to considerable improvement and in his view the time had come when the Paramount Power should intervene a little more actively than it had in the past, not with a view to derogating from the sovereignty of the Princes, but for giving them advice with the object of raising the standard of their administration.

Though we are under a promise to protect the Princes against aggression from without, it is only reasonable that we should see that the legitimate grievances of Their Highnesses' subjects should be carefully considered by them, and where possible, remedy should be applied.

Oddly enough, the speech was made at a Dinner of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce; but the importance of the pronouncement will be realised when we remember that it was the very day on which Mahatma Gandhi decided to fast unto death over the Rajkot issue. It was the Viceroy's happy intervention that relieved the situation.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

BY "CHRONICLER"

The European Cauldron

ONCE again Herr Hitler has shown that he cares little for pacts or the plighted word. He has only confirmed the old war time complaint that for Germany' treaties are no more than scraps of paper. In twelve months he has become master of Central Europe, defying the Powers and in total disregard of the decencies of public life. The methods of the gangster have succeeded beyond measure and there seems nothing to stop him from further depredations. Austria first, then the Sudetenland and now in a trice we find Czecho-Slovakia first dismembered and then completely swallowed up by the Reich. So swift and ruthless is the action that all Europe and America stand stunned and amazed at its enormity.

The most disillusioned man in Europe is probably the British Prime Minister, Mr. Neville Chamberlain, who had expected the Munich pact to give the much-needed respite to the distracted Continent. In six months the Pact has been torn to shreds and dishonoured.

The partition of Czecho-Slovakia has come quicker than expected; but the efficiency and rapidity with which Herr Hitler seized Moravia and Bohemia came as no surprise. The German formula has been identical in each of her three foreign successes during the last twelve months. First, the ground is thoroughly prepared, then when all arrangements are complete, German troops have merely to take possession of the territory gained by disgusting diplomacy.

Hitler has apparently dropped the pretence of fighting for the protection of his Germanic people and cynically ignored his promise that the Sudetenland was the last of his territorial ambitions in Europe. What next?

Surrender of Madrid

With the surrender of Madrid, the major portion of Spain has fallen in rebel hands. Republican Spain has withstood the onslaught unaided for two and a half years, while General Franco, helped by Italian legionaries and German arms, has marched on from victory to victory. In this tragedy the League's plan of non-intervention came in very handy. It was this diplomatic triumph of the dictators that paved the way for Franco's military triumph. But now it is all over, and Republican Spain is now at the mercy of the conquerors. For the latest reports confirm the news that other provincial capitals have also capitulated. The work of the soldier is finished. It is time for pacification by statesmanship. Will the new Government be generous to a brave and chivalrous people? Therein lies the hope of a resurgent Spain.

The Italian Demands

In his much-heralded speech on the 20th Anniversary of the Fascist Party, Sgr. Mussolini has chosen to mark time. The Duce has delayed forcing the issues with France by merely reiterating Italy's claims for Tunis, Jibuti and the Suez Canal, but not delivering any ultimatum.

Regarding the Nazi *coup* in Central Europe, Sgr. Mussolini said it was all destined to happen. Attempts to bend the Rome-Berlin axis was puerile. As a sort of reply to the British Premier's warning that Britain cannot look on while Europe was being dominated by force, the Duce said that should the longed-for coalition against authoritarian regimes come about, those regimes would surely take up the challenge.

Germany's New Conquests

Germany has profited considerably from her conquest and absorption of Czechoslovakia. Apart from the extent of territory and the expansion of her powers in South-eastern Europe, the economic implications of the annexation are far reaching. Britain and France have foolishly allowed the Führer to reap the benefit of a conquest which will go far to strengthen his hands against possible rivals.

The amount of gold seized by Germany is known to be worth about £25,000,000. In addition there are the enormous holdings of foreign exchange by the Government and private enterprises.

Further, the disarmament of the Czech Army means that arms, munitions and equipment for a standing army of 40 divisions become available to Germany with about 1,500 aeroplanes, mainly military craft.

The famous Skoda Armament Works becomes German as do the arms factories at Brno. There are also 44 factories in the country for the manufacture of guns, cannon, tanks and armoured vehicles.

The Fate of Memel

A German note demanding the evacuation of Memel territory within five days was handed to M. Urbahis, the Lithuanian Foreign Minister in an interview with Von Ribbentrop in Berlin on March 21.

A report stated that if Lithuania refused the terms, German troops concentrated on the frontier would march into Lithuania, but if the note is accepted, Lithuania frontiers would be guaranteed and the right of the use of the port conceded.

The Lithuanian Government agreed to the unconditional demand, and Memel has since passed into German hands.

The New Pope

The Papal election and the subsequent coronation in the Vatican City were accompanied by colourful and prolonged ceremonies according to historic traditions. The Italian Cardinal Pacelli, who was Papal Secretary of State to the late Pope, has in his 88rd year become the Chief Pontiff under the title of Pope Pius the Twelfth.

It is very seldom that a Secretary of State is elected Pope. It is felt—and probably rightly—that each new Pope should not be committed to the policy of his predecessor, that he should feel completely free to review the situation with fresh eyes. Nevertheless, Cardinal Pacelli was chosen by his fellow Cardinals on account of his exceptionally wide diplomatic experience and universal popularity.

The new Pope is a statesman and scholar who, it is hoped, will shed fresh lustre on his glorious position, and his first public utterance indicates that the Papacy at this critical period in Europe will exercise a profound influence for good.

The Peace Front

Negotiations for a Peace Front have been abandoned since Poland is unwilling to commit herself, and she does not see why she should sign a declaration which merely involves a conference if she is attacked. On the other hand, she also dislikes the Russian proposal of a more concrete agreement, that both Britain and Russia would go to war in the event of German aggression. She wishes to preserve her traditional neutrality as between Russia and Germany, and she does not like the idea of a Russian army in Poland.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

- March 1. President Azana, President of the Republican Spain, resigns.
- March 2. Cardinal Pacelli becomes Pope Pius XII.
- March 3. Mahatma Gandhi begins fast in connection with the Rajkot crisis.
- March 4. Three of the Congress Ministries urge Viceroy to intervene in Rajkot dispute.
- March 5. Council of National Defence headed by General Casado replaces the Negrin Government in Madrid.
—Viceroy returns to Delhi.
- March 6. Pandit Jawaharlal, in the absence of Gandhiji, declares open the Khadi Exhibition at Tripuri.
- March 7. Settlement reached on Rajkot crisis through Viceroy's intervention.
—Gandhiji breaks fast.
- March 8. Congress Subjects' Committee discusses Rightists' resolution reaffirming faith in the old Working Committee and Gandhiji's leadership.
- March 9. Lord Halifax defines British attitude to the Franco blockade.
- March 10. The 52nd Indian National Congress meets at Tripuri, Sjt. Subhas Chandra Bose presiding.
- March 11. Czech-Slovak tension. New Slovak Ministers are sworn in at Prague.
- March 12. Pope Pius XII is crowned at St. Peters.
- March 13. H. E. the Viceroy opens the Session of the Princes' Chamber in New Delhi.
- March 14. Slovak independence is declared. Hitler annexes Czecho-Slovakia.
- March 15. Gandhiji meets the Viceroy at Delhi.
- March 16. Sir James Grigg, Finance Member, is appointed Under-Secretary of State to the British War Office.
- March 17. Mr. Chamberlain expresses surprise and disappointment at Hitler's affront.
- March 18. Soviet refuses to recognise the new German annexations.
- March 19. British Cabinet decides on immediate contact with democratic powers.
- March 20. Gandhiji advises suspension of Jaipur satyagraha.
- March 21. A German note to Lithuania demands evacuation of Memel.
- March 22. Memel passes into German hands.
—M. Lebrun, President of France, and Madame Lebrun visit London.
- March 23. The German-Rumanian Treaty is signed.
—On Gandhiji's advice, Travancore civil disobedience is suspended.
- March 24. Mahatma Gandhi confers with Congress leaders in Allahabad.
- March 25. Capt. the Hon. Arthur Oswald Hope is appointed Governor of Madras in succession to Lord Erskine.
—Viceroy certifies the Finance Bill.
- March 26. Anti-German incidents in Polish corridor.
—Sgr. Mussolini, speaking in Rome, reiterates Italy's claims on France.
- March 27. Travancore Civil Disobedience prisoners are released.
- March 28. Madrid has surrendered to Gen. Franco.
- March 29. Sir Haasan Suhrawardy is appointed Adviser to the Secretary of State for India in succession to Sir Abdul Qadir, from July.
- March 30. Franco's troops enter Valencia. All Provincial Capitals declare for the Nationalists.

The WORLD of BOOKS

BECOMING. BY FRANK TOWNSHEND.

George Allen and Unwin Ltd. 6s. net.

This is a short history of evolution, both cosmic and individual, told in cryptic and fast moving sentences almost poetic in quality. The first chapter summarises the various stages in the evolution of life covering a period of about two thousand million years. The most important event in this long process is the emergence of consciousness culminating in the production of man. With man came all the complications of civilisation and corporate living. The second chapter gives a description of present conditions, man's religion and philosophy, science and art, social and political institutions, educational and economic schemes, his successes and failures. We are struck by the richness and variety of life which a general survey thereof reveals. There are differences and yet underlying these there are greater similarities. Everything changes. Nothing goes back to exactly what it was before. The next chapter analyses the Self and its growth, its fears and hopes, the various experiences it has gone through. In the remaining chapters of the book, the laws that govern the universe are reduced and the direction of progress is indicated. The universe is one and is governed by rhythm and informed by polarity. It has continuity and its evolution is irreversible. There is a hierarchy of order in it as also an element of freedom. The universe evolves from within outwards; and it goes along a curved path. In this process of universal becoming, the age to come is that of

urthman. The urthman is one who has attained to conscious unity with the universe. He began to appear in the world three or four thousand years ago in the persons of founders of religions, sages, philosophers, poets and mystics. This shows that the age of the urthman dawns upon the world and the age of man draws to a close. In the concluding passages of this remarkable work, the author appeals for co-operation and unstinted effort on the part of humanity to usher in this era of urth.

We have unqualified praise for this book, which attempts at reconciling modern science with mystic experience and presents a synthesis of universal becoming.

THE WARDHA SCHEME OF EDUCATION. By

Mr. C. J. Varkey, M.A. Published by
the Oxford University Press. Rs. 2.
(G. A. Natesan & Co., Esplanade, Madras.)

This book aims at a clear exposition of the Wardha Scheme of Education sponsored by Mahatma Gandhi, and explains its main features. The first portion deals with the genesis of the scheme and its imperative need, due to the failure of the existing system of education to meet the nation's demand.

An honest attempt is made to answer the criticisms levelled against the scheme, and the defence would be found in some cases convincing only to the faithful. The book is an authoritative interpretation of the main ideas behind the scheme, and as such would be found useful by the defenders as well as the critics of the scheme.

WHAT NEXT, BABY? OR SHALL I GO TO TANGANYIKA? By A. G. Macdonell. Macmillan & Co. Ltd. 6d. net.

The play purports to be a satire—and it is a brilliant one—or the present autocratic system that pervades the cinema. The play was produced in October 1938, at the Player's Theatre Club in London a few days after the recent International crisis. Naturally people regarded the play as a political satire and confused the two film autocrats: Miss Amanda and Miss Bianca of the play with two Dictators. The introduction of terms like Prime Minister, Foreign Office, Colonial Office, etc., must have helped to further the confusion. The author in his full and explanatory preface—reminding one of Bernard Shaw's prefaces—assures the reader that it has no political significance. 'What next, Baby?' is a powerful title suggesting the new problems that are arising in Theatrical and Cinematographic affairs. The outstanding feature is the Star system in which the leading woman, or leading man, the former more often than the latter, dominates the film world with the high pressure, dynamic Publicity Agent and the ultra-effective Business Manager.

The reader will follow the lightning changes and chances of the two redoubtable Film Stars, Miss Amanda and Miss Bianca, in their projected conquest of Tanganyika, study the modes and methods of their Publicity Agents, Mason and Johnson, in their handling of Vanderpaults, Chairman of the British Colonial Film Company of Tanganyika and Washington, McCormick of the Gigantophone Film Corporation of Hollywood and the Foreign Office and the Empire Marketing Board. The play is an arresting treatise on mass psychology.

WEST OF SUEZ. By S. Natarajan. Published by the Indian Social Reformer Limited, Bombay. (To be had of G. A. Natesan & Co., Esplanade, Madras. Rs. 8.)

There have been books galore on India by Europeans; but books on Europe by Indians have been few and far between. Now, however, more and more Indians undertake the travel out and come back with their reminiscences. And Mr. Natarajan, the son of a famous father, is one such. It is but natural that these impressions should be coloured by the author's own personal prejudices and patterns of life.

Mr. Natarajan has taken with him to Europe some ideas, a little prejudice and a lot of eagerness. He has returned with many of them back, but fortified by a new freedom and a desire for an open mind, which is a rare acquisition.

"West of Suez" is a bold book, in that it is a new departure in travel-writing. The author gives only his own personal reactions in new countries. He has also had a thirst for new discoveries, first-hand information, and if he did not acquire them every time, it is not his fault. His records of Nazi Germany and Coronation London are master-pieces. Though he has a severe matter-of-fact style, he is in places witty too, and that quality saves the book from being dry.

PLAIN PEOPLE. By Kathleen Norris. John Murray.

The book contains thirteen short stories in which the author has merrily treated some types of heroines. An attempt has been made to create some interest in some plain characters in very plain situations.

OUR LADY. BY UPTON WERNER LAURIE. 5 sh.

Upton Sinclair in his latest novel—a fantasy—handles a delicate theme—the story of Marya, the mother of Jesus Christ, one of the most shadowy and yet magical characters of history. Marya, an innocent peasant woman of Nazareth and a sweet mother is in painful anxiety for the future of her first-born Jesu, who leaves his home for Jordan to be baptised by John. To know the future of her son, she could not resist an unholy temptation of resorting to a sorceress, who, by her spell, transports her to the future—a civilised world nineteen hundred years ahead. The world with its new religion and bewildering changes is an entire revelation to her.

The story with its weird fantastic setting is a commentary on Christianity and the Church—a parable for the moderns.

SINCLAIR.

RECENT EXPERIMENTS IN CONSTITUTION-MAKING. By B. M. Sharma, M.A., Ph.D. Upper India Publishing House Ltd., Literature Palace, Lucknow.

Mr. Sharma's book has come at a time when public attention is of necessity focussed on the States of Europe and the several systems of Government that obtain there. The Great War has left its blazing trail on the States of Europe, with the result they are now governed with different types of machinery. Mr. Sharma has given a study of these contemporary systems. The Democratic Governments of Ireland and of Czechoslovakia are dealt with first. Then he takes up the authoritarian or totalitarian States of Germany, Italy and Russia. Wherever possible comparison to Indian conditions is made, which affords quite an interesting reading not only to the student of Political Science but also to the general reader.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—:O:—

STARS AND STRIPES. By Maurice Dekobra. T. Werner Laurie Ltd., London.

ANCIENT INDIA, Vol. I & II. From 900 B.C. to 100 A.D. By Tribhuvandas L. Shah, L.M. & S. Shashikant & Co., Baroda.

THE TRUE INDIA: A Plea for Understanding. By Rev. C. F. Andrews. George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London.

THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE GROUP. By B. K. Mallik. George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London.

INTRODUCTORY SCHOOL MATHEMATICS. By L. Crosland, M.C., B.Sc. MacMillan & Co., Ltd., London.

IF WAR COMES: An Essay on India's Military Problems. By B. P. Adarkar, M.A. (Cantab). The Indian Press, Ltd., Allahabad. Rs. 2-8.

THE GITA: A CRITIQUE. By P. Narasimham, M.A., L.T. The Huxley Press, Madras.

THE LAST MESSAGE OF SRI KRISHNA. Text with English Translation and Notes. By Swami Madhavananda. Advaita Ashrama, Mayavati, Almora. Rs. 2-8.

THEY BETRAYED CZECHOSLOVAKIA. By G. J. George. Penguin Books, Ltd., England.

BRITAIN BY MASS-OBSERVATION. Arranged and written by Charles Madge and Tom Harrison. Penguin Books, Ltd., England.

MOWBRAY IN CHINA. By Edgar Ansel Mowrer. Penguin Books Ltd., As. 7. G. A. Natesan & Co.

INDUSTRIAL WORKER IN INDIA. By B. Shiva Rao. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF COURAGE. By Philip Leon. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London.

THE GOLDEN AGE OF MYSORE. By C. V. Krishnaswamy, M.A., LL.B. Sayaji Rao Road, Mysore.

PRACTICAL VEDANTA. By Swami Vivekananda. Reprint of four lectures by the Swami in London in November 1896. Advaita Ashrama, Mayavati, Almora. 12 As.

MODERN INDIA. By Swami Vivekananda. Reprint of an Essay originally written in Bengali and published in March 1899 in the *Udbodhan*, an organ of the Ramakrishna Order. Advaita Ashrama, Mayavati, Almora. 6 As.

INDIAN STATES

Central India States

CONFERENCE OF SMALL STATES

The establishment of a High Court, with qualified judges for the common administration of justice and the unification of other departments such as Engineering, Public Works and Forest administrations are among the proposals put forward by Mr. K. S. Fitz, the Resident in the Central India States, at the Conference of Bundelkhand and Baghelkhand States, which met at Nowgong on March 20. Nearly twenty-five States were represented.

Mr. Fitz, at the opening of the Conference, read out certain recent speeches including those delivered by H. E. the Viceroy in the Chamber of Princes and by Lord Zetland, Secretary of State for India. He also read a short message from H. E. the Crown Representative, in which the Rulers were asked to give consideration to the Resident's proposals.

Congress and the States

THE TRIPURI RESOLUTION

The following is the text of the resolution on Indian States adopted at the Tripuri Congress:-

The Congress welcomes the awakening of the people of Indian States in many parts of the country and considers this as a hopeful prelude to a larger freedom comprising the whole of India, for which the Congress has laboured. The Congress supports the demand for responsible government and civil liberty in the States and expresses its solidarity with these movements for freedom and self-expression, which are integral parts of the larger struggle.

While appreciating that some rulers of States have recognized this awakening as a healthy sign of growth and are seeking to adjust themselves to it in co-operation with these people, the Congress regrets that some other rulers have sought to suppress these movements by banning peaceful and legitimate organizations and all political activity and in some cases resorting to cruel and inhuman repression.

The whole of India was profoundly stirred by the announcement of the indefinite fast by

Gandhiji in order to remedy the breach by the Thakore Saheb of Rajkot of the settlement arrived at between him and his councillors on the one hand, and Sardar Patel as representing the people, on the other.

The Congress expresses its gratification at the recent agreement resulting in the termination of the fast and trusts that the people of Rajkot will have their aspirations fulfilled and further hopes that the Princes of Kathiawar and other parts of India will march with the times and in co-operation with their people introduce responsible government.

The Congress is of opinion that the resolution of the Haripura Session of the Congress relating to 'States has answered the expectations raised by it and has justified itself by encouraging the peoples of the States to organize themselves and conduct their own movements for freedom. The Haripura policy was conceived in the best interests of the people in order to enable them to develop self-reliance and strength. This policy was dictated by circumstances and by a recognition of the limitations inherent in the circumstances but it was never conceived as an obligation. The Congress has always possessed the right as it is its duty, to guide the people of the States and lead them with its influence. The great awakening that is taking place among the people of the States may lead to the relaxation or to the complete removal of the restraint which the Congress imposed upon itself, thus resulting in an ever-increasing identification of the Congress with the States' peoples.

The Congress desires to reiterate that its objective, complete independence, is for the whole of India, inclusive of the States, which are integral parts of India which cannot be separated and which must have the same measure of political, social, and economic freedom as the rest of India.

Mysore

POSTPONEMENT OF PROHIBITION

The Mysore Government, it is understood, have informed the Madras Government that it will not be possible for Mysore immediately to offer co-operation with Madras for ensuring the success of Prohibition in Salem, Cuddapah and Chittoor districts and that such co-operation may be possible only from July 1, 1939.

LOANS TO COFFEE PLANTATIONS

The Government of Mysore have sanctioned the recommendation of the Revenue Commissioner for the continuance of the scheme of granting takavi loans to coffee planters till the end of April 1939.

Hyderabad

Dr. SAPRU AND HYDERABAD

In an interview to a Press representative at Secunderabad, the Rt. Hon. Dr. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, who delivered the Convocation Address to the Osmania University, said :

You are fortunate in having such men of imagination as the Rt Hon. Sir Akbar Hydari and Nawab Mirza Yar Jung Bahadur at the helm of affairs in your State to steer clear of bitterness and trouble. I have every hope of a satisfactory solution of the problems in the State under the able guidance of these statesmen.

Sir Tej Bahadur deplored the irresponsible propaganda carried on by a section of communalists, creating disharmony and strife. As one who had a personal knowledge of the State for over two decades, he could safely assert that at least 70 per cent. of the criticisms were absolutely unfounded.

He had made personal inquiries about the educational policy of H. E. H. the Nizam's Government and he was convinced that the Vernacular medium of instruction was accepted by the Government up to the high school stage. He stressed the need for healthy criticism based on facts.

Referring to Hindustani, he expressed surprise at certain section of the people preferring English to Hindustani, and he was confident that Hindustani could easily take its rightful place in India.

HYDERABAD REGULATIONS

The Government in the Constitutional Affairs Department have issued the following *Communique* :

The several draft regulations and notifications dealing with the Legislative Council and with the expansion or establishment of different bodies in connexion with Local Self-Government as well as the Press and public meetings are now complete and are under expert scrutiny from the point of view of legal draftsmanship. They are expected to be submitted to the Executive Council for final consideration by the middle of April.

Baroda

THE GAEKWAR'S PROCLAMATION

Some of the more enlightened States are proving that they are not indifferent to the wishes of their people for a larger share in the processes of Government.

His Highness Maharaja Pratapsingh Gaekwar, Maharaja of Baroda, in a Proclamation announced the creation of an enlarged Dhara Sabha (Legislative Council).

The new constitution will emphasise once more the complete identity of interest between the Ruler and the ruled and among all sections of the population, and it is my earnest hope that it will advance the material and moral condition of my people, including those on whom age-old customs have imposed disabilities.

His Highness next said that he had decided to set apart from his private funds the sum of one crore of rupees to perpetuate the memory of the late Maharaja.

It is my desire that all classes and communities in the State without exception should receive the benefit of this Trust, and I am having a comprehensive scheme prepared, calculated to secure this result.

Thus will generations to come be reminded of a Ruler who dedicated his life to his people and who chose service as the highest ideal in precept and in practice.

WELLS FOR IRRIGATION

The Baroda Government have launched as an experimental measure in a few selected villages in the Mehsana District a scheme which will make it possible even for the poorer agriculturist, who cannot offer adequate security for *takavi* loans, to have the benefit of irrigation from wells. All the Khatedar has to do is to provide the site for the well and the necessary manual labour and the necessary funds will be provided by Government. In return for the money invested by the Government, the farmers will pay a water cess of Re. 1 per bigha. This only so long as the Khatedar gets sufficient money to pay Government the cost of building the well.

Travancore

THE DEWAN'S WARNING

"In a resolution passed at Tripuri, the Congress has stated that the Haripura idea has served its turn and that it may become necessary for the Congress to interfere actively in the States. At least in this State I can say this much, that no outside interference of any sort will be tolerated. That should be clearly understood," said Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer at the Police Presentation Parade held in Trivandrum. The Dewan added:

The Indian National Congress is to-day and has been recently a battle-ground for control of party finances and party power, and it comes to Travancore preaching a policy of independence and interference in States and asks us to reform ourselves politically. I would tell the Congress: 'physician, heal thyself.'

In a spirited rejoinder to Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer's challenge to the Indian National Congress to interfere in the Travancore State affairs by supporting the movement for Responsible Government in the State, Gandhiji says:

The effort to ignore the Congress and Congress workers and to prevent its natural influence working in the States is like that of a child who, by the little palm of his right hand, tries to stop an on rushing flood.

Gandhiji proceeds:

This attempt to stifle the legitimate aspirations of the people of the States surely sows seeds of bitterness on the one hand between the people of the States and their Princes to whom they want to be loyal and, on the other, between the Princes and the Congress which wants to help them if it is allowed to do so.

Aundh

REFORMS IN AUNDH

It was a historic occasion for the small State of Aundh in Maharashtra, when its progressive Ruler inaugurated the New Constitution for the State, granting Responsible Government to the people. Mr. B. G. Kher, Bombay's Premier and other Maharashtra Congress leaders, who were present on the occasion, paid a fitting tribute to the liberal-minded Ruler.

Gwalior

NEW REVENUE MEMBER

We welcome the appointment of Rajamantrapraveena S. P. Rajagopalachariar, retired First Member of the Mysore Executive



MR. S. P. RAJAGOPALACHARI

Council, as Revenue Minister of Gwalior State for two years.

Mr. Rajagopalachari entered the Mysore service in 1908 as Assistant Commissioner and later served in important positions in succession. In 1981, he was appointed Officiating Second Member of Council and, in 1985, he became the First Member. He also officiated as Dewan.

He thus brings to his new office rich and varied experience of administration in a progressive South Indian State, which must prove invaluable to Gwalior.

Kashmir

NEW KASHMIR ASSEMBLY

In accordance with the Proclamation of February 11, granting a further measure of constitutional reforms, His Highness has promulgated a fresh Regulation whereby the term of the State Councillors will expire on August 15, 1989, and with effect from the commencement of the next Srinagar Session of the State Assembly, there would be, in place of the sixteen State Councillors, the same number of additional members, out of whom nine would be nominated by His Highness and seven would be elected.

INDIANS OVERSEAS

South Africa

SEGREGATION PLAN

A new proposal has been made by the Minister of the Interior, granting to Europeans the right of preventing Indian residents from occupying houses within suburban areas, wherever a clear majority of European residents demands it.

The papers point out that such a majority in a suburban area may be obtained by all manner of doubtful means, and yet it is to have all the force of Law as far as Indians are concerned,

No greater injustice could be done to Indians than to take away citizen rights in this manner. If such an Enabling Bill is passed and becomes an Act of Parliament, it will introduce the spirit of racialism throughout the whole country in its worst form.

It will also in the long run, they maintain, create an altogether unjust and unnatural separation of the two races, excluding them more and more from daily human intercourse. It will place upon the Indian community the brand of an inferior race.

The Executive of the South African Indian Congress regard the matter as one of life and death. They have sent Swami Bhawani Dayal, President of the Natal Indian Congress, to India in order that he may have the fullest opportunity of explaining the gravity of the situation.

"If any such Law is passed," the Executive declares, "then all that has been struggled for so continuously by repeated Indian efforts for nearly half a century may be lost at a single stroke."

Swami Bhawani Dayal, who has since arrived in India, suggests that a deputation

from the Government of India should immediately proceed to South Africa without waiting for any formal invitation from the Union Government, and that a third Round Table Conference should be called forthwith to settle the question of the



SWAMI BHAWANI DAYAL SANNYASI

proposed segregation scheme. In the course of a statement, Swami Dayal says that the scheme was not only a deep affront to the sentiments of an ancient and civilized nation, but a clear breach of the Capetown Agreement.

Burma

INDIANS IN BURMA

Among the resolutions forwarded by the South Indian Chamber of Commerce, Madras, for the annual meeting of the Federation of Indian Chambers is one requesting the Central Government to send a Commission of Indians to inquire into and report on the position of Indians in Burma, to appoint a leading non-official as the Indian Agent in Burma, and to secure adequate compensation for victims of the riots.

Malaya

CONTROL OF EMIGRATION

The root of the trouble observed Pandit Kunzru in a recent interview with the Press, is the excessive emigration to Malaya that took place three or four years ago. This inevitably weakened the position of labour and made the planters masters of the situation.

It is obvious from this that it is absolutely necessary in the interest of labour that emigration from India should be carefully controlled. This cannot be done so long as officers of another Government are allowed to recruit labour from India or stimulate its emigration. It is essential, therefore, in my opinion that the Government of India should end the present system as soon as possible and make themselves locally responsible for the regulation of emigration. This observation applies not only to Malaya but also to Ceylon. I have no doubt that the Indian labourers would be happier and the Government of India would be more respected if emigration were controlled by their own officers and not by external agencies.

Abyssinia

INDIANS IN ABYSSINIA

"Indians are treated in this way by the British in other parts of Africa. Why then should they complain?" This is said to be the attitude of Italians towards Indians in Abyssinia, following the example set by the British in their African territories. Indians cannot live in same hotels or ride in the same cars, says the correspondent of the *National Herald* and adds:

"They are now making them use certain parts of the road only. Soon they will not be allowed to own land in the city of Addis Ababa."

The Indians, he adds, have formed some sort of an organisation which will be tolerated only so long as they do not prove troublesome. They have petitioned and the Italian reply is an effective one. The Fascists say that Indians are treated in this way by the British in other parts of Africa. Why then should they complain?

Ceylon

INDIANS IN CEYLON

The charge that Indians in Ceylon, who were nationalists in India, were reactionaries in Ceylon was refuted by Mr. R. Rauf Pasha presiding over the annual general meeting of the Indian Young Men's Association held at Kandy.

Mr. Rauf Pasha declared that Indians as a community were never behind any other community in demanding dominion status for Ceylon. He recalled that every section of the Indian community in Ceylon responded to the invitation of the Liberal League in 1931, when a demand for Dominion Status was unanimously made at the All-Parties Conference.

Mr. Rauf Pasha urged the formation of a central organisation for all Indians in Ceylon which would work for the common welfare of the community.

America

INDIANS IN AMERICA

The Committee of the Indian Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta, met Mr. J. J. Singh, President, India Chamber of Commerce, America, recently.

Sir A. R. Dalal presiding, Mr. Singh explained the desirability of having an Indo-American trade treaty, in the absence of which merchants going to the United States of America have to experience considerable difficulties, particularly in regard to their stay. He pointed out that in spite of the immigration laws, the nationals of Japan, China, and Siam had been able to overcome the difficulties as a result of trade treaties with America, but Indians were still handicapped by those difficulties. He urged Indian commercial and public opinion to move for the conclusion of a trade treaty with America at an early date.

TOPICS From PERIODICALS

BRITAIN AND REARMAMENT

W. Ivor Jennings, writing in the *Political Science Quarterly* for December, doubts whether the statement that democracies act less quickly than dictatorships and are at a disadvantage in a time of crisis, is correct in its applicability to the British Constitution. The events of 1914 showed that the British Cabinet could make a war as easily and as quickly as any dictatorship and could be moulded rapidly to meet any changing conditions. The fact that the Cabinet has to justify itself in Parliament is no limitation on the speed of its operations; it is rather a limitation of policies being adopted that public opinion will not accept. Once Government accepted the policy of rearmament, and Government and people accepted a common policy, the speed of action has been strictly commensurate with the apparent urgency. Parliament has been no check upon it; it has been a spur to greater rapidity; it has forced changes in the two Ministries of War and Air, and has compelled Government to undertake reorganisation in the most criticised of the departments—the Air Ministry.

When policy becomes dominated by rearmament and the possibility of another European War, as was recently the case, the Committee of Imperial Defence becomes a major instrument of Government; it is the appropriate body for taking decisions on carefully prepared proposals prepared in collaboration by War Office, the Air Ministry, the Admiralty, and the Home Office charged with the function of

preparing air raid precautions after consultation with the Treasury. The general co-ordination of Government supplies in peace-time is a problem quite distinct from the preparation for the next War. The Committee of Imperial Defence is not a Committee of the Cabinet, but is technically a Committee appointed by the Premier to advise him, and its membership is more or less flexible, and it is primarily a Co-ordinating Committee. Recent British experience has shown that neither War nor preparation for War can be left in the hands of the technical experts. The recent changes in the Air Ministry have been in the direction of strengthening the civil element in the administration. The British Cabinet refused to accept the creation of a common Ministry of Defence, but appointed instead a Minister for the co-ordination of Defence. This Minister has no office, but presides over the Committee of Imperial Defence in the absence of the Prime Minister and also similarly over the Committee of the Chiefs of Staffs, which is concerned with tactics generally and send their recommendations to the former Committee. This Minister is not expected to take part in the formulation of plans, but to see that plans are formulated. To assist him and the Premier there was created a unified office under the title "Offices of the Cabinet, Committee of Imperial Defence Economic Advisory Council, and Minister for the co-ordination of Defence" and its permanent head is styled "Permanent Secretary and Secretary of the Cabinet".

INDIA AND DEMOCRACY

Dictatorship cannot be an ultimate political ideal for any people, says Prof. N. Srinivasan in the course of an article in the current issue of the *Modern Review*. He says:

The cry for a dictatorship is dangerous and we must not let ourselves be deluded by it. Whenever things appear to go wrong, mankind has always resorted to the strong man, to a Cesar, Cromwell, or Napoleon in the past or to a Hitler or Mussolini at present. But dictatorship has always been a temporary phenomenon in history. Whatever may be the virtues of dictatorship, as we see it in contemporary Europe, it cannot be an ultimate political ideal for any people.

The momentary successes of dictatorships should not blind us to its inherent weaknesses, its bombast and its quackery, its war-mongering and its violence, its misery and its degradation and its ephemeral character.

Democracy, though a very slow process, is the only way that will give a full and free life for the victim of ages of exploitation of the worker and the peasant.

A certain homogeneity in the people, Prof. Srinivasan points out, is the first requisite of a successful democracy. An organic unity is essential, which necessarily depends upon a common language, a spirit of tolerance and a common political organisation. For the organisation of the masses, education should be free, compulsory, and non-denominational. The liquidation of the illiteracy of the masses is an urgent thing.

For a political struggle, Prof. Srinivasan points out the only method—the method of Gandhiji.

It has a humanness about it that recommends it as the best means for us. It assures a permanence of results. It is also the method dictated by our circumstances. Finally, it has a fundamental unity with the method of democracy, because of its dependence on reason and persuasion. Even if it is more difficult than alternative courses, non-violence must be our method as it may mean the success or failure of our democratic experiment.

KESHAB CHANDRA SEN

Within three years of the death of Ram Mohan Roy, there are born three great sons of India—Ramakrishna, Bankim and Keshab who, says Dr. S. K. Maitra in the *Vedanta Kesari*, each in his own way supplied the necessary corrective to the work of Ram Mohan.

Bankim revealed the soul of India through his wonderful literary creations, Keshab and Ramakrishna did it through their gospel of love and universal brotherhood of man. There was also another link which connected these three great souls. They all stemmed the growing tide of irreverence and irreligion which had set in ever since Ram Mohan gave his verdict in favour of Western education. The immediate effect of the introduction of Western education was a tremendous growth of the spirit of unbelief and scepticism, and it was one of the greatest services which all of them rendered to their motherland that they checked the growth of that spirit. But there was still another link that joined these greatest souls. Bankim's genius created not only new models of literary art but it achieved something which was even more remarkable, namely, an ideal of love for one's country as embodied in his immortal song *Vande Mataram* and his novel "Ananda Math". Keshab's gospel of universal love differed only from Bankim's ideal of love in this, that it was not confined to his country but embraced the whole of mankind. Bankim saw the vision of his Mother in his country, Keshab saw it in the picture of mankind. Here we see the touch of Ramakrishna, under whose influence Keshab came very much during the last years of his life. It is, indeed, remarkable that from the year 1880 onwards, when Keshab used to spend much of his time in the company of Ramakrishna, it was this vision of the Mother which symbolised for him his ideal of love that was uppermost in his mind.

Indeed, if we glance at the history of the religious movement in India from Ram Mohan Roy to the end of the last century, we find these three main currents running through it. The first current gives us a religion of knowledge as in Ram Mohan and Dayanand Saraswati; the second the religion of love as in Keshab Chandra Sen; and the third the fulfilment of knowledge and love in service as in Sri Rama Krishna Paramahansa.

MINORITIES IN THE LEGISLATURE

The minority forms as much part of the parliamentary machinery as the majority, for the parliamentary government, though a government by a majority is not for a majority only. The protection of minorities is, therefore, a kind of fundamental law of parliamentary constitutions. Dewan Bahadur R. V. Krishna Ayyar's article on the subject in the March number of the *New Review* is an important survey of the rights and protection of minorities in the Legislature. He writes:

The basis of the principle underlying rule by a majority is to be sought in the theory that all the parties in a community have expressly or implicitly consented to such rule. If a minority has consented to be ruled by the decisions of a majority, it is because it has the satisfaction of having had a share in the deliberations resulting in those decisions. Where a minority denies the right of a majority to decide for it, it is obvious that there is an end of parliamentary government. There can then be only government by force. Likewise, where a majority denies the right of a minority to express its views and influence the decisions of the majority, there is no parliamentary government; there can be only rule by force.

So as to safeguard the rights of minorities, all parliamentary constitutions impose checks upon arbitrary or hasty action by a majority.

They contain restraints imposed upon a majority by all the parties in the States to secure sober action and respect for the rights of minorities.

Unless the rights of the minority are protected, the proposals of the party in power cannot be subjected to critical examination and submitted to the electorate for decision; arbitrary action and abuse of power cannot be prevented.

After dealing with the relevant technical rules for conduct of business in the legislative chamber, the author continues:

There is nothing that a Government dislikes so much as exposure and unpopularity, yet the smallest opposition can, by placing before the country what they consider to be the inequities and shortcomings of the Government, not only educate the

electorate but also directly affect ministerial policy. As Ilbert says in his "Parliament", the arguments and attitude of minorities and individual members are factors of the greatest importance in determining the action of the Government. The giving up of the *bandemaram* song in the Madras Assembly is a proof of the power exercised by a minority.

The acknowledged custodian of the rights of minorities in the House is the presiding officer; it is in his hands that almost all the powers that are intended for their protection are vested. It can be asserted that both tradition and the strength of public opinion make it almost inconceivable that any Speaker can misuse his powers to the detriment of a minority, which means not merely the Opposition but even groups and individuals. For while the Opposition may oppose and even strenuously oppose, it is hazardous to give narrower limits to a smaller group or to an individual; for it is precisely in cases where a small group or an individual dissent and its or his conviction is strong, that the best instances of unrelenting opposition can be expected.

THE FUTURE OF INDIA

Recalling the ideal of the future of India cherished by Swami Vivekananda, Dr. Taraknath Das, writing in the *Prabuddha Bharata*, points out that it is impossible for any one to be a follower of Swami Vivekananda and not to cherish patriotism—a very high type of patriotism which Indian politicians should consider deeply for their political salvation. Swamiji once spoke of patriotism in the following words:

"I believe in patriotism and I also have my own ideal of patriotism. Three things are necessary for great achievements: First, feel from the heart. Do you feel? Do you feel that millions and millions of the descendants of gods and sages have become next door neighbours to brutes? Do you feel that millions are starving to-day and millions have been starving for ages? Do you feel that ignorance has come over the land as a cloud? Does it make you restless?"

The new awakening—how could it be achieved?

Are you seized with that one idea of the misery of ruin, and have you forgotten all about your name, your fame, your wives, your children, your property, even your own bodies? Have you done that? That is the first step to become a patriot, the very first step.

In fine, the writer draws attention to the fact that:

This is the type of patriotism that will bring about true awakening of India. This type of patriotism cannot but be rare, as qualities of true leadership are rooted in the spiritual life of a leader, who can become selfless for the promotion of a cause which will bring true freedom for many.

PAN-ARABISM

"Pan-Arabism and World Politics To-day" is the subject of an article by Mr. Asit Mukherji, Editor of *Bishan and New Mercury*, in *New Asia*, a quarterly journal hailing from Calcutta. The word 'Arab' is usually used as a rather loose and general term, classifying the Egyptians, Iranis, Syrians, and Hedjazis all as Arabs. All the people in the countries mentioned speak the Arab language and feel Arab unity. An Egyptian from Cairo will understand a Syrian from Aleppo. The way of life, the religious traditions and mental attitudes of all the Arab peoples are similar.

Any movement aiming at uniting all the Arabic-speaking peoples does not, therefore, lack ambition. And indeed, some of the Pan-Arab leaders are thinking in terms of just such a Greater Arabia extending from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean. The Pan-Arab movement reduced to its essence is a nationalistic agitation, and it appears to be gaining momentum. One important phase of this movement is the armed conflict between Arabs and the British in Palestine, and the British are increasingly aware that it threatens to affect, among other things, their primary imperial interest—the route to India. The truth of this was recognised by the British Royal Commission on Palestine, which admitted that the problem of Palestine is the problem of insurgent nationalism. For that matter, the Pan-Arab leaders appeal for even wider support—that of the 250,000,000 Moslems throughout the world—less than a fifth of whom speak Arabic. This has been one of the most effective tactics employed by the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem.

The writer says that the uprise of a powerful Arab State would have serious repercussions on European power-politics.

For England to allow such a state to come under the political sway of another power—say Italy or Germany—would be fatal to her imperial connections and to those of France. If Nazi Germany should succeed in fulfilling the pre-war Berlin to Baghdad dream of the Pan-Germans or if Fascist Italy should find, in spite of the present assertions that she is satisfied, that to protect her holdings in Libya and Ethiopia she must expand them, the question would become still more involved.

These important considerations make clear not only the strategic importance Greater Arabia would inevitably possess, but the reasons which the Great Powers may have for not looking upon Arab unity with unmixed joy.

SOCIETY AND LITERATURE

Estelle H. Ries, writing on Society and Literature in the February issue of the *Aryan Path*, makes a deep study of the social responsibility of the writer, the most important but strangely neglected of subjects with which writers are concerned. The prostitution of art causes decadent conditions in art and life. He says:

Literature used to be an art. To-day it is an industry. People depend upon it for a living. That means they are swayed by the profit motive. They must write what will sell. Since those who can buy their wares are those with financial power; these latter are the ones who determine the writer's subject and policy.

Thus, on the order of the promoter, the writer, subtly playing upon human nature by publicity, advertising, fiction and other forms of writing, moulds public taste and opinion to any end, whether desirable or not. That it be soundly premised honest, wholesome, true, is no prerequisite. Writing is used as effectively to praise something inferior as something good. Appeals are made to every human frailty—fear, ambition, financial aggrandizement, vanity, sex instinct, imitativeness, envy—and special techniques evolved for each.

Writing cannot continue as merely a business, the author asserts, but it must become truly a profession with the implication of service which it carries. Considering the potent influence of the writer on the reading public, he should be licensed before being permitted to poison the minds of trusting readers.

Qualifications for professional writer's licenses should include an ethical and constructive attitude toward human relations, an educational awareness and a social conscience with, of course, knowledge of the business of writing from its technical form or literary skill standpoints. Even a Hippocratic oath could justify itself.

Writers are at the head and crux of national, mental and emotional health. Readers and writers alike should enter into a sort of voluntary self-censorship and should be proud to produce and encourage good literary material that builds lives of peace, use, and good taste.

INDIAN PRINCES

A writer in the *Time and Tide* examines the ferment in the Indian States and points out that there are in fact two movements in India in partial conflict with each other.

As regards the Princes, India's political framework was built in twenty years, 1790-1810, the two decades which opened with the storming of Seringapatam and the death of Tipu Sultan and closed with the dismissal of the Peshwa, the nominal head of the Maratha confederacy hardly ever more than a semi-confederacy. Congress has usually left the Princes alone as a problem not yet ripe for settlement. But the sun of Munich like that of Asterlitz is a sun that ripens fast, and a whole wilderness of questions has been reopened. There is a world-wide conviction that now is the accepted time to put pressure on a Government that has given way all along the line, from Shanghai to Bilbao. Ulster and the Irish Free State is one example of a question which the people of this island hoped might sleep indefinitely, which is now raised with the reinforcement of terrorist acts in England. The position and powers of the Indian Princes is another. The people of the States and the people of British India have ceased to be tolerant of a political status substantially unchanged for 120 years, and the Princes are going to find themselves in a difficult position. If Federation is ever to be a reality, the Indian States will have to contribute towards it by a sweeping extension of political rights to their subjects. The National Congress from now on is not going to let this question sleep.

The second thing that is happening in India is this. The two outstanding personalities in its politics, Gandhi and Nehru, are both men, says the writer, with whom a genuinely democratic country could have formerly and even recently made a settlement.

Gandhi is far from revolutionary, and his main interest is in lifting the masses out of a helplessness in which they can be exploited. Nehru's interest in achieving this is not less, but Nehru is also an internationalist as much as he is a nationalist. He is aware at every minute that the cause of the ordinary man and woman is one the world over, and that India cannot win

or keep freedom if freedom is extinguished in the Far East or in Europe. Many Indians who realize this strongly wavered at the time of the September crisis. If war had come as a result of France and Britain standing by a democratic nation in Central Europe, India would have remained quiet, at least as quiet as she was in the Great War, when the cause of Belgium deeply stirred opinion there. But now, after the subjugation of Czechoslovakia and the capture of Catalonia, if war comes over Tunis or Tanganyika we shall be confronted with an India where opinion is disillusioned in the extreme and looks on our "democracy" as so much facade of phrasing put up with intent to deceive, particularly at election times or when we need to coax other parts of the Empire to support these islands.

In consequence, the extremist and more fiercely nationalist elements in Congress are coming into their day, especially in Bengal.

We may be at the beginning of a return to passions and violence that we hoped had been left behind. Unfortunately, this country's Government is not one to restore faith in our democracy, and to persuade Indian opinion that the last few years have been merely a phase and do not really represent the British people and their idea of the Empire and its aims and purpose.

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NON-VIOLENCE THE BEST POLICY

In the special annual number of the *Hindustan Times* issued on the occasion of the 52nd Session of the Indian National Congress, Dr. Rajendra Prasad puts forth a strong plea for sustained faith in non-violence as the best policy for India.

The British Empire looks like being in the process of breaking up. There does not appear to be any chance of English statesmen ever realizing that a free India can be their best and most powerful ally. They still have their faith unimpaired in keeping India under them by the power of their sword.

With Europe ousting England from her position of vantage and supremacy, which she has held for more than a century in the politics of the world, with Japan flushed with victory in China and almost knocking at the north-east frontier of India, how can England defend her Empire in India without the help and co-operation of Indians?

And what help can India give even if she is willing to do so? How is India to be defended, and by whom, against an aggressor? To-day there is a snug feeling that the British Army and Navy will do it.

They are becoming less and less effective with the loss or undermining of the strategic points which the British have held.

We have no army or navy of our own, nor is it possible to create one overnight. It requires training and experience and, above all, limitless money to build these up.

We have not yet made a beginning, nor is there any chance of our being able to do so, so long as British rule is what it is in this country. The other question, therefore, arises: Is our independence worth a single day's purchase even if it can be achieved?

There is only one way out of this difficulty and muddle. I believe it is possible to achieve independence with non-violence, and it is equally possible to retain it with non-violence. We have been trying experiments in it during the last eighteen years, and if one judges from results achieved, one's faith in its efficacy must be strengthened.

And yet non-violence is being pooh-poohed and held up to ridicule. A distinction and contrast is sought to be created between the objective of independence and the method of non-violence and

"the poser is put whether we should sacrifice the former for the latter."

It is forgotten, or not realized, that even as a proposition in practical politics, it is not possible in the present conditions of the India of to-day to achieve the one without the other.

If non-violence is an effective weapon for us, it is also the only weapon available to us to-day, and it must be accepted not only because it is the best for us but also because we have no other.

If not a burning faith, a sense of helplessness ought to convince us that non-violence in Indian politics, like honesty in business, is the best policy. Can we continue to undermine its foundations and still hope to use it with success?

THE PERFECT MAN

The idea of the perfect man is the hidden source of inspiration for all religions. Sri Ramakrishna's recorded sayings throw a light on the general considerations about the signs of a perfect man in the March number of the *Vedanta Kesari*.

Unselfishness, purity and righteousness precede the advent of the Lord in the human heart just as the glow of dawn precedes the rising of the sun. The perfect man is free from all sectarianism and narrow love of groups and communities. He has no fears and worries from the thought of what might happen to his body; for just as in a dry nut, his inner essence has separated itself from the body and the ego. That is why one like Jesus could pray calmly for the good of his enemies even when nails were being driven through his body. He can never be affected by lust and greed even if he has perchance to live in the midst of evil associations.

He rises above the relative ideas of good and bad entertained by men ordinarily. Not that he becomes immoral; in fact his work alone becomes the standard of morality for men and results in real good to the world at large. But from the transcendent height of holiness he has reached, all our worldly values appear trivial to him. When we are on the plains we say how small the grass is and how big the tree. But when we look down from the summit of a high peak, the grass and trees lose their dissimilarities and become one indistinguishable mass of green verdure. So insignificant are all the worldly distinctions of good and bad, of high and low, of friend and foe to the eyes of him who has risen to the dizzy height of God vision.

In a perfect man there is no ego. It has been burnt in the fire of God-realisation. What remains is only a semblance of it, like the rope when it is burnt. He is poised in perfect self-surrender, and whatever work is performed through his person is a spontaneous outflow of the Divine Will with which his ego is identified.

SOCIALISM IN INDIA

Socialism, as an active force, sprung up in India on the failure of the second Civil Disobedience movement. The essence of this school of thought is the establishment of a classless society, consequent on the abolition of private property in the means of production by the proletariat after the capture of power. Mr. S. M. Y. Systri in the current issue of *Triveni* makes a study of this force in India.

Of the three Socialist groups that are now prominent in the field, the most popular and that which typifies the emergence of Socialism itself as an active force is the Congress Socialist Party. While the Right wing entered the Legislature and travelled the path of constitutionalism, the radical elements in the Congress drifted towards socialism. The conviction not merely that a bare transference of power from the British to the Indian Bureaucracy would not solve India's problems, but that unless the Congress adopted extreme democratic and ultimate Socialist programme, it would not even be able to fight British Imperialism, was responsible for the radical elements embracing Socialism. The Socialist Party that was formed, was intimately connected with and grew out of the national movement and represented the radical reaction to the conservative-political and reactionary-social policy of the dominant Right wing Congress group; and the name, the Congress Socialist Party, signifies this.

The Communist Party is the oldest socialist group in India. The Communist Party in India depended upon and grew out of the working class movement. Being attached to the international, the party's theoretical approach and line of activity were determined by the international without any particular reference to Indian conditions. The Indian working class being itself an insignificant minority of the population did not strengthen the communist movement. At present the

communists have no legal organisation of their own. Coming to the third and latest of the socialist groups, he says:

The Royists, like Gandhists, represent more a personal following than a group separated by deep ideological differences. Endowed with a personality possessed by none in the Communist and C. S. P. folds, Roy has been able to attract a devoted following. Royism represents the views held by Roy and dictated to his followers. This personal factor explains the greater cohesion of the Royists notwithstanding the lack of a formal organisation.

From the Communists, Roy, at the present time, is divided only by historical consideration. At a time when the Communist Party was ardently planning for a Proletarian Revolution in India, Roy pointed out the absurdity of it all and declared himself for a Democratic Revolution. As a consequence, Roy was expelled from the Communist Party, and even when Communists have changed almost all their opinions, for doubting which Roy had been expelled, the ban still remains. Roy to the Communists is a renegade and an opportunist. The real fact is Roy is too great a personality to be submerged in the official Communist Party; when he could not lead, he had to leave.

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THE INDIAN FARMER

Mr. Mason Vaugh, of the Naini Agricultural Institute, contributes an article under the above caption to the March number of the *Twentieth Century*. Mr. Vaugh opposes the efforts to build up cottage industries for the farmers during the time when they are not busy. He says:

The suggestion has been made that small factories be established in which cultivator could work during the slack seasons, the factories shutting down or being run at much less active standard during the seasons when there was field work. The factory working intermittently is at a disadvantage, because interest on investment and to some extent depreciation as well as maintenance must go on whether the factory works or not....

The problem of the farmer's spare time can be tackled in other and to my mind better ways. It is far better to make the farmer a full time worker in his own job than to try to arrange for him to have two different jobs. I believe it is possible to spread the farmer's work over a much longer time by the adoption of better implements. Ploughing in the hot weather relieves the rush to sow when the rains do come as well as securing other benefits. The introduction of better irrigation facilities will make possible the growing of crops during the hot weather as well as during the other seasons. Diversification of crops and the keeping of animals such as really producing dairy cows and chickens will give a longer agricultural year for the farmer in his own job and for more profit than any handicraft he can take up as a spare time occupation. Most of these changes can be made only as the farmer can get the requisite equipment for the work.

Cottage industries are decaying, says the writer, because something more effective is coming into use. Seasonal manufacturing of products for sale is uneconomical in factories and not the best way to utilise the time and ability of the farmer. For the farmer's time can wholly be utilised for the land by giving him better equipment and methods for his main job, that of farming

JEWS IN JAMAICA

Even the Jews, who have a strong hold on the island of Jamaica, says a writer in the *Cornhill Magazine*, were deliberately imported for an interesting reason:

Jamaica became British largely by accident, for Admirals Penn and Venables, sent by Cromwell to seize the great island of Hispaniola, now known as Haiti and San Domingo, failed to take this, and fearing to return empty handed, went on and seized Jamaica instead. They hoped that their failure might thereby be condoned, but Cromwell punished them none the less though he kept the windfall.

In 1657, the then Governor of the island wrote to Cromwell telling him that shopkeepers were sorely needed, for all English and Scotsmen who had come out to keep shops had left them and gone on to the land which they found more profitable. Could Cromwell please do something to remedy this state of things? He did. For the next letter is from the Lord Protector himself, and tells the Governor that he has spoken with the Chief Rabbi of Brussels, and that the latter hopes shortly to send out a consignment of suitable Jews. A third letter—also from Cromwell—informs the Governor that the Chief Rabbi has failed to get what he wanted in Flanders, but is sending out a shipload of Portuguese Jews which, it is hoped, will serve the purpose required. It did and it still does. So it was that Jewry in Jamaica was born and still lives as a glance at the names of the principal stores in Kingston will show where the hold of the Jews is very strong.

INDIA IN PERIODICALS

INDIA'S MEN OF DESTINY: Pen Portraits of Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. By "Cantab". [India Monthly Magazine, January 1939.]

THE ROLE OF THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL IN THE INDIAN FEDERATION. By B. Satyanarayana. [The Twentieth Century, February 1939.]

THE BEGINNINGS OF EUROPEAN INFLUENCE IN RAJPUT ART. By Dr. H. Goetz. [Journal of Indian History, December 1938.]

CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN TRAVANCORE. By A. Padmanabha Iyer. [Federal India, February 1939.]

GANDHISM AS I UNDERSTAND IT. By Manu Subedar. [The Aryan Path, March 1939.]

THE MESSAGE OF NAMADEVA. By S. V. Puntambekar, M.A. [The Vedanta Kesari, March 1939.]

BELIEFS AND PRACTICES OF THE HINDUS. By Swami Atulamanda. [Prabuddha Bharata, March 1939.]

DISCIPLINE IN INDIA. By T. N. Siqueira. [The New Review, March 1939.]

THE ACHIEVEMENTS AND FAILURES OF THE MARATHAS. By G. S. Sardesai. [The Modern Review, March 1939.]

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS

DEPARTMENTAL

NOTES

Questions of Importance

THE NATIONAL DEMAND

The following is the full text of the important resolution on the National Demand, which was adopted at the last Session of the Indian National Congress at Tripuri:—

The Congress has for more than half-a-century striven for the advancement of the people of India and has represented the urge of the Indian people towards freedom and self-expression. During the past 20 years it has engaged itself on behalf of the masses of the country in a struggle against British Imperialism, and through the suffering, discipline and sacrifice of the people it has carried the nation a long way to the independence that is its objective.

With the growing strength of the people it has adapted itself to the changing and developing situation; and, while pursuing various programmes, has ever worked for the independence of India and the establishment of a democratic State in the country. Rejecting the Government of India Act and with a full determination to end it, it has decided to take advantage of the measure of provincial autonomy that this Act has provided, restricted and circumscribed as it was in order to strengthen the national movement and to give such relief to the masses as was possible under the circumstances. To the federal part of the Act, the Congress has declared its uncompromising opposition and its determination to resist its imposition.

The Congress declares afresh its solemn resolve to achieve independence for the nation and to have a constitution framed for a free India through a constituent assembly elected by the people and without any interference by a foreign authority. No other constitution or attempted solutions of the problem can be accepted by the Indian people. The Congress is of the opinion that in view of the situation in India, the organized strength of the national movement, the remarkable growth of the consciousness of the masses, a new awakening among the people of the Indian States as well as the rapid development of the world situation, the time has come for the full application of the principle of self-determination to India, so that the people of India might establish an independent democratic state by means of a constituent assembly. Not only the inherent right and the dignity of the people demand this full freedom, but also the economic and other problems, which press insistently on the masses, cannot find a solution nor can India get rid of her poverty and keep pace with modern progress unless the people have full opportunities of self-development

and growth which independence alone can give. Provincial autonomy affords no such scope for development and its capacity for good is being rapidly exhausted; the proposed federation strangles India still further and will not be accepted. The Congress, therefore, is firmly of opinion that the whole of the Government of India Act must give place to the constitution of a free India made by the people themselves. An independent and democratic India will face the solution of our great problems rapidly and effectively and will line herself with the progressive peoples of the world and thus aid the cause of democracy and freedom.

With a view to the speeding the realization of the Congress objective and in order to face effectively the national and international crises that loom ahead, this Congress calls upon all parts of the Congress organization as well as the Congress Provincial Governments and the people generally to prepare themselves to this end, to promote unity, and in particular to strengthen, purify and discipline the organisation, removing weakness and corrupting influences so as to make it an effective organ of the people's will.

AMENDING THE ACT

In the House of Lords, on March 2, Lord Snell asked whether Government contemplated early legislation to amend the Government of India and Burma Acts and, if so, whether they could give any indication of the scope and purpose of the contemplated Bill. Lord Zetland replied:

It is the case that His Majesty's Government contemplate introduction at an early date of a Bill to amend the Government of India Act and hope to secure its passage before the Parliament rises for the summer recess.

The object of the Bill is to remedy certain defects which practical experience has disclosed in the working of the Act, the remedying of which is a matter of urgent consequence. It is not surprising that an enactment of the length and complication of the Government of India Act should, when put to the practical test of administration, be found capable of improvement in a number of respects. But the contents of the proposed Bill have been intentionally confined to cases in which the Act, if unchanged, will lead to serious practical inconveniences.

The amendments proposed in no case raise any new question of principle or will alter in any material respect what are believed to have been the intentions of Parliament when the Act was passed.

Utterances of the Day

MR. CHAMBERLAIN ON HITLER

Speaking at Birmingham, Mr. Neville Chamberlain, the Prime Minister, strongly indicted Herr Hitler's actions in the annexation of Bohemia, Moravia, and Slovakia.

When I came back after my second visit to Germany, I told the House of Commons of the conversation I had had with Herr Hitler, of which I said that, speaking with great earnestness, he repeated what he had already said at Berchtesgaden, namely, that this was the last of his territorial ambitions in Europe and that he had no wish to include in the Reich people of other races than Germans.

Hitler himself confirmed this account of the conversation in a speech which he made at the Sports Palast in Berlin, when he said: "It is the last territorial claim which I have to make in Europe."

And a little later in the same speech he said: "I have assured Mr. Chamberlain, and I emphasise it now, that when this problem is solved, Germany has no more territorial problems in Europe." He added: "I shall not be interested in the Czech State any more and I can guarantee it. We do not want any Czechs any more."

Then, in the Munich Agreement itself, which bears Herr Hitler's signature, there is this clause: "The final determination of the frontiers will be carried out by the International Commission." He declared that any other question which might concern our two countries should be dealt with by the method of consultation.

In view of these repeated assurances given voluntarily to me, I considered myself justified in founding the hope upon them, that once the Czech-Slovak question was settled as it seemed at Munich, it would be possible to carry further that policy of appeasement which I have described. . . .

What has become of those disclaimers of further territorial ambitions? What has become of the assurance "we do not want Czechs in the Reich"? What regard has been paid here to that principle of self-determination, which Herr Hitler argued so vehemently with me at Berchtesgaden when he was asking for the severance of Sudetenland from Czechoslovakia and its inclusion in the German Reich?

I know we are told that this seizure of territory has been necessitated by the disturbances in Czechoslovakia.

We are told that the Proclamation of this new German Protectorate against the will of the inhabitants has been rendered inevitable by the disorders which threatened the peace and security of their mighty neighbour.

If there were disorders, were they not fomented from without? Can anybody outside Germany

take seriously the idea that they could be a danger to that great country, that they could provide any justification for what has happened?

Does not the question inevitably arise in our minds, that if it is so easy to discover good reasons for ignoring the assurances so solemnly and repeatedly given, what reliance can be placed upon any other assurance by a shocked and affronted public opinion throughout the world?

But the events which have taken place in their complete disregard of the principles laid by the German Government itself, seem to fall into a different category and must cause us all to be asking ourselves: "Is this time the end of the old adventure or is it the beginning of a new one? Is this the last attack,—a step in the direction of an attempt to dominate the world by force?"

C. R'S PARABLE OF THE BOATMAN

"Mahatma Gandhi promises the minimum but performs the maximum. Put your trust in him and he will safely lead you to the goal," declared the Hon. Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar, Premier of Madras, addressing a vast gathering in the Congress Exhibition pandal at Tripuri, on March 9. He compared Mahatma Gandhi's leadership to that of an old boatman.

At present there are two boats floating on the river. One is an old boat but a big boat, which is piloted by Mahatma Gandhi. There is another man who has a new boat—attractively painted and flaggaged—who calls to you to get into his boat.

Mahatma Gandhi is a tried boatman who can safely transport you. If you get into the new boat—which I know is leaky—all of us will go down and the river Nerbudda is indeed very deep.

The new boatman says: "If you don't get into my boat, then at least tie my boat to yours." This is also impossible. We cannot tie up a leaky boat to a good boat exposing ourselves to the peril of going down.

We have only one leader and that is Mahatma Gandhi. We must abide by him, because what he says he means. He is the only safe man in whose boat we should get. He is a seasoned and tried man. To our knowledge for 35 years now we have tried him to our satisfaction.

I ask you not to be misled by tall talk and get into the leaky boat, or do not think: We shall get into the new boat for a while and then again get back into the old boat.

You may not survive to get back to the old boat, for, as I said, the new boat is leaky. Believe in Mahatma Gandhi. We may, perhaps, be able to swim separately, but if we join together we may all go down.

THE SALES TAX

In a spirited defence of the Government's taxation policy in the Madras Assembly during discussion on voting of grants, the Hon. Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, the Premier, declared: "We must start by sacrificing ourselves—I am speaking of people who are better off. It is no use doping the poorest and trying to rob them of their money. It is no use making the food producer pay Rs. 10 out of Rs. 100, while we refuse to pay even one pie out of one rupee."

"We are going to tax," asserted the Premier, "in spite of terrible opposition. We are prepared to become unpopular. We are prepared to be turned out."

They must reduce the expenditure on the Services, he explained, if the cultivator and the poor drunkard had to be saved; but the Government of India Act did not allow them to do it. Hence the need for taxing ourselves. That was the only way in which violent coercion against reform could be non-violently met.

MUSLIMS AND THE CONGRESS

Amidst shouts of great acclamation, the plenary meeting of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind, comprising the members of the Subjects Committee and the Delegates, passed at Delhi a lengthy amended resolution clarifying the Jamiat's position towards the Congress. The resolution, which was acclaimed by the progressive section of the Jamiat as victory for them, declared in unequivocal terms that in the opinion of the Jamiat it was essential for safeguarding Muslim rights, that the Mussalmans in every town and village should enrol themselves as regular members of the Congress and participate in the activities of all Congress Committees.

C. V. ACHARYA ON SWARAJ

Mr. C. Vijayaraghavachari, a former President of the Indian National Congress, gave the following statement to the Press on the Presidential Address of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose to the Tripuri Congress:—

"My idea of *swaraj* is not to go out of the British Empire but to remain within it and equal in status to any Dominion comprising the Commonwealth, in accordance with the Queen's Proclamation of 1858, by which the Great Queen Victoria had promised to treat all her subjects equally without distinction of race, colour, or creed. I am against any ultimatum which goes beyond the goal envisaged above."

SIMULTANEOUS DISARMAMENT

Mahatma Gandhi gave the following message to the world when Mr. F. E. Birschell, of the *New York Times*, interviewed him at Delhi, on March 28.

"I see from to-day's papers that the British Prime Minister is conferring with democratic powers as to how they should meet the latest threatening developments. How I wish he was conferring by proposing to them that all should resort to simultaneous disarmament. I am as certain as I am sitting here that this heroic act would open Herr Hitler's eye and would disarm him."

THE LEAGUE AND FEDERATION

The attitude of the Muslim League to the Federation was outlined by Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan in his address to the League Conference held at Meerut on March 25. He said that the freedom afforded to Muslims by Provincial Autonomy was not enough and that the proposed Federal scheme would not establish the Muslim nation's—he pointed out they were a nation and not a community—rights. He pleaded for the division of India on a cultural and religious basis. Mr. M. A. Jinnah, as usual, attacked the Congress and appealed to the Muslims for solidarity and sacrifice.

TRAINING FOR LEADERSHIP

H. E. Sir Henry Craik, Governor of the Punjab, gave wholesome counsel to the young men of the Aitchison College, Lahore, while presiding over their prize distribution function:

Many of you have been born to a position of comparative privilege and advantage; but you must not imagine that you will be able to enjoy this position without giving a great deal in return. For you are living in a world of rapid change, in which much of the heritage of the past is being challenged and rejected. If you think that you can just grow up to spend your incomes, to amuse yourselves and your friends with lavish entertainments and to live lives of self-indulgence, you will wake one day to find with a rude shock that society will no longer tolerate such abuse of privilege.

Continuing, His Excellency said:

We hear much now-a-days of the difficulty of 'marrying' British India with the Indian States, but it will surely help in the solution of this difficulty, if in the future, as in the past, the sons of the leading families both of the Punjab and the Punjab States are able to share here a common education and to look back together later to common memories of a boyhood spent in this College.

Those of you who will have landed States to manage must remember that your first duty will be to promote the welfare of your tenants and dependents. Those of you who take to commerce and industry must remember that you will be responsible for the well-being of those whom you employ. All of you must remember that by virtue of your birth and upbringing you are in some sense leaders of the society in which you live and must, therefore, try to set the example which is expected of leaders. You can only do that if at the most impressionable stage of your lives you learn self-discipline and self-reliance. Over the desk of the Head Boy of one of the big English Public Schools there is inscribed a Greek proverb "Arche Andra Deixei", which may roughly be paraphrased "leadership will prove a man's worth". Many of you who are educated in this College will, when you leave and go out into the world, be subjected to this test. May you not be found wanting.

THE INTER-UNIVERSITY BOARD

The Inter-University Board at its last meeting in Bombay considered the question of those students who have been expelled from the Osmania University and had applied for admission into the Nagpur University. The Board adopted a resolution expressing the opinion that the Nagpur University should enter into communication with the Osmania University before any final decision on this subject could be taken.

EDUCATION FOR VILLAGERS

If the basic education scheme is mainly intended for villagers, what is the plan for city-dwellers? Gandhiji's answer to this question is restated in *Harijan*:

Sufficient for the day is the good thereof. As it is, we have a big enough morsel to bite. If we can solve the educational problem of seven lakhs of villages, it will be enough for the present. No doubt, educationists are thinking of the cities too. But if we take up the question of the cities along with that of the villages, we will fritter away our energies.

ADVICE TO STUDENTS

Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastry, C.I.E., presiding over the 50th College Day and Prize Distribution of St. Thomas College, Trichur, on March 5, gave the following advice to the students:—

"Concentrate on studies; submit to the discipline of teachers until in time discipline from within replaces it; form correct and useful habits and build up character. Discuss and form opinions on all matters that you will come across later in life, but do not begin experiments in action so as to disturb the working of the institution to which you belong."

LAW AND LETTERS

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar delivered an interesting lecture on "Law and Letters" under the auspices of the Association Golden Jubilee Lectures. Mr. Justice Abdur Rahman presided.

According to present theories, lawyers with literary credentials, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar said, were somewhat at a discount. But Law had always been the handmaid of Literature, when one surveyed the history of the growth of Law in the world. In their own province, there had been eminent lawyers and judges who had combined in themselves proficiency both in Literature and Law. For example, the judgments of Sir T. Muthuswami Aiyar and Sir S. Subramania Aiyar, not to speak of others in recent times, were noted for expressive language, vigorous and lambent. In his opinion in recent times, the greatest master of legal exposition was Mr. Justice Mahmood of Allahabad whose style was superb. He was a profound scholar in Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic and he brought to bear in his judgments his wide knowledge. He was an example of the art of expressing legal lore in fine language. After referring to Telang, Ranade, and Sir Asutosh Mukherjee whose judgments too, he said, were fine specimens of good English, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar observed that among the great jurists of India, Sir Rash Behari Ghose, whose grasp of the essentials of legal principles was admirable, used to express ideas in illuminating style. The speaker next referred to the judgments of the Privy Council wherein legal principles were expressed in a thorough and accurate language—an exposition which could be compared only with the best specimens of literary art.

THE LATE MR. PATEL'S WILL

Sardar Vallabhai Patel has made the following statement in connection with the judgment delivered by Mr. Justice B. J. Wadia relating to the construction of the will of his late brother Vithalbhai:

Mr. Justice Wadia has held that there is no absolute gift of his residuary estate to Sjt. Subhas Chandra Bose, nor is it a valid charitable bequest and has ordered the executors to distribute the amount among the heirs of the deceased. It is not unknown to friends interested in this matter that at no time was it the intention of his heirs to claim the estate for their personal benefit. As soon as the matter is finally decided, they have resolved to prepare and publish a scheme for the utilization of the amount for the political uplift of India or any other public purpose for the benefit of India. I should add in conclusion that I am authorised to make this statement on behalf of the other heirs of the deceased.

MR. JUSTICE PATANJALI SASTRI

His Majesty the King has been pleased to approve of the appointment of Mr. Mundakulathur Patanjali Sastri as a



Judge of the Madras High Court in the vacancy caused by the appointment of Mr. Justice S. Varadachari to be a Judge of the Federal Court of India.

INSURANCE AND SUICIDE

A technical point in Insurance is considered by Mr. K. V. Dikshit in the first number of the *Poona Law College Magazine*. Deliberate suicide is regarded in English Law as the most heinous description of felonious homicide. And on this ground, the Court does not enforce payment of money, even though the policy binds the Company to pay under such circumstances. But in India where suicide is not an offence, though an attempt to commit one is, two questions are raised. They are:

(1) Will the suicide clause be against public policy, and

(2) What will be the effect where the Insurance Company is registered in England but is doing its business in India and the assured commits suicide in India.

Answering (1): 'Public policy' is a vague and elastic term. As a general rule a contract may be said to be against public policy either from the nature of the acts to be performed or from the nature of the consideration.

In India, suicide does not amount to or involve any illegality; neither it is of such a nature as would defeat the provisions of any existing law. Thus it would seem that in India the suicide clause will not be considered to be void as being against 'public policy' and will be enforced when the occasion arises.

Regarding the second question, he says:

Where the Insurance Company is incorporated in England but is doing its business in India and the assured commits suicide in India, it would appear that the suicide clause will be unenforceable in India. Because in the case of a suit against an insurance company to recover the policy money, the death of the assured is a part of the cause of action and a suit against the company can be brought where the insured died. But if the suit is brought in England the contract will not be enforced; because although according to the International law, where the lawfulness of a contract is to be determined then, as a general rule, the law to be applied is the law of the country where the contract is made, still an agreement contrary to common principles of justice or morality, cannot in any way be enforced. Recognition cannot be demanded from an English Court of any right which, though valid in the country of its origin, is opposed to English notions of morality or public policy.

ASSIGNMENT OF POLICY

A policyholder assigned his policy in favour of his wife by an endorsement on the policy itself, and this was communicated to the Company and there registered.

The Policy was payable in 1952 but the assured died in 1938.

A creditor of the assured who had obtained a decree against him wanted to proceed against this insurance money. The question was whether it formed part of the assured's estate by reason of the assignment or not.

Their Lordships Justice Varadachariar and Justice Abdul Rahman, Madras, held by reason of the above assignment, the policy amount belonged to the assignee and did not form part of the estate of the assured. On the language of the assignment it cannot be said that the endorsement amounted to a mere power of attorney and the transfer was one in future.

The endorsement operated as a present transfer in favour of the assignee and the fact of a reverter clause would not prevent the assignee from receiving the policy amount.

INSURED SAVINGS

A man can set himself a goal of saving so much within ten, fifteen or twenty years. Let us say Rs. 10,000 in twenty years. If a bank and an insurance company work together, this man can deposit a requisite amount in the bank each month on his pay day. If he lives for twenty years he can get his Rs. 10,000 plus some interest. If something happens to him unfortunately, his family would be protected to the extent of Rs. 10,000.

Such a scheme has worked very well in America, especially among people who are squeamish about the word "insurance".

SALES TAX IN OTHER COUNTRIES

In view of the controversy over the Sales Tax in Madras, the following details of the levy of National Sales Tax in twelve countries will be read with interest. The figures give the rates that obtained on January 1, 1925. Austria and Germany appear, of course, as separate countries. The figure within brackets give the year in which the tax commenced to be levied in each country.

France (1920).—On total turnover 2 per cent. on ordinary articles; special rates for special industries; and 3 to 16 per cent. on luxuries; payable monthly by larger and annually by smaller taxpayers.

Germany (1919).—On total turnover; 2 per cent. payable annually.

Belgium (1921).—On sales of commodities except at retail; 2·5 per cent. and special rates for certain articles payable monthly.

Italy (1919).—On sales of commodities except at retail; 2·1/2 per cent. payable monthly.

Austria (1923).—On total turnover; generally 2 to 8 per cent. but varies with classes of commodities; payable annually.

Hungary (1921).—On total turnover; 2 per cent. on ordinary articles, 10 to 25 per cent. on luxuries; various rates for special industries; payable annually.

Poland (1925).—On total turnover 2 to 5 per cent.; special rates for special articles and for luxuries; payable monthly by larger and quarterly by smaller taxpayers.

Russia (U.S.S.R.) (1921).—On total turnover; rate varies according to classification; payable in five instalments during the year.

Canada (1920).—On sales of producers, manufacturers and importers only; 6 per cent. (raised to 8 per cent. from 1926); payable monthly.

Australia (1920).—On sales of producers and importers only; 5 per cent; payable monthly.

New Zealand (1923).—On sales of wholesalers and manufacturing retailers; 5 per cent.; payable monthly.

Philippine Islands (1904).—On sales of merchants, manufacturers, receipts of printers, publishers, contractors, public utilities, etc.; 1 to 1·1/2 per cent. payable quarterly.

THE TRADE AGREEMENT

The Indo-British Trade Agreement, which has been in the process of incubation for the last so many months, has at last seen the light of day.

Under it, India struck a bargain with the United Kingdom by linking her cotton piece-goods import from U. K. with the latter's off-take of raw cotton from India. The duty on cotton piece-goods has been further lowered and a new rate known as the "basic rate" at 17·5 per cent. *ad valorem* on printed variety and 15 per cent. on others with variations according to an inverse ratio to the increase or decrease of the U. K.'s purchase of Indian cotton has been introduced.

Another feature is that U. K.'s preferences of Indian goods have been raised to 82 per cent. of her exports to U. K. and Indian preference to U. K. goods has been reduced from 106 items to 20. The latter is confined to manufactured articles which are not in competition with Indian products.

India is under no obligation to keep the duties at the present level; she has merely guaranteed a margin of preference.

The agreement also secures that Colonial products shall not enjoy any tariff advantage over Indian ground-nut.

THE MCDERN GIRL

Writing in the *Harijan*, Mahatma Gandhi advises girls as to how they should guard themselves against the rudeness of boys:-

In the case of rude remarks addressed to girls, there need be no perturbation but there should be no indifference. All such cases should be published in the papers. Names of the offenders should be published when they are traced. There should be no false modesty about exposing the evil. There is nothing like public opinion for castigating public misconduct. Crime and vice generally require darkness for prowling. They disappear when light plays upon them.

The Modern Girl loves to be Juliet to half a dozen Romeos. She loves adventure. She dresses not to protect herself from wind, rain and sun, but to attract attention. She improves upon Nature by painting herself and looking extraordinary. The non-violent way is not for such girls.

Commenting on this, Mrs. Sarala Duggal emphatically denies

that the average Punjabi girl is a Juliet to half dozen Romeos. This is the very negation of traditional Indian culture; the history and culture of India develops an instinct in an Indian girl to be Juliet to one Romeo only. Mahatmaji is too harsh in generalising his observations on the dress of the modern girl. His allegations may be true in the case of those uneducated girls who want to pass off as moderns by painting and powdering themselves. The girl of to-day knows and has come to realize that her real worth lies in her accomplishments and not in artificiality. To-day the entire nation thanks Mahatmaji and in particular the modern girl for the Non-Co-operation and Civil Disobedience Movements, which brought her out of the secluded four walls of the house. At present she is slowly but steadily becoming more like a man and faces the world boldly and squarely. She understands that her rightful place is by the side of a man and not be a *dasi* to him. She has surpassed a man in manners and decency and is becoming his equal intellectually.

As regards the prescription of Mahatmaji to fight the misbehaviour of the boys and so-called gentlemen with non-violence, the writer draws attention to the fact that the realities of life in the Punjab are quite different from those in other parts of the country. If a young girl keeps mum on hearing the most filthy remarks made by these respectable and modern young men, they—at least the majority

of them—would take her either to be a flirt or prepared to submit to their vicious designs. If, on the other hand, on the very utterance of filthy remarks, a slap or shoe is shown, it would deter these respectable vagabonds from such behaviour afterwards. In such matters it is not the physical strength but the moral courage which ultimately saves girls. Non-violence blended with self-defence philosophy of Gita should be the guide of us girls in this land of five rivers. It is not only the college girls who are experiencing this utterly unmanly conduct of male students and men, but also young married wives and innocent school-going girls are the worst victims in this respect. It is my profound conviction that if a girl wants to be respected, she must have sufficient courage to face such men who are utterly devoid of any chivalry or sense of decency.

MRS. NAIDU'S 60TH BIRTHDAY

At the invitation of Mrs. Asaf Ali and Mrs. R. K. Nehru, a large gathering of distinguished men and women met at Dinner at the Western Court, Delhi, to celebrate the Sixtieth Birthday of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, on February 27. The Dinner was attended by Sir Maurice Gwyer-Rani of Jasdan, Members of the Viceroy's Council and their wives, and many European and Indian guests.

Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, in proposing Mrs. Naidu's health, said they were both in jail together and had come out almost at the same time. Mrs. Naidu occupied her proper place, not only in public life of India but also in hearts of millions of her countrymen. Age had not dimmed her ardour, her energy and patriotic fervour. Many more days were still left to her to serve her Motherland.

Mrs. Naidu thanked her two young hostesses and all those who were present to wish her happiness and long life. She hoped that she would be spared to serve her fellow-countrymen. Inspite of many vicissitudes, which she had witnessed in the onward march of the nation, her hope had never dimmed for the ultimate realisation of India's destiny.

INDIAN NEWSPAPER SOCIETY

A society known as the Indian and Eastern Newspaper Society has been inaugurated at a meeting held in New Delhi last month. The Society will act as a central organisation and will promote co-operation in all matters affecting the common business interests of certain classes of journals. The newspapers taking part, most of which were represented at the meeting, are the following: The "Bombay Chronicle", the "Times of India", the "Rangoon Gazette", the "Amrita Bazaar Patrika", the "Hindustan Times", the "Hindustan Standard", the "Advance", the "Pioneer", the "Tribune", the "Leader", the "Civil and Military Gazette", the "Hindu", the "Madras Mail", and the "Statesman".

The following officers were elected:—

President: Mr. W. A. Moore (the "Statesman").

Deputy President: Mr. Devadas Gandhi (the "Hindustan Times").

Vice-President: Mr. Desmond Young (the "Pioneer").

Hony. Secretary and Treasurer: Mr. B. J. Kirchner.

Committee: Mr. E. G. Pearson (the "Times of India"), Mr. K. Srinivasan (the "Hindu"), Mr. B. N. Sen (the "Hindustan Standard"), Mr. V. Prasad (the "Leader"), and Mr. F. W. Bustin (the "Civil and Military Gazette").

A VETERAN TAMIL SCHOLAR

Glowing tributes to the services rendered to Tamil Literature by Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. V. Swaminatha Aiyar were paid at a reception arranged in honour of his 85th birthday by the members of the Tamil Students' Association and lovers of Tamil. The function was held in the Kellett Hall, Triplicane, on March 6. The Hon. Mr. Justice K. S. Krishnaswami Iyengar presided on the occasion.

PT. RAM SHANKER SHUKLA

The Allahabad University's Faculty of Arts has recommended the award of the Doctor of Literature degree to Pandit Ram Shanker Shukla "Rasal" of the Hindi department of the University.

BRITISH TRIBUTE TO GANDHIJI

In a leader entitled "Beyond the Sword," the *News Chronicle* of London says that Mahatma Gandhi's success in Rajkot was not merely "a great personal triumph but a remarkable victory for the method of passive resistance."

The Viceroy, it adds, could never have intervened in so conciliatory a manner if Mahatma Gandhi had led an armed attack against Rajkot. It is not a method which can be applied at the moment to Western Europe, but we cannot forget that in the long run it is the human spirit which triumphs, not the sword.

SIR JAMES GRIGG

Sir James Grigg, the retiring Finance Member, Government of India, has been appointed Permanent Under-Secretary of State to the War Office. He will take up his new duties in October.

Sir James Grigg came to India in 1934. He was appointed to the Treasury in 1918 and was Principal Private Secretary to successive Chancellors of the Exchequer from 1921 to 1930. In the latter year he became Chairman of the Board of Customs and Excise. He was Chairman of the Board of Inland Revenue in 1930-34.



THE THAKORE SAHEB OF RAJKOT

who disagreed with Gandhiji on the question of reforms.

THE MEDICAL PROFESSION IN INDIA

The Director-General, Indian Medical Service, has just brought out a publication, "Indian Medical Review" giving his comments on the medical profession in India. The book also gives useful information bearing upon the science and practice of medicine in India.

It is estimated that there are 35,000 to 40,000 qualified doctors now practising in India, and although a proportion of one doctor to roughly 10,000 of the population would appear to be very inadequate, it is a fact that unemployment has become a serious problem among the younger members of the profession. Careful enquiries, however, show that in many towns the proportion is as high as or higher than one to 1,000 and that it is the disinclination of members of an educational profession to settle in rural areas, which is responsible for this apparent overcrowding. . . .

This disinclination of the private practitioner to settle in rural areas is not peculiar to India, but is common to all agricultural countries.

Provincial Governments are doing their best to lessen as much as they can the sufferings of the millions living in villages. Medical men are being encouraged to settle in rural areas. They are being given subsidies for the purpose and are allowed private practice. Rural medical relief is at present afforded through the agency of fixed and touring dispensaries, subsidized medical practitioners, unqualified village school-masters, practitioners of indigenous systems of medicine and missionary doctors.

MADRAS NURSING SERVICE

The Madras Government have modified their order issued in October last on the reorganisation of the nursing service in regard to the selection of women candidates for training and the stipends and allowances granted to nurse pupils.

In particular, Government have sanctioned a ration allowance of Rs. 20 each per mensem to nurse pupils, nurses and ward sisters, the original order did not grant this.

HEALTH

SIR ALEXANDER RUSSELL

Sir Alexander Russell, Public Health Commissioner, Government of India, who has proceeded to England preparatory to retirement, will represent India at the



SIR ALEXANDER RUSSELL

next meeting of the International Conference of Public Health in Paris this month for the revision of the Sanitary Convention

Sir Alexander will also attend the League of Nations' Health Committee at Geneva on behalf of the Government of India.

HEALTH AND FOOD

The simpler, the plainer, the more frugal, the more natural the food of man the more vigorous and the more perfect will be his bodily strength and his mental faculties, says Mr. Wilfrid Hill, and adds

In his native condition the man, as the Hill Tribes of India, is healthy and free from disease. It is only by reverting to simplicity in diet that the greatest health and fitness can be achieved.

Nature produces perfect foods and the man was intended to subsist on these foods. But when man, with a desire to improve on the handiwork of his Creator, began to interfere with this food by removing the outer-coating of grain, the skins of fruit and vegetables, the refining of sugar, the boiling of the essential mineral salts from vegetables, and the cooking of food generally that food value were in a large measure destroyed and dangerous deficiencies occurred in his diet.

THE RESERVE BANK

The Annual Report and the accounts of the Reserve Bank of India for the year ended December 31, 1988, have been gazetted.

After payment of expenses of administration and provision for sundry liabilities and contingencies, the net profit amounts to Rs. 88,45,187-8 of which amount the sum of Rs. 17,50,000 will be utilized for payment to shareholders of a dividend at the rate of 8½ per cent. per annum being the cumulative rate fixed by the Central Government, leaving a surplus of Rs. 20,95,187-8 for payment to the Central Government.

T. N. AND Q. BANK

On March 8, His Lordship Justice Venkataramana Rao passed orders on the application filed by Mr. S. Parthasarathi on behalf of Mr. Sourirajan, a creditor of the Travancore National and Quilon Bank, Ltd. (now in liquidation), praying for a direction to the Official Liquidator to pay an interim dividend of not less than four annas in the rupee to the creditors in British India. His Lordship directed the liquidators to declare and pay a dividend of three annas in the rupee to the British Indian creditors in the first instance.

RECORD OUTPUT OF GOLD

The world gold production for 1988 has increased by 5·5 per cent. compared with that for 1987, which in itself was a record, showing 7½ per cent. increase over 1986, according to the Union Corporation, which puts 1988 production at the new record of 86,700,000 fine troy ounces compared with revised estimate of Rs. 34,788,000 for 1987.

Both estimates include an assumed Soviet production of five million ounces.

INTEREST ON LOANS

The Madras Provincial Co-operative Bank Executive have resolved to reduce the interest on their loans to Central Banks from 4 per cent. to 3 per cent. to enable the primary societies to lend to the ultimate borrower at 6½ per cent.

OVERCROWDING IN TRAIN

The following pertinent observations were made by a Small Cause Court Judge in Bombay in a suit filed by the plaintiff, Popatil Baichand Shah, to recover damages caused to him by physical discomfort and inconvenience caused by the defendant the G. I. P. Railway Company permitting overcrowding in the train.

"A railway company cannot escape its liability for negligence in the performance of any duty in the exercise of any powers conferred on it by Statute for the benefit of the passengers if such negligence causes any injury to any person. The contract of the railway company with a passenger is to carry him safely and with reasonable care having regard to the ordinary incidents of railway travelling. In order to enable the railway company to carry out that contract, the by-laws empower them to prevent overcrowding so that it may not interfere with the comfort and safety of the passenger. The ordinary incidents of railway travelling is that the passenger has a seat to himself and it is the duty of the railway company to secure that condition of safety and comfort."

THE E. I. RY. TRIBUNAL

The Government of India seriously concerned at the frequency of accidents on the E. I. R., have decided to set up a tribunal which will inquire into the causes of and circumstances leading up to, these incidents and which, after examination of all the relevant evidence, will report thereon. The personnel of the tribunal is also announced in a recent *communiqué*. Mr. Justice R. S. Broomfield, Judge of the Bombay High Court, will be the President of the tribunal, and the other members will be: Dewan Bahadur M. V. Vellodi, Collector, South Kanara, and Khan Bahadur Shaikh Din Mahomed, Sessions Judge, Punjab.

FANS IN THIRD CLASS CARRIAGES

A scheme for providing fans in all third class carriages of the Mysore State Railway has been approved by Government. The work will be spread over a number of years. Government have also sanctioned Rs. 80,000 for other improvements on the railway.

UDAY SHANKAR'S DANCE PARTNER

"It is a thing worth working for, worth living for," observed Mlle. Simkis, Uday Shankar's dance partner, when asked as to what had attracted her to Indian dancing.

In her earlier years in Paris, she was being trained for a musical career. But when she saw Uday Shankar's performance, she felt an urge to devote her life to Indian dancing, which fascinated her by its beauty and emotional appeal.

Indian dance has a big spiritual background which is largely lacking in the Western dance, she said. It expresses the wonderful beauty and colour that one finds in Nature and in the simple homely life of the people.

"To-day, the people of India have closed their eyes on this precious heritage of theirs and they are waiting for some one to come forward to guide them in this sacred mission. And that is what Mr. Uday Shankar is trying to do through his Art Centre. It is the biggest fight in the world to provide the spiritual solvent for the disruptive forces that are threatening the very existence of civilization."

MISS BINA ADDY

Miss Bina Addy, who has left for Europe, interviewed at Bombay before her departure, said: She was very much interested in promoting International Fellowship through her music tours. She could sing songs in all the different languages.

Her last tour of New Zealand and Australia, she said, was very successful, and she had been accorded public welcomes and addresses.

During the European crisis, she broadcast from the Delhi Station a special Peace Chant, the chant being translated and set to a European tune from the original Sanskrit text said to be 5,000 years old. Her voice was found very adaptable for radio broadcasting and her friends had particularly advised her to give the Peace Chant to Western audiences.

Miss Addy had recently been to Shantiniketan to add a few more Bengali songs to her repertoire, she herself being a Bengali.

INDIA'S CRICKET ELEVEN

The Hon. Dr. P. Subbarayan, writing of the leading personalities in Indian cricket, sums up his opinion by giving a



HON. DR. P. SUBBARAYAN

list for an Indian team. He feels that an All-India XI well worthy of maintaining India's reputation can be selected from the following, if only a spirit of teamwork could be instilled in our players:— Major C. K. Nayudu, Nissar, Mushtaq Ali, Amar Nath, Amar Singh, Vinoo Mankad, Abbas Khan, Syed Ahmed, Wazir Ali, Naqomal, H. H. the Maharaja of Patiala, Merchant, Hindlekar, C. S. Nayudu, Chatterji, Jabbar, Bhattacharji, Ram Singh, G. Parthasarathy, and Amir Elabi.

SIMPLE GROUP GAMES FOR INDIA

Dewan Bahadur R. Subbayya Nayudu, Commissioner, Madras Corporation, presiding over the 812th birthday celebrations of Shivaji at the Shivaji Mandal, observed

"Probably in the field of games or sports we have yet to evolve something which would stand modern requirements, and I think it is the duty of Government to set up a Committee to go into the question of evolving a scheme of national sports."

DR. K. S. KRISHNAN

Dr. K. S. Krishnan, Professor of the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science, Calcutta, has been invited by the International Institute of Intellectual



DR. K. S. KRISHNAN

Co-operation, to read a paper on "Some Aspects of Magnetism" at a study meeting organised by the Institute to be held at Strasburg. Dr. Krishnan will also take this opportunity of visiting Germany, for he has been invited to the Conference of the Bunsen Society of Germany to be held at Danzig next month.

NEW OIL PROSPECTS IN JAPAN

One of the prospective oil wells of the Nakano Mining Company at Igo in Niigata Prefecture, where boring operation has been carried on since last year, has recently begun to gush out a large quantity of oil to the daily amount of 190 *koku*, the depth of the well reached being 1,428 metres. The oil from this well is of better quality than any ever produced in Japan.

SUBSTITUTE FOR RADIUM

Scientists are experimenting with artificial radium and hopes are entertained that it will prove an effective substitute for real radium. One great advantage is that it can be taken as a capsule through the mouth, because it is dispersed in about 48 hours. It is also cheap.

INDIAN FILMS

It is understood that a large financial banking corporation with a capital of Rs. 1,00,00,000 has been formed by a group of film and industrial magnates with a view to undertaking the financing of the Indian film industry on a large scale.

The persons behind the venture, it is gathered, include Sir Richard Temple, a prominent figure in the film circles of Bombay and a Director of the Bombay Talkies, Limited, Sir Kailas Haksar, Prime Minister of Bikaner, and Mr. Thomas, a barrister of London, who is intimately associated with the English and American film industry.

The Corporation, which will be located in Bombay, is already stated to have met with a good response in Indian financial circles. It is expected to start functioning from January next.

THE FILM INDUSTRY

"I want the Indian film industry to be hundred per cent. Indian in its conception, in development, in finance and in production," declared Mr. Satyamurthy, M.L.A. (Central), speaking at a luncheon party given in his honour by Mr. Babu Rao Patel of the "Filmi India" in Bombay.

Mr. Satyamurthy is the President-designate of the Indian Motion Picture Congress and of the Silver Jubilee celebrations of the Indian Film Industry, which is to be held during the coming Easter.

He referred to his deep interest in the film industry and added: "I have no use for compromises or quotas. The moment we get anything like power, we are going to bring the film industry to its highest level, and towards this end I hope the intellectuals, the producers and actors will endeavour."

FILM AWARD FOR G. B. SHAW

Mr. George Bernard Shaw has received the annual award of the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences for the best written screen play, the adaptation of his "Pygmalion".

MOTOR TRANSPORT

"It may take some centuries before we can hope a very large majority of the agricultural population ever to hear the whistle of the steam engine. Hence it is necessary to rapidly develop and encourage motor transport, and side by side with it increase the speed of the village road construction, and that should be the first item in any industrial planning," declared Mr. K. F. Nariman, M.L.A., Bombay, in the course of his presidential address at the last Session of the All-India Motor Transport Federation Congress at Agra. He added: "Particularly in a vast country like India with lakhs of villages scattered about in remote corners, motor transport is more important and vital than the railways. Whilst railways can serve only a small proportion of the vast population mostly inhabiting large cities and commercial centres, motor transport alone can penetrate into the remotest corners and be the only connecting link between a large majority of agriculturists and the few commercial and industrial centres. The development of proper motor transport alone can ultimately lead to the successful working of railways and still the short-sighted and suicidal policy of killing motor transport to sustain the existing railways is adopted and pursued. The legislators are still pursuing a disastrous policy of ruining the motor transport with a view to maintaining and sustaining the existing meagre and inefficient railway service."

1939 CHEVROLET—DE-LUXE

The 1939 Chevrolet—De-Luxe—a General Motors Product, features amongst others an important improvement destined to mark an epoch in motor car engineering.

By a flick of the finger and without taking the hand from the wheel are now performed all the operations hitherto carried out with the conventional gear shift lever. With the latter now replaced, there is a clear floor and ample space for three people in the driving compartment. New and current motorists will find in this model smooth riding, positive and easy control and effortless steering.

BRITISH AIR ESTIMATES

Introducing the Air Estimates totalling £205,000,000 in the House of Commons, Sir Charles Kingsley Wood, Secretary of State for Air, graphically illustrated the growth of the Air Force, stating that the present figure was 12 times greater than in any year from 1929 to 1934, and roughly double the aggregate expenditure over the three defence services in 1932-33.

This year's increase of £74,000,000 in the Air Estimates equals the total defence estimates in 1918. The biggest single item is £98,000,000 for aircraft and balloons.

Thirty-five R. A. F. Companies and an Auxiliary Territorial Service for women were being formed. The expanded Air Force programme necessitated a further 20,000 personnel this year.

CIVIL AVIATION IN U. P.

The U. P. has shown commendable readiness to welcome civil aviation. Its equipment goes ahead steadily, one of its universities has included the study of aviation in its curriculum, and now it is announced that the Government will establish a number of scholarships with whose help selected candidates will be enabled to pay for instruction in flying. All this might well stimulate other Universities and Governments.

FOREIGN AIR COMPANIES

The concession granted to the K. L. M. and Air France to carry passengers within India as well as between Burma and India, which expired last month, has been extended by the Government.

It may be mentioned that the Government afforded this facility to the above companies as the Imperial Airways had to restrict their booking of passengers during Christmas owing to the heavy rush of mails.

AIR FORCES IN INDIA

The Royal Air Force in India will henceforth be known as "Air Forces in India". It is explained that there are in India units of the R. A. F. and also the India Air Force. The new name is intended to cover both.

THE LATE MR. PATANWALA

We regret to record the death in Bombay of Mr. E. S. Patanwala, the



LATE MR. PATANWALA

well-known head of the firm of perfume manufacturers of that name. He was 55 years old.

In 1910, when he was 25 years of age he started production of soaps and toilet preparations. He toured Europe in 1934, visiting large and small perfumery concerns in England and the Continent. The products of his firm are still commanding an All-India market.

MANUFACTURE OF CYCLES IN INDIA

It is understood that an industrial venture has been organised by industrialists in Bihar in co-operation with others in Bengal, the United Provinces, Delhi and Bombay, for the manufacture of bicycles. It is proposed by the sponsors of the scheme that the factory for the manufacture should be located at Jamshedpur.

The necessary machinery, it is stated, has been already ordered from the Continent, and arrangements are in progress for the engagement of European technical staff.

AGRICULTURE AND FOOD-PLANNING

"Agriculture in India must be approached from a new angle in the future so as to ensure the most economical use of the land; it must attract the most gifted brains; it must include a new population policy and systematic food and crops and labour planning," says the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*.

There is no hope of India being able to import food from foreign countries in exchange for her manufactures; Japan, and to some extent, China are already ahead of her in this respect and their population pressure is likely to become even heavier than that of India. Even in these countries the food production, though high per acre, is low per human hour of production. Hence wages are small in industry and manufacturing costs low in comparison with Europe.

What is the solution? In the words of the author: "The future population adjustment thus seems to lie more in the directions of judicious combination of food and industrial cropping than in subsistence farming, more in agricultural than in general industrialisation and, above all, more in the restriction of numbers than in the diversification of employment."

AGRICULTURE IN THE GANGES VALLEY

"Agriculture and Population in the Ganges Valley" is a study in agricultural economics by Dr. Birendranath Ganguli. In this work the author studies the problem of adjustment of the population to the agricultural economic environment in a regional and geographical setting. The region surveyed is the Ganges Valley, a predominantly agricultural region and one of the ancient and historic centres of dense population in the world.

RELIEF TO AGRICULTURISTS

The Government of Baroda have sanctioned the Tractor Cultivation scheme and a scheme for improvement of well supplies in the Amreli district of the State costing Rs. 60,000 and Rs. 10,215 respectively with an additional annual expense of Rs. 18,000. The relief granted to the agriculturists of Baroda State in the months of December 1938 and January 1939 has evoked resolutions of grateful appreciation and thanks from a number of village panchayats throughout the State.

I. L. O. CONFERENCE

COOCH BEHAR, VILLAGE INDUSTRIES EXHIBITION

In the normal course the 25th Session of the International Labour Conference will be held at Geneva in June 1939. The following six questions will come up before the Conference for final decision:—

1. Technical and vocational education and apprenticeship.
2. Recruiting, placing and conditions of Labour; equality of treatment of migrant workers.
3. Regulation of contracts of employment of indigenous workers.
4. Regulation of hours of work and rest periods of professional drivers and their assistants, of vehicles engaged in road transport.
5. Reduction of hours of work in Industry, Commerce, and Offices.
6. Reduction of hours of work in Coal Mines.

The delegates representing each Member State at the Conference include two Government Delegates, one Employers' Delegate and one Workers' Delegate. Advisers can be appointed for each group according to necessity and circumstances. The duty of nominating the personnel of the entire Indian Delegation rests with the Government of India.

EMPLOYMENT OF CHILDREN

The Royal Commission on Labour drew attention to the serious abuses prevalent in many establishments not subject to the Factories Act. In particular, mention is made of the employment of children, often at a very early age in various offensive and in some cases dangerous occupations.

A Bill introduced recently in the Central Assembly by the Hon. Sir Zafrullah Khan seeks to prohibit the employment of children under 12 in the following occupations:—bidi-making, carpet-weaving, cement manufacture including the bagging of cement, cloth printing, dyeing and weaving, manufacture of matches, explosives and fireworks, mica cutting and splitting, shellac manufacture, tanning and wool cleaning.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who in the unavoidable absence of Mahatma Gandhi, declared open the All-India Khadi and



PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Village Industries Exhibition at Tripuri on the 6th March, stressed the importance of Khadi and Village Industries in the national economic life of India. "These exhibitions are not places of amusement," said the Pandit.

On the other hand they are meant to illustrate how village products can be made to have their place in the life of the nation and how village economy and village industries can be revived. As long as you do not think in terms of improving the lot of villagers, so long you will not be thinking in terms of Indian freedom. . . .

He added that starting a few big mills would not solve the problem of hunger of the masses all over India. He appealed to the people to wear Khadi and patronise the village industries products and referred to the Wardha scheme of education and the adult education drive undertaken by the Congress Ministries and hoped that it augured well for the future.

TEA IN JAILS

That the use of tea should be encouraged inside jails is the view expressed by Mr. Sri Prakasa, M.L.A. Addressing the U. P. Temperance Conference at Mainpuri, Mr. Sri Prakasa said: "If Congress Governments see no objection to tea outside, I may, perhaps, suggest that it may be permitted in jails also. I cannot help feeling that if tea is encouraged, it is possible that the evils of alcoholic drinks and drugs will be greatly minimised."

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IF WAR COMES

BY DR. SIR P. S. SIVASWAMY AIYAR

FEW public men in India have bestowed any serious study upon the problem of defence of this country against foreign invasion. Strange as it may seem, the fact is easily explicable. The peace and freedom from external aggression that the country has enjoyed for over a century under British rule have lulled the people into a sense of security which has been disturbed only for a brief while by the raid of the *Emden* during the last war. The military policy of the Government of India has succeeded in emasculating the people and rendered them almost incapable of taking any interest in the problems of defence. The nationalist movement which has spread far and wide has tended to concentrate the attention of the people on the political problem of winning *Swaraj*, whether in the shape of Dominion Status or Independence and severance of the British connection, to the exclusion of the problems of defence and industrialisation of the country. Above all, the success which has so far attended the efforts of Mahatma Gandhi in awakening mass consciousness and in securing the beginnings of *Swaraj* has created a belief in the efficacy of his gospel of non-violent *Satyagraha*. It is not realised that such success as may be ascribed to this policy is due to the fact that he had to deal with the British Government which,

of all European nations, is the most sensitive to the public opinion of the civilised world and to the nobler instincts of humanity. It is strange that the advocates of severance of the British connection should pay so little attention to the concrete problems of defence and its political and economic implications. It is imagined that the moment the country cuts adrift from the British Commonwealth, it will be able to maintain its independence and able to resist the aggression of foreign invaders. It is also believed that India will have no external enemies coveting her resources. Military training, leadership and armament cannot be acquired in the twinkling of an eye and must necessarily take a very considerable amount of time. It may be urged, and not without force, that Britain is not likely to train India for self-defence, or arm and equip her for the purpose, for fear that such training and equipment may induce the people of India to sever the ties which now bind her to the Commonwealth. The policy of distrust which has so long guided the British Government in its treatment of India is bound to be as disastrous to the British Empire as to the people of India. When the advocates of the complete independence of India are confronted with the question of the maintenance of such

independence, we are often told that though they agitate for independence, they do not believe that it will be won within a period of fifteen or twenty years at least and that the British Government is not likely to give up the control of India within that period. Should Providence, however, be ready to grant the boon of immediate independence and a foreign power attack India, India will fall an easy prey to the enemy. The policy of *Satyagraha* cannot possibly save her from foreign invaders. The conquest of Abyssinia and the invasion of China must open the eyes of all patriots to the realities of the situation and the dangers to which India will be exposed. There is an utter lack of a sense of realism among the politicians. While it is easy to understand it in the case of the credulous and unintelligent masses, it is difficult to understand the acceptance by the political leaders of the Gandhian philosophy of non-violence and victory through suffering. According to Mr. Gandhi, there is only one true exponent of the technique and creed of perfect non-violent *Satyagraha*, and that is himself. It is possible that when these leaders profess allegiance to the Gandhian creed, they talk with their tongues in their cheeks. In so far as our politicians wish to take advantage of the world situation and wring the concession of Dominion Status from the British Government, there need be no objection to this course. But to cut loose from the British Empire in the present situation when international relations are governed by the law of force would be a fatal policy.

There are some signs of the recovery of some of the leaders at least from the hypnosis of Mahatma Gandhi's philosophy.

The desire for the industrialisation of the country, which has found expression in Congress circles, is one such sign. The country must be shaken out of its pathetic belief in the sufficiency of cottage industries, the suitability of the economic ideals of a primitive age and the creed of pure soul-force.

Professor B. P. Adarkar's Book "If War Comes" (Indian Press Ltd., Allahabad)* is bound to awaken our people to the realities of the situation. He is an exceedingly well-informed and capable writer and has made an extensive and careful study of military literature and world politics. His knowledge of current affairs and the world situation is fully up to date. It is, of course, exceedingly difficult, at this time of international tension and crises and swiftly moving events, for any book to continue to be up to date for any length of time after its publication. But if it fails to do so, it is not the fault of the author. His conclusions have not been affected by the events which have happened since it was published in January last. The author modestly calls his book "An Essay on India's Military Problems", and he does not claim any specialist knowledge of the technique of warfare or of the delicate nuances of the international political landscape. The main purpose of the book is to give the Indian reader a broad idea of the international situation, the possibilities of war, the chief alignments of groups among the probable participants and the tremendous change in the balance of international politics wrought by the fast progressing technique of warfare. He has discussed many topics bearing

* Price Rs. 2-8. To be had of G. A. Nateman & Co., Madras.

upon the position of India in the event of a world war.

The first part of his work is devoted to the changes in the methods of warfare, the predominant part that will be played by the air forces, the command of the sea routes, the mechanisation of the armies, the new instruments of war and the warring camps of the world. He has also devoted a chapter to the moral to be drawn from the Sino-Japanese war. The second part of the book deals with the planning of Indian defence, the position of India in the coming world war, the accoutrements of war, the financing of defence and the wheels of industry. Prof. Adarkar has undertaken the task as a labour of love and hopes that the book will serve the purpose of developing a school of thought, which would take cognisance of the realities of the international situation, the dangers of isolation and the urgency of our military needs. The book is admirably adapted to fulfil this purpose. It is written in an incisive and elegant style and is delightful reading. It is one of absorbing interest and should be studied by every student, citizen and politician.

Not the least interesting part of the book is the foreword of Prof. Meghnad Saha, which is an eloquent plea for the industrialisation of India and the creation of a defensive mentality among the people. He has done well to point out that the true doctrine of Hinduism is not the doctrine of passive resistance or pacifism, but, as pointed out in the Gita, the duty of a righteous war for just causes.

It would not be amiss to refer to some of the author's views put forward in this interesting book. As pointed out by Prof. Saha, the decline of British power

in world politics is not a matter for congratulation, but of grave concern to India and almost a matter of life and death. Mr. Adarkar points out that the wiser course for India is to make common cause with Britain, not to save Britain, for it does not lie within our power to save it, but to save ourselves. He pleads for a new deal between India and Britain by which what Mahatma Gandhi calls the substance of independence and what constitutionalists call Dominion Status will immediately be conferred on India, and in return the latter should enter into a binding alliance with Britain.

In discussing the technique of war, while the author rightly attaches importance to the instruments of aerial warfare, he is disposed greatly to depreciate the role of the navy in future wars. I doubt whether he is justified in this depreciation of the navy. Transport across the seas of armies and supplies is essential to the conduct of any long campaign and cannot possibly be secured without a powerful navy, at least for the purpose of convoy and defence. The fact that Germany, Italy, and Japan have all been constructing powerful battleships is proof of their value in war. With the exception of the author's remarks about the comparative inutility of the navy, I am inclined to agree almost entirely with his views in the first part of his book. I am, however, very sceptical of the soundness of his views in his chapter on the financing of defence.

Prof. Adarkar has laid the country under an obligation by his most useful and timely work. I hope it will open the eyes of the public to the urgency and importance of the problem of defence and its many implications both political and economic. His book is the book of the hour and will, I hope, be widely read throughout the country.

ARABS IN WORLD POLITICS

BY MR. MAQBOOL AZIZ

THE Arabs have become a very vital factor in world politics. They are playing a very important role in the rivalry among empires. This is due to their steadily growing national feeling, to their geographical position, and to their numbers, which equal the population of all the Balkan States.

The Arab world is very much larger than most people imagine. Comprising the whole of North Africa and of South-West Asia, it is far greater in extent than the Continent of Europe. Nearly half of the coast line of the Mediterranean Sea runs along Arabian lands. Arabia Proper, that is the Arabian Peninsula, is six times as large as Germany, which means that it would more than cover the United States east of the Mississippi.

Most Arab lands, however, are not verdant. And they are of vital interest, not primarily on account of their historical associations, but because of their geographical location. They lie in the way of empires. The control of them is absolutely essential for world powers.

The chief highway of the greatest empire, Great Britain, passes directly through the Arab world. Whether one comes by air, by land, or by water from London to India, he crosses Arab territory. The chief commercial air lines of Great Britain to South Africa and Australia also have stations in Arabian States.

SUEZ CANAL

The Suez Canal is an Arabian ditch. Neither Great Britain nor Italy could keep in close touch with the most vital points of their empires without the voluntary or forced permission of the Arabs. Two among the longest and most important

French and British pipe lines rise in and, from beginning to end, pass through Arabian countries. If the Arabs were in complete control of their territory and said 'No' to Mussolini, not a single Italian boat could connect up Ethiopia. Arabs stand between France and most of its colonies too.

Arab territory is divided into many states or colonies, some of which are the following :—Palestine, Egypt, Sinai, Trans-Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, Latakia, Iraq, Yemen, Hejaz, Nejd, Aden, Oman, Tunisia, Algérie, and Morocco. Of these lands, France holds in the form of protectorates, mandates, and colonies 1,158,752 square miles, and Italy 640,000. Great Britain holds as mandates Palestine and Trans-Jordan with 26,820 square miles, exercises a control over Egypt with 888,000 square miles, exerts a dominant influence in Iraq, and keeps Arabia Proper very strictly with its sphere of influence.

CUSTOMS AND ENVIRONMENT

The word 'Arab' is usually used as a rather loose and general term, classifying Egyptians, Iraqis, Syrians, and Hejazis all as Arabs.

All the people in the countries mentioned speak the Arab language and feel Arab unity. An Egyptian from Cairo understands a Syrian from Aleppo. The ways of life, the clothes, the religion, the traditions, and the attitudes of all these Arab people are similar.

Arabs are predominantly peasants and shepherds. A third or more of them are still Bedouins. Probably a half live in small, unattractive, wretched villages and work the land for rich masters. The vast majority are Moslems.

Let us now examine the outlook of the major Arab countries.

PALESTINE

One of the fiercest struggles in all human history is being repeated; both parties are intensely in earnest and both have some rights on their side. As to the Arabs' case, they thought that when the British conquered Palestine in 1918, taking it not from the Arabs, but from their masters, the Turks, the Allies were bringing them freedom. And when they learned they were to be a colony, they committed acts of violence in protest. The Arabs here are not very aggressive, but British rule brought the Jews to Palestine. Half a century ago there were barely 30,000 here. At the beginning of the World War 60,000. Now 400,000. The Jews have come to be nearly half as many as the Arabs and are increasing.

The Jews, say the Arabs, plan to dominate Palestine, so the Arabs are fighting for their homes. When they entered 1,800 years ago they didn't take Palestine from the Jews. When the Arabs took it, they destroyed Roman armies and not Jewish.

During the succeeding centuries, Palestine was ruled from Damascus, Bagdad, Cairo and Constantinople, but its population was Arab.

During this long period, the Jews never made any attempt to reconquer Palestine. The Christians tried it a score of times but without permanent success. The Arabs, in spite of temporary defeats, held Palestine against all attacks of the Christian world.

SYRIA

Damascus, capital of Syria, is said to be the oldest city existing. Other human settlements were founded earlier, such as Babylonia, Thebes, and Memphis, but they have disappeared.

It was here that the Arabian renaissance began somewhat more than 50 years ago. These awakenings were subjected to severe persecution at the hands of their Turkish masters and had to flee to Cairo, which is one of the reasons why Egypt has become the leader of the Arabs.

The Syrians are closer to Europe than any other important group of Arabs. They have extensive contacts with Western capitals, send their sons in large numbers to Western schools and have very progressive colonies of emigrants in America.

France took over Syria as a mandate driving out an Arab King, Feisal. They divided it into five completely different administrative areas. They include the Syrian Republic, the Lebanon Republic, Latakia, the Sanjak of Antioch, and the territory of the Djebel Druse—a wild mountainous area east of the Sea of Galilee inhabited by 50,000 Arab shepherds. The divisions have since been reduced to two, the one Syria, the other Lebanon which is being merged with the remaining three. According to an agreement in 1936, the mandate will end next year.

IRAQ

Iraq, or Mesopotamia, obtained its freedom from the British mandate in 1932. It is a striking example of a wise international agreement admirably fulfilled. The independence, security, and fairly good administration which Iraq enjoys are among the most credible achievements of the League of Nations. Iraq is Geneva's child—still rather immature, but promising.

Iraq is much larger than Italy, yet contains only 8,000,000 inhabitants. It could easily maintain three times as many.

In the northern part of the country are rich oil deposits. Great Britain and France exploit this oil and send it across

the desert in two pipe lines, each 900 miles long, which terminate at the harbour of Tripoli and Haifa.

Iraq controls its own army, its own air force, its own finances, its own foreign affairs, and its own schools.

Britain, however, considers Iraq a vital link in its system of communications and defence and still exercises much influence in Bagdad. The other Arabs are clamouring to be given the status of Iraq, and she is trying to show that Arabs know how to use such a status.

EGYPT

The strongest Arab group are the Egyptians. They are the most numerous, richest, best organised, and of the most political importance. Fourteen million in number, they occupy a country containing 847,840 square miles, but 95 per cent. of them live upon two long and very narrow ribbons of verdure skirting the Nile.

The Persians, the Greeks, and the Romans captured Egypt and ruled it altogether for 10 centuries, yet none planted their culture here. The Arabs left their language, civilization and religion; they made Egypt Arabian.

In 1882, Great Britain occupied Egypt, but later during the Great War converted it into a protectorate. This was abolished in 1922. Her one supreme issue is its relation with Great Britain, which was settled in the treaty signed on December 28, 1926.

In this struggle upwards, Egypt has acquired first place among the Arabs.

ARABIA

Arabia is a land bigger than the whole of Europe outside of Russia, yet containing only 6,000,000 inhabitants. The Arabs let 10 centuries of history sweep by unnoticed.

But at last Arabia, too, is being drawn into history's stream. Automobiles have begun to race across Arabian wastes. Airplanes fly over the deserts. Electricity glows in the mosques at Mecca. And practically all the inhabitants of the Arabian Peninsula, all these wandering tribes, are again united under a single master. His name is Sultan Ibn-Saud. He is the greatest figure in the Arab world, statesman, soldier, the strongest character among the 240,000,000 Moslems.

TRANS-JORDAN

A straight line of 600 miles from Bagdad west across the desert to the port of Jaffa or to Haifa on the Mediterranean Sea passes through the little State of Trans-Jordan that forms the indispensable middle link in this vital international highway.

Even if the Suez Canal were closed, Great Britain might keep in direct and rapid contact with India along the route—London, Gibraltar, Bagdad, Persian Gulf, and India. Over this corridor passes the Imperial Airway, and through it runs the pipe line from Mosul to the Mediterranean Sea. It is probable that through it will eventually be constructed a railroad direct from Haifa to Bagdad.

The capital, Aman, with 20,000 inhabitants, is a very new and very old city lying at the foot of high hills. On the finest elevation is the palace of the ruler, Emir Abdullah, brother of late Feisal.

Trans-Jordan contains about 16,220 square miles, which means it is almost as big as any European city. The inhabitants are all Arabs. Most of them live in tents and cultivate the soil or tend flocks.

MONROE DOCTRINE

THE BED-ROCK OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

BY DR. P. GOPALA KRISHNAYYA

(Columbia University, New York, U. S. A.)

THE overtures of dictator-nations like Nazi Germany to the Republics of South America have more than ever brought the Monroe Doctrine to the forefront. Briefly, the Monroe Doctrine advises the European and other Powers that "we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety". The American statesman and author of the nineties, John Hay, is said to have once remarked : "The Monroe Doctrine and the Golden Rule—these are sufficient basis for America's foreign policy," Unquestionably vast numbers of Americans would follow him in thus giving primacy to the Doctrine. After all, it is a peculiarly American principle, while the Golden Rule is or ought to be the property of all civilized peoples.

The situation when the Monroe Doctrine was first promulgated to the world in the message which President Monroe sent to the American Congress on December 2, 1823, had certain evident resemblances to the situation of to-day. Europe was struggling in the wake of an exhausting war, or rather series of wars. Most of the Continent was held firmly in the grip of political reaction. The principles high in favour were those of the Bourbons, Metternich, and Czar Alexander I. As two dictators to-day have formed the Berlin-Rome axis, so then the leaders of the Continent formed the Holy Alliance and adapted it to purposes of repression. Intervention to suppress a popular revolution in Spain seemed to foreshadow a more

ambitious movement to restore Spanish sovereignty in Latin America, where the United States had already recognized the independence of the former colonies.

In the century and more since then, the feeling of people of the United States of kinship with Latin America has grown stronger. They cherish more vigorously than ever the ideal of the right of free peoples to govern themselves according to their own free will. But the impulse of self-protection remains the chief support of the Doctrine. With the Panama Canal to defend, with the fear of a combination between Germany and Italy on their east and Japan on their west before them, they are inclined to give it as much weight as ever. They talk nowadays of joint programs of protection, of bi-continental plans of defence; but self-defence is their main object, and correctly so.

The general tendency of American statesmanship in recent years has been to convert the unilateral Monroe Doctrine into a bi-continental assertion of principle. That tendency received its first effective impulse in the then American Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Elihu Root's famous speech to the Third Pan-American Conference at Rio de Janeiro in July, 1906. Speaking of the Doctrine, he said in words singularly pertinent to the situation to-day :

Let us pledge ourselves to aid each other in the full performance of the duty to humanity which that accepted declaration (of Monroe's) implies; so that in time the weakest and most unfortunate of our republics may come to march with equal step the side of the stronger and more fortunate. Let us help each other to show that for all the races of men the liberty for which we have fought and laboured is the twin

sister of justice and peace. Let us unite in creating and maintaining and making effective an all-American public opinion, whose power shall influence international conduct and prevent international wrong, and narrow the causes of war, and bring us ever nearer the perfection of ordered liberty.

No sensible American has ever thought that the Latin American republics ought to have just the same political ideas and institutions as the English-speaking republic. Americans have always taken the frequent dictatorships to the south of them as natural. But the spirit of these dictatorships has never remotely approached the philosophy underlying the totalitarian systems. Dictatorships in Latin America, while they have represented the intolerance of one party toward all rival parties, have not been destructive of personal liberty; they have never set up a regimented slave-State. The Latin-American peoples, at bottom, have continued to hold ideas of freedom which are not essentially different from those of the people of U. S. A. Left to themselves, as Monroe demanded they be, they will go on cherishing these ideas. And it is certainly part of the policy of the United States Government to see that they are left politically to themselves.

The Monroe Doctrine to-day is as valid as ever and as warmly cherished by American opinion. In recent years it has simply been divested of some accretions. The present Administration has done its utmost to assure Latin-American nations that it will not use its power in the old imperialistic ways. It will not use that power for selfish ends at all.

"Our new policy of the good neighbour," said Sumner Welles, the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in 1938, "has been predicated upon the belief of this government that there should exist an inter-American political relationship based on a recognition of actual and not theoretical equality between the American republics; on a complete forbearance from interference by any one republic in the domestic concerns of any

other; on economic co-operation; and finally on the common realization that in the world at large all of the American republics confront the same international problems and that in their relations with non-American powers the welfare and security of any one of them cannot be a matter of indifference to the others."

So far as the relations of the New World with the Old are concerned, the Monroe Doctrine remains what it was. It is a great defensive principle that cannot and will not be dropped. If any European power tries "in any form" to extend its system or control to any American State; if it forgets Monroe's injunction "to leave the parties to themselves", then the Doctrine will be re-invoked firmly. The burden of its armed support must fall upon U. S. A. But the United States, now rapidly rearming, is equal to the task, and already it has assurances of support from its Southern neighbours.

The Eighth Pan-American Conference held in Lima, in the South American Republic of Peru during Christmas week of 1938, crowned its labours with the unanimous announcement that the republics of the Western Hemisphere intend to make common cause in the face of a threat to the peace, security or territorial integrity of any one of them, whatever may be the nature of the acts deemed threatening.

This document, known as the Declaration of Lima, will stand, if the hopes of the sponsors are realized, as a warning to totalitarian or other non-American States that the western republics will close ranks if menaced by military, economic, political or cultural aggression.

Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, took the floor at the conclusion of the Conference to hail the declaration as evidence of an unprecedented feeling of solidarity and as recognition that American institutions and the absolute sovereignty of each American nation were necessary for every republic in this hemisphere.

Provincial Governments and Conventions

BY MR. N. N. GHOSH, M.A.

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THE Government of India Act 1935 seeks to establish autonomous Governments in the Provinces with a Federal Centre, composed of British Indian Provinces and Indian States as federating



MR. N. N. GHOSH, M.A.

units. The latter part of the Constitution Act has not yet been enforced and we are concerned at present, as the title of the paper suggests, with the provincial part of the Constitution Act, which has been in operation for a little more than a year and a half. The results of its working during that period enable us to draw certain conclusions and offer suggestions based thereon.

As part of the discussion of the subject of constitutional development in the provinces through conventions, the following questions arise :—

1. Are the provinces fully autonomous ?
2. Is there any provision in the Constitution Act for its autonomous development into full responsible governments in the provinces ?
3. And whether in the absence of adequate constituent powers provided in

the Act, there is possibility of such development.

The Constitution Act gives specific legislative power to the provinces leaving the residuary power to the Federal Centre on the Canadian model. Within the limited scope of these specific legislative powers, a Provincial Legislature is fully competent to act to carry on the provincial administration through a Cabinet fully responsible to it. The Instrument of Instructions to the Governor clearly enjoins on him to appoint the Ministers chosen by the leader of the party commanding a majority in the Legislature, and the Governor is to act ordinarily according to the advice of the Council of Ministers so chosen and to foster joint responsibility. The Provincial Government, thus, is to be run perfectly on the British model within the limited sphere of its administration. There are, indeed, the safeguards in the shape of Special Responsibilities of the Governor. But these safeguards need not be necessarily used any more than the King of England uses his unlimited legal powers to interfere with the administration of his Cabinet Ministers. These safeguards were incorporated because of a feeling of doubt as to the success of the big experiment of parliamentary democracy that is being tried for the first time in India. I do not hold these opinions with a defeatist mentality, but with a sense of reality of the situation. There is the minority question, there are the Indian States, the Police department handed to an Indian Minister to cope with revolutionary violence; there is the large British vested interests. With all these the Provincial Government will

be concerned. There is again a danger of the break-down of the Constitution if an elected majority party of the Legislature refuse to form the Government and make parliamentary government impossible. To see that all these matters are properly and fairly dealt with by the new authorities under the Constitution Act, the Governor has been given certain legal powers. But for all these special powers, the Governor is supposed to be a Constitutional Head of the Provincial Government. The King of England has in theory unlimited legal powers of interference in the day to day administration of the country. But this theory of the English Constitution has never been put into practice for the last 250 years. The working of the Constitution at least in the Congress Provinces has for the last twenty months amply demonstrated the fact that the Governor does not wish, and has not seen it necessary, to interfere in the work of Ministers, and his special powers have rarely been used. These special powers are expected to lose their importance and efficacy by non-use. In the few instances of conflict between the Ministers and the Governors that arose in the U. P., Bihar and Orissa, it is the Governor and not the Ministers who have yielded. These instances have created precedents of great importance for future guidance of Ministers and Governor and their mutual relation in the field of routine administration. What is needed is the right kind of men who would form the Ministry with the backing of a disciplined majority in the Legislature that has derived power from the electorates. The sense of power derived from the people whom they are to serve, spirit of justice, equity and

fairplay inspiring their administration, mental equipment, character and self-sacrifice of the Congress Ministers have convinced the Governors and their masters at home of the capacity of the Indian Ministers to run the Government without their constant tutelage. So partly by the non-use of the powers and partly by precedents of the Governor's yielding in cases of conflict with Ministers—the field for constitutional development of responsible government is being daily widened. Constitutional right is created by this method and takes precedence on legal authority. In the strict letter the "constitutional authority" has always abrogated "legal authority".

Now the question arises: Are there any constituent powers in the Legislatures set up by the Constitution Act which may be used for amendments in the constitution? In other words, is there any effective machinery provided in the Act for changes in the Constitution leading to automatic development? My reading of the Act leaves me in despair for not finding any explicit and adequate provision for the amendment of the Act by the Indian Legislatures whether Federal or Provincial except Section 808 which, on account of its limited scope and difficulty of operation, is hopelessly inadequate for the purpose. If the framers of this Constitution had in mind the Australian analogy in this respect, much of the opposition to the present Constitution would have lost its force and the demand of the Congress for a Constituent Assembly to frame a new Constitution, perhaps, would not have arisen. Commonwealth of Australia Constitution Act of 1900 clearly provides in Section 128 that the Federal Parliament

may pass an Act for alteration of the Constitution and the Act so passed shall be submitted in each State to be voted upon by the electors qualified to vote for the election of the members of the House of Representatives. The Constituent powers provided in Section 808 of Government of India Act 1935 are halting, based on suspicion and limited in scope. Sub-section 1 lays down a round about dilatory procedure and renders the powers therein of no practical value; and Sub-section 2 [clauses (a) (b) (c) and (d)] limits the scope of amendment. Sub-section 1 provides that a resolution for amendment of the provisions of the Constitution passed by an Indian Legislature (Federal or Provincial) shall in the first instance be submitted to the Governor-General or the Governor as the case may be, to be communicated by him to the Secretary of State who will then within six months of the receipt of this communication make a statement in Parliament of the action he proposes to take on the said resolution. Sub-section 2 [clauses (a) and (b)] lays down that these amendments must be limited to the size, composition of the Legislatures, the method of choosing or the qualification of members, provided that the said amendments in no way vary the proportion of seats between the two Houses of the Legislature or the proportion between the seats allotted to British Indian Provinces and to Indian States. Sub-section 2 [clauses (c) and (d)] relates to the amendments of minor nature. However limited the scope is, Sub-section 2 [clauses (a) and (b)] allows room for automatic development of the Constitution on the right lines, and more attention should be paid to it and insistent use made of it

to change, for instance, the method of election based on "Communal Award", and replace it by the system of Joint Electorate. There will be no denying that the present method of election by communal electorates is a great hindrance to nationalism and to the creation of real Parliamentary parties based on secular interests divorced from religion and communal feelings. The present method is based on mediæval conception of polity which does not fit in the modern conception of Parliamentary democracy. The fact that the Act contains this section proves that the framers of the Constitution were alive to a sense of wrong they were making to the cause of Indian nationalism by the separate electorate system and left it to the future Legislatures to undo it if they so desired.

Apart from the provision for automatic growth of the Constitution provided in Section 808 discussed above, a firm stand on the constitutional rights by the Ministers *vis-a-vis* the Governor's powers within the framework of the Constitution will itself lead to the establishment of certain conventions as a basis of future growth of the Constitution in the provinces on the right lines. To illustrate my theme, I shall refer first to Sections 56 to 59 which gave the Governor some extraordinary powers of control of the Police over the head of the Minister in charge of Law and Order. These sections are in addition to the list of Special Responsibilities embodied in Section 52 (1) (a). This shows that the Governor is not only to deal with emergencies arising out of crimes of violence or an outbreak of terrorist movement but to interfere with the normal administration of the Police force, if he

so desires. The operation of this section may be nullified by a strong Minister responsible for Law and Order and at the same time discharging his duties with ability and efficacy. Then there are Sections 240 and 241 which place the Indian Civil Services virtually beyond the control of the Minister under whom he is to serve. A strong opposition was led against this provision by Indians in the Joint Parliamentary Committees and was later bitterly criticised by the Indian Press. But even here a strong and able Minister may compel loyalty and obedience where they are lacking. There are a hundred and one means by which a Minister may discipline a recalcitrant member of the I. C. S. and I. P. if he is so foolish as to defy an order of the Minister or act contrary to his instructions. Then there is the Governor who is empowered to abolish a post occupied by him on payment of due compensation for various reasons [Section 240 Sub-section (4)]. It is also within the competence of a Provincial Legislature to pass resolutions abolishing posts of the rank and pay of All-India Services for reasons of economy, and the Governor may be advised by the Minister to take the necessary steps to give effect to it. For instance, out of the four posts of Divisional Commissioners in Assam, two have been abolished in this manner. The U. P. Legislature has passed resolutions provincialising the Indian Civil, Indian Police and Indian Medical Services and the resolution has been forwarded to the Government of India for their consideration.

Lastly, I shall refer to another section of the Act whose operation may be deadened in order to create a convention. Section 50 sub-Section (2) of the Act

empowers the Governor to preside at the meetings of the Council of Ministers. But the section is a permissive and not an imperative one. The Governor in his discretion may preside at the meetings of the Cabinet. The Governor, if he chooses to remain a strictly constitutional Head, should cease to preside at the Cabinet meetings of his Ministers. If he does not follow this constitutional practice obtaining in England and the Dominions and wants to take an effective part in forming the Cabinet policy for normal administration, the Cabinet Ministers may evolve certain means within the framework of the Constitution Act by which the Governor may be discouraged to attend the Cabinet Meetings. The Premier may rely more on informal meetings of the Cabinet than calling formal ones, and in the formal Cabinet meetings if the Ministers begin the practice of using Vernaculars in their discussion, the Governor will find these meetings too dull for him to attend. In this way a healthy convention will develop by which the Governor will cease to have any effective control over the Cabinet policy and remain in dignified aloofness desirable in a Constitutional Head of a Government, the Premier providing the *liaison* between him and the Cabinet in all matters of governmental policy—a convention which developed in England since the days of George I and is found in practice in all the self-governing countries and in all other countries where parliamentary government exists.

Thus it is clear by the discussion of the above sections of the Act, which I have taken as illustrations that there is plenty of room to create precedents and conventions leading to the development of

the Constitution in the Province towards full responsible government within the limits prescribed by the Act. Truly speaking, the Government of India Act, indeed, provides a rigid Constitution. Power of amendment of the Act and even parts of it except provisions under Section 808 already discussed is not inherent in the Act, but is in the hands of a foreign Parliament which has neither the will nor the leisure to move quickly in the matter as necessity arises. Therefore changes in the Constitution Act through

parliamentary action is difficult. But it must not be lost sight of that the entire constitution has been framed on the ideal of British Parliamentary Government and the object is to establish full responsible government in the country. The experiment is being tried in the Provinces. With a determined will of the people and with the right kind of men in the Legislatures, it is possible, as I have pointed out, to make for conditions of gradual evolution of the Constitution within the framework of the Constitution Act itself.

CONJEEVARAM

C ONJEEVARAM (Chingleput District, Madras Presidency, situated 45 miles west-south-west of Madras on the Chingleput-Arkonam line, S. I. R.) is one of the most ancient and celebrated towns of South India. It is also one of the seven sacred places of India, the others being Ayodhya, Muttra, Maya (Haridwar), Kasi (Benares), Avantika, and Dwaraka. It consists of two divisions : Saiva or Big Conjeevaram, and Vishnu or Little Conjeevaram. Tradition tells us of the existence in former days of a third town, the Jina Kanchi peopled by the Jainas who still live in some number in the neighbouring village of Tirupparuttkunnam. A brief history of the town will throw light on its religious and historic importance and how it came to be studded with numerous temples dedicated to Siva and Vishnu, and to acquire the character of an All-India sacred city.

THE CAPITAL OF THE PALLAVAS

It was originally the capital of the Pallavas who ruled over South India

between 4th and 8th centuries A.D. Even earlier it had come to be a fertile cultivated district, situated at the northern fringe of the Chola kingdom, known as Pondaimandalam. The Pallavas were great patrons of learning and art, and upholders of Hindu religion. Under their rule, the city became a literary and religious centre. Sanskrit scholars like Dignaga the Buddhist logician and others lived in the city. It is to this period that those glowing descriptions of the city in the ancient classical works like Tamil 'Manimekalai' refer. We read that the city was strongly fortified, was resplendent with towering palaces, was surrounded by a moat and had big streets fit for cars to run in. Another poet (Appar) sings of it as a city "of boundless learning". Hiuen Tsiang, who visited it in the 7th century, says that the city was 6 miles in circumference and that its people were superior in bravery and piety as well in their love of justice and veneration for learning to many others whom he met with in his travels. The Kailasanathar temple

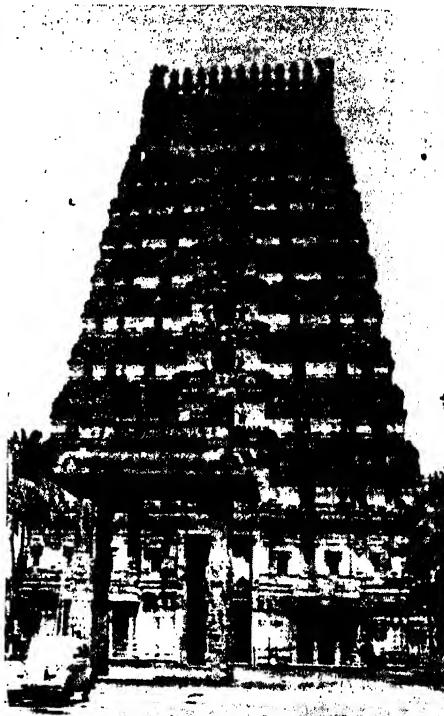
and Vaikuntaperumal temple date back to the age of the Pallavas and are full of interest to the student of South Indian antiquities and architecture. The town passed into the hands of the Cholas in the 11th century A.D., and Conjeevaram became the capital of the province of Tondaimandalam and continued in their hands till their power decayed in the 13th century. When the Vijayanagar kings spread their dominion into the Tamil country they conquered the town. After their decline, it passed into Mussulman and Maratha hands, remaining with the former till 1752, when Clive took it from them in the wars with the French.

Beginning with Saiva temples, the most important one is the Kamakshi Amman temple. Here the goddess is worshipped in the form of an Yantra. Unlike in other temples, the Chakra (the sacred mantra-bearing disc) here is placed not below, but in front of, the idol. An image of Sankaracharya is worshipped in the temple. The legend associated with it is as follows:—Kamakshi Amman, in the form of Kali, was said to be doing havoc in the city at nights. Sankara came and appeased her and extracted a promise from her that she would not stir out of the temple without his permission. Hence came the image of the great Vedantist in the temple, before which they halt the deity—whenever it is taken out in procession to the city—as a token of applying for permission in pursuance of the promise.

Sri Ekambaranatha temple is another important shrine of Siva. The shrine has a mango tree, to which great sanctity is attached, under which Siva is said to have appeared to Goddess Parvati when

she prayed to him on the Vegavati river (Kambai which flows west of Conjeevaram). It served as a fortress in the 18th century wars.

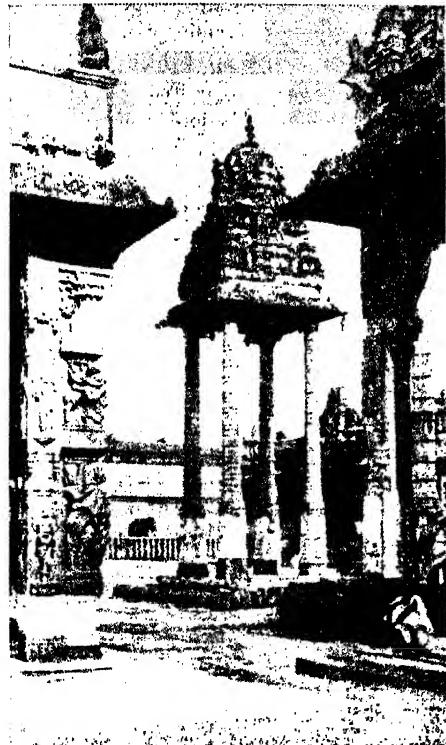
An ancient and equally important Saiva shrine is the Sri Kailasanathar temple,



SRI EKAMBARANATHA TEMPLE

It was built by the Pallava king Rajasimha, about A.D. 667 and was called originally after his own name as Rajasimha-Pallavesvara. The temple is famous for the beauty of its sculptures. It is in characteristic Pallava style with the vimana over the garbagriha rising high and dominating the entire temple as in the Tanjore Brihadisvara shrine.

The other temples in Saiva Conjeevaram are Kachchapeswara temple where Siva appears as being worshipped by Vishnu in the form of Kurma Merrali in the weaver's quarters, Onakantesvar, Anegathangavadam, Airavatesvara, Tirukaraikadu and Chitragupta. The last is the only one of its kind known to South India dedicated to the lieutenant of the God of Death, who records the good and bad acts of men. There is a famous temple dedicated to Subrahmanyam, known as Kumara Kottam.



DEVARAJASWAMI TEMPLE

Of the Vishnu temples, the most important one is that of Varadaraja with the sanctum built on a hillock. It was

patronised by Vijayanagar kings well known for their Vaishnava leanings entrusted to their gurus, the Lakshmi Kumaras Tatacharyas. Achyuta Raya visited the temple and gave the deity numerous clothes, ornaments and jewels set with stones and gifted the revenues of 17 villages to the temple.



DEVARAJASWAMI TEMPLE—Another View

An equally important Vaishnava temple is the Vaikuntaperumal temple, built by the great Pallava king, Paramesvaravarman II. and originally named after him as Paramesvara-vinnagaram. It contains various fine sculptures of Vishnu

and is also famous for a series of sculptures dealing with a famous episode of Pallava history.

The other important Vishnu shrines are those of Pandavadar, Vilakkoliperumal, Ashtabhuja and Ulagalanda-perumal. These are on the western part of the town. Some of these were built by the great Vijayanagar Emperor, Krishna Deva Raya, and many of the smaller shrines and rest-houses owe their origin to the piety of the members of the same dynasty.

There is a Jain sacred place about 2 miles to the south of Conjeevaram known as Tirupparutikunram, with florid architecture, notable sculptures and paintings.

We have already referred to the connection of Sankaracharya with the

Kamakshi Amman temple. Here at the close, we may refer to the more important part Conjeevaram played in the propagation of the Vedantic Philosophy which Sankara set himself to preach. He established here an Episcopal seat (Acharya-pita)—one of the four he established all over India—and it was known as Kamakshipita and it continued in Conjeevaram till 1688 A.D. (originally at Vishnu Kanchi, then removed to Siva Kanchi). Pratapa Simha, the Raja of Tanjore, invited the then Swami to Tahjore where a temple was constructed to Goddess Kamakshi (which now exists). As Kumbakonam appeared better suited, king Sarfoji of Tanjore constructed the present mutt there in A.D. 1748.

THE HISTORY OF A SOUL

BY PROF. A. R. WADIA, B.A. (Cantab), BAR.-AT-LAW

IT is said that every man has material enough for at least one good book. If he has the ability to write, he may



PROF. A. R. WADIA

be trusted to produce a very entertaining book. The Rev. Francis Foster has succeeded in writing an autobiography

under a quaint title,* which has richly deserved the publishers' encomium: "A deeply fascinating book." The author is still a young man. Journalism came easy to him even as a schoolboy, and as he was settling down to it, there broke out the war and he was a soldier when he was barely growing out of his teens. A successful soldier both in France and Egypt, destiny drove him to India and he came into contact with a fortune-teller and a philosopher to boot. Successful predictions not given for money, made Ananda a mysterious magnet. Months later the author looked out for him and met him under circumstances which can only be described as occult, though the irreverent may call it just a coincidence. This

* "Separate Star." By Rev. Francis Foster Victor Gollancz, Ltd., London.

meeting brought thoughts which made a philosopher of our author and made him a seeker after truth. Ananda was palpably an Advaitin, though the author does not show any trace of familiarity with the different brands of Vedanta that are current in India. From Advaita to Christianity is a far cry and yet oddly enough this was the development of the author, odd as he himself admits, and yet, he tries to justify it as not illogical.

It is clear that the author did not start life with any predilection for Christianity, and even as a Christian priest, he is by no means blind to defects in official Christianity. Protestantism means nothing to him; for it is just "a religion of protesting against one another". The end of the war left him with a conviction that "Christianity was a spent force". "Christ had redeemed us," said the Church. From what? From sin, of course. But whence was Sin? From the Devil. God and Devil warred continually, and the battle-ground was unfortunate man, who had to bear the consequences, if God failed in the fight. What a senseless unjust arrangement!" For an Englishman who has been in India, he is frightfully unconventional: "I had ten thousand times rather be damned for all eternity with the noble-minded Sunder Singh and the splendid Amar Nath, who had rescued his officer from death at the risk of losing his own life than go to Heaven with mealy-mouthed English shopkeepers, who did no productive work of any kind and who had never had a noble thought, much less performed a noble deed in their lives." Nor does he hesitate to write after his experience of some bad specimens of Indian Christians: "I don't think there is any

doubt that the Indian Christian is inferior to his Hindu or Moslem brother"—an opinion which is corroborated by a Father Albert and raises the question why convert Indians at all—a difficult question which is taken as solved, because Christ commanded that his message be spread all over the world. Why then does he himself seek refuge in Christianity? The answer is beautifully frank even though not logical. "I had imbibed Christianity with my mother's milk and habits of thought can never be entirely eradicated."

And yet the Christianity that he finally came to accept is not the Christianity of the Churches. Protestantism is identified by him with materialistic commercialism and aggressive nationalism. He feels that Roman Catholicism will give him truth and eager to learn, he becomes a Catholic. For six years he struggles to suppress his own individuality so that he can find truth, but his thirst for truth is not satisfied. He finds in Roman Catholicism superstitions galore, and like an honest man he is driven to give it up. He is now a Nestorian priest—an order which he connects with Moses through Christ and with the old Egyptian priests through Moses. He has made it a point not to charge for any religious duty performed by him, and we can imagine how much he must be loved by his flock for this self-denial. But he must live and he lives by his pen. To his youthful journalism, later life has disclosed the gift of a novelist and then comes this fascinating autobiography.

The main interest of the book centres round the fact that, thanks to Ananda, he has shed some of the most characteristic dogmas of official Christianity. In

fact, he has re-interpreted Christianity for himself. Christ is not the son of God. Buddha, Confucius, Lao Tze—they too "may be truly called Christ. And not only they, but we are all Christs. Man is human, but "the aim of humanity must be so faithfully to reflect God that we, man and son of man, are ultimately one with God". So we come round to the Upanishadic *Tat Tvam Asi*, a phrase not quoted by the author but its spirit has coloured his thought. And how is this unity with God to be achieved? By realising the Kingdom of Heaven on earth, and this can be achieved only by the establishment of Love, Beauty and Truth. Does Christian Europe show any traces of Christian Love and Christian Ethic? Impossible, says our author: "It would not survive as a nation if it attempted to be Christian. But that does not make Christian teaching wrong. The inference is that nationhood is wrong." And the organised Church must be in the wrong, and he slyly points to the fact that "until only a few years ago the funds of the Church of England were invested in armament firms".

I have focussed my attention on the religious aspect of the book, but let me hasten to add that this is only the most serious aspect of the book. It covers a good deal that is mundane. There is the episode to show how war bestialises human nature, English and Australian as much as German; how the intoxication of war brought about a wave of feminine infidelity till it came to be said: "It's a wise man nowadays who's sure of his own wife." "In August 1920, I saw more women drunk than men—young women, too, of the middle and upper classes. Emancipation had gone to women's heads. They

smoked far more furiously than men. They used language which one did not commonly hear even among the rank and file of a regiment." And so that was—and perhaps is—the legacy of war!

Now that the world is on the brink of another war, before which the Great War might pale into insignificance, it is interesting to note the talk that the author had with a private soldier, whose name is not even recorded, and yet the Private in his own intuitive way seems to echo the doctrines of *Hind Swaraj* without ever having set his eyes on it. Gandhiji would be pleased to find an unconscious follower of his. Discussing the war in the sands of Egypt, he opined that the real enemies of England were not the Germans and Turks, but industrialism, and so he looked forward only to agriculture and pitched his hopes on Stanley Baldwin, then an unknown man. Baldwin rose to be Premier as this naive soldier had prophesied, but he did not function as the prophet of agriculture. And then he went on to say: ". . . . the Colonies aren't a scrap of good to England. . . . Neither Australia nor Canada, although each is big as Europe, has a population bigger than that of London. It's a farce to cling to whole Continents which we can't use." Can Hitler have said this more clinchingly?

And so it goes on. Truly a fascinating book, as interesting as any novel and far more instructive. And yet one wonders whether the book does not appear a little too early. Rev. Foster is still after truth. After six years he had to give up Roman Catholicism. Can we be sure that he will be long content to be a Nestorian priest? No reader of the book can but wonder!

BHISHMA'S WAR PHILOSOPHY

BY MR. RAJA ASOKA

THE conferences which have met from time to time in the West during more than fifty years to discuss the laws of peace and war are the development of the principles sanctioned in the seventeenth century of this era by the famous Dutchman Grotius, whose *de jure belli ac pacis* is generally regarded as the foundation of the Western science of international law.

But the history and literature of India show that the ancient Indians anticipated Grotius by about thirty centuries, that they forestalled the conferences of Geneva, St. Petersburg, Brussels and the Hague, and that they had rules of warfare laid down about fifteen centuries before the Christian era and very similar to many important regulations of modern international law.

The ancient Indians believed war to be a necessity, though they did not allow overmastering desire for conquest to over-rule their love of peace. They held that peace was the normal state of human society and was its abnormal condition. Their rules for establishing and maintaining peace were as precise as their rules for waging war.

Mahabharata, the great Indian epic, shows that both the morality and the expediency of war were discussed at length by the ancient Indians. Sometimes they debated whether war was a profitable investment for a country as the big men of the West have lately been doing.

"The king should gain victories without battles. The clash of battle is undesirable as long as one can avoid it," said Bhishma, the mighty commander of the Kauravas and the greatest philosophic warrior-statesman.

"Men have five different kinds of strength," declared Vidura, another great statesman of the Mahabharata, "strength of arms, good counsellors, wealth, birth, and strength of intellect. Strength of arms is inferior to all these others. Shun the waging of war for the acquisition of territory. Territory should be gained by conciliation, by gifts, and by exciting disunion among other kingdoms."

This last means of enlarging a nation's boundaries recalls the famous Roman motto of later centuries : *divide et impera*, which Western Dictators still regard as a highly useful maxim, as we see in the modern international conflicts.

"The energy necessary for putting down a hostile kingdom would be better expended in care of one's own kingdom," is one of the ancient Indian arguments against acquisition of territory by force and which is worth consideration, especially by people like Mussolini and Hitler of the present day.

Treaties and alliances held prominent place among various methods resembling those of modern times, which the ancient Indians adopted for avoiding war and for strengthening themselves to resist attack. They distinguished roughly three kinds of treaties :

1. Those made through fear.
- 2 Those made through good offices.
3. Those made through gifts of wealth, i.e., through a subsidy.

In those ancient days, alliances were regarded as invaluable aids to peace and supports in war. "There is nothing that cannot be achieved by alliances," asserted Vidura. "The tiger outside the forest,"

said Krishna, "falls an easy prey; the forest wherein no tiger dwells is easily cut down; hence the tiger guards the forest, and the forest guards the tiger." "A man," said Bhishma, "crosses a deep broad river by a log. The man conveys the log to the other side, and the log also conveys the man."

To those ancient Indian statesmen, successful alliances were as necessary a part of policy as war. "When a common danger threatens, make peace," they advised, "with one who is strong. When the danger is over, consider well the advisability of making a compact with the enemy. Having achieved the object in view, trust not the foe again."

Bhishma's description of the friends of a monarch aptly summarised the factors that go to make modern international friendships, and his counsel, applied to nations, was evidently taken as a guiding principle by the ancient Indians in making peace and war. According to him, the different kinds of a ruler were: one who pursues the same object; one who is exceedingly attached to him; one who is related to him; one whose goodwill has been gained by presents and kindness; and an upright man who will range himself on one side and not on both.

"Of these kinds of friendship," said Bhishma, "look with mistrust upon the first and fourth; at the same time do not trust any overmuch. Trust and mistrust all men. Mistrust him as an enemy who would profit by your own destruction, but trust him entirely whose fall would be the consequence of your own fall."

Already in Bhishma's time the intimate connection between war and politics was realised, and Indian statesmen were divided as to whether war is an outgrowth of

politics or politics an outgrowth of war. Before resorting to force, the peoples of ancient India, who were involved in disputes, dispatched diplomatic agents or envoys to each other to try what could be effected by peaceful persuasion. The ablest brains of the nation were pressed into this service. "They should," said Bhishma, "possess these great qualities: noble birth, eloquence, ability, pleasant address, reliability in delivering the message entrusted to them, and a good memory."

Ancient India had a great secret service system with approved rules. Spies were as eyes to the kings of ancient India and as roots to their kingdoms. Inattention to spies is mentioned by Vidura as one of the causes of the downfall of a king.

Several centuries before the birth of Greece and Rome, students of war philosophy in India had gone deep into the question of neutrals and had divided them into four main heads: Neutrals who, whether active or passive, could not but be affected by the progress and result of the war; neutrals who would be practically unaffected by the war and therefore felt hardly any concern in the progress of the struggle; neutrals who would be affected by the progress and result of the war and who could, if they chose, alter the course of the war without becoming belligerents by manipulating economic forces, etc., and neutrals who, though affected by the war, had not the power to alter the course of the war.

Indiscriminate slaughter was regarded by ancient Indian warrior-statesmen as both inhuman and inexpedient. A retreating enemy, they said, was not to be pursued too closely lest he should suddenly turn and rend his pursuers and also because brave men do not care to mow down

those who flee before them. "A king," said Bhishma, "should never slay a large proportion of the forces of the foe, though he should do sufficient to render his victory sure. He should never inflict such injury as would leave a lasting memory of humiliation in the enemy's heart.

The ancient Indians maintained that it was better to go down before the foe than to conquer by wrongful methods. "A victory sullied by unrighteousness," they said, "is insecure and never brings one to heaven." In certain particulars the ancient Indian's sense of fair play far exceeded that which now prevails in modern warfare of the West and of the Far East. Bhishma's rule was "mailed soldier against mailed soldier, cavalry against cavalry". Manu, the ancient Indian law-giver, maintained that battles were to be contested fairly.

Other definite rules for the conduct of warfare are clearly anticipations of the principles set forth by the modern European conventions and conferences. "Neither poisoned nor barbed arrows should be used," said Bhishma, over thirty centuries before the Hague Conference forbade beligerents "to employ poison or poisoned arms". "A feeble or wounded opponent should not be slain," said Bhishma, "or he whose weapon has been broken. One should fight one's adversary and leave him when he is disabled. A warrior whose armour has fallen off, or who begs for quarter, or who has cast aside his weapon, may be taken prisoner, but never slain."

The ancient Indians guarded against maltreatment of war prisoners by dividing them into two classes: the well-to-do, who were kept as hostages against unfair warfare on the part of their enemies;

and the ordinary prisoners, who were placed under the supervision of the authorities in charge of temples and shrines. According to Bhishma, those prisoners whose wounds permanently disabled them from military service were to be sent home; others were to be taken to the victor's camp and their wounds attended to there. These regulations for humane treatment of prisoners may be compared to the regulations drawn up at the Geneva Convention of 1906.

The war-lords of ancient India advised moderation, urging the victor to protect a conquered country from useless plunder. "Refrain from profitless deeds of hostility and also from insolent speech," is counsel to which Bhishma gives approval. But when a people offered obstinate and determined resistance to the invader, the attacking power was advised to adopt sterner tactics, "slaughtering the population, pulling up the roads, setting fire to and knocking down its houses."

In ancient India, to slay or imprison envoys was a heinous sin. It was forbidden to slay one who was asleep, or weary, or whose armour and weapons had fallen off; a fugitive, one who was walking along a road unaware of danger, the insane, the mortally wounded, one who was greatly enfeebled by wounds, one who lingered trustfully, one who was absorbed in grief, foraging parties, camp-followers, servants, old men, children and women.

To prevent the destruction of infant life and to save the children from being branded as bastards, the alliances that were responsible for "war babies" were raised to the status of marriage. Three classes of such alliances were

recognised: the reciprocal connection of a youth and a maiden with mutual desire, denominated a *Gandharva* marriage; when the lover secretly embraces the maiden, flushed with strong liquor, or disordered in her intellect, called a *Pisacha* marriage; and the seizure of a maiden by force from her home, while she weeps and calls for assistance, after her kinsmen and friends have been slain in battle or wounded, styled a *Rakshasa* marriage. The expense of the maintenance of the offspring of these alliances was borne by the church, the army, and the civil ratepayers, the proportion contributed by each of these bodies being fixed according to certain rules.

War indemnities were paid by conquered kingdoms. There were rules regulating the confiscation of the property of the vanquished. Scholars and philosophers belonging to the conquering party were given certain prizes taken from the conquered. The conqueror's attitude was to be a diplomatic blend of mildness and severity. "Before striking the blow and while striking, speak gracious words; having struck, show pity towards the conquered," was their motto. The people were to be protected from pillage, slaughter, and pain; but a conquered foe was to be kept in submission, as a father masters and restrains his son, without anger and without destroying him. "Put no trust in a vanquished foe," was another ancient Indian maxim; and "when one's enemies have been subdued, one should not repose in peace." "A king should bring over a hero to his side by showing appreciation of him; a coward, by making him afraid; an avaricious man, by bestowing wealth upon him; and with an equal he should wage war."

To the ancient Indians righteous battle was a virtue, and the high merit, glory, and respect earned by the warrior who met with death in such a combat made him envied by his fellows. "Life laid down in battle," it is written, "is for heroes the blessed gate to heaven." But "the gods themselves with Indra at their head send misfortunes upon them who desert their comrades and return with limbs unwounded from the fray."

The ancient Indians admitted that warfare could not always be waged in a thoroughly straightforward manner. "Both kinds of wisdom, straight and crooked, should be at the king's command," declared Bhishma, "yet though he be conversant with it, he should not employ the crooked wisdom as aggressor. He may use it to oppose the dangers that come upon him."

Ancient Indian armies consisted of four main divisions: regulars, allies, mercenaries, and irregulars, each made up of eight parts—cars, elephants, horses, officers, infantry, camp-followers, spies, and ensigns. There were volunteers among these armies, and it should be noted that according to the Indian idea of chivalry, a volunteer is a man who refuses all rewards, even decorations, for he is risking his life only for the sake of his country. Subsidies were paid to certain peoples in return for military service, if required. The army had rules for various formations of troops, systems of signalling, armour, weapons, various badges, generous rewards for valour, medical corps with equipment in attendance at the camps, and envoys whose mission it was to treat with the foe.

Unexpected and superior preparation for war, and unexpected attack, are in the opinion of an ancient Indian warrior highly important principles of strategy. Indian strategists believed in decisive action.

THE "PRAKRAMA SAMUDRA" SCHEME

BY MR. A. FELIX DEP

THE State Council in Ceylon voted a sum of Rs. 1,877,884 for the first stage of the Prakrama samudra (Sea of Prakrama) scheme, the object of which is the restoration of an ancient irrigation system traditionally attributed to king Prakrama Babu the Great (1158-1186 A.D.) in the Tamankaduwa district and immediately to the south of Colonnaruwa.

The scheme, which is ultimately expected to cost Rs. 1,740,000 will, when completed, be the Island's largest tank with a capacity of 29,619 gallons and, it is claimed, be capable of permanently irrigating 21,500 acres of paddy, fodder and pasture land.

The Mahavamsa throws a flood of light on the life of this sagacious Sinhalese monarch, Prakrama Babu the Great, whose reign Turnour characterizes as the most martial, enterprising and glorious in Sinhalese history, and the colossal irrigation schemes and public works he inaugurated for the lasting benefit of his subjects. Some details of the "Sea of Prakrama" and of his other activities may, therefore, prove of interest, not only to the student of ancient Ceylon history, but to all those interested in our Island's agricultural and irrigation problems as well.

Prakrama Babu the Great assumed the government of the Pihiti Ratta with the title of *Mahadi Pado* (sub-king) in the year 1158 A.D. *Pihiti Ratta*, which is one of the three ancient divisions of Ceylon, is bounded on the west, north and east by the sea; on the south by the Lahawelli Ganga and the Dedru Oya. It was also sometimes called *Raja Ratta* as the ancient capitals were situated in it.

The other two divisions were known as *Ruhunu Ratta* and *Maya Ratta*.

KING'S LOFTY IDEALS

The 68th Chapter of the Mahavamsa gives a detailed account of the very successful measures adopted by king Prakrama Babu to promote wide-spread paddy cultivation throughout his kingdom; and I cannot do better than quote a few extracts from it as translated by the late Mudaliyar Louis de Zoysa, which give one a good insight into the lofty ideals which actuated the king, who was at all times intent on the welfare of his people.

This sovereign of lofty aspirations, who was well acquainted with foreign countries, thus thought within himself:

In what well governed kingdom is the administration of affairs conducted without obtaining a knowledge of its means.

The object of my sovereignty is the advancement of the prosperity of Religion and the State, having vanquished all enemies. This kingdom although very small, being filled with great prosperity, I shall by the superiority of my wisdom soon bring into such a state as that it will surpass the greatness of other kingdoms.

Conferring appointments on my officers whose advancement is identical with my own, according to their respective merits, rewarding them with honours and wealth, causing my own people to settle in various parts within my dominions from the mountain Samanta Kuta (Adam's Peak) as far as the sea-coast, the cultivation of grain should be carried on in as many ways as possible.

PADDY FIELDS IN EVERY PLACE

Having thus reflected, the king thus addressed his officers:

In my kingdom are many paddy fields cultivated by means of rain water, but few indeed are those which are cultivated by means of perennial streams and great tanks.

By rocks, by many thick forests, and by great marshes is the land covered.

In such a country let not even a small quantity of water obtained by rain go to the sea without benefiting man.

Paddy fields should be formed in every place excluding those only that produce gems, gold and other precious things.

It does not become persons in our situation to live enjoying our own ease and unthankful of the interests of the people. And ye all, be ye not discouraged when a necessary but a difficult work is on hand. Regard it not indeed as a work of difficulty, but following my advice, accomplish it without opposing my instructions.

The highly renowned monarch, then, ordered the construction of the great embankment celebrated under the name of Kotta Badha, which had long been swept away by the action of the river, leaving behind nothing but the name and which indeed had baffled the attempts of former kings to keep it in repair.

MINISTERS' PROTEST

Whereupon the ministers, one and all, represented in various ways the extreme difficulty of the work and the instability of it even if it could be accomplished.

The king rejecting their counsels, remarked: "What is there that cannot be done in this world by men of perseverance? Is not the tradition still current that Rama built a bridge over the great ocean itself by means of monkeys?

If I am destined by fortune to reduce this island under one regal canopy and to promote the welfare of the State and Religion, then, indeed, will the commencement of the work see the accomplishment of it also." Thus did he of great courage inspire his ministers with courage.

ROYAL PALACE IN TANK

After detailing some of the great embankments and canals constructed on the orders of the king, the Mahavamsa proceeds to describe "the Sea of Prakrama":

In an island situated in the middle of it, on the summit of a rock the king built a Dhatu Gebbo (Dagoba) resembling the peak of Mount Kayala.

In the middle also of the tank he built royal palace three storeys high and of superlative beauty; a palace indeed for the collected joy of the world.

The chronicle here goes on to enumerate many ruined tanks, which the benevolent monarch repaired in various parts of his dominions and records also the draining of marshes and allotment of paddy land to the inhabitants through the village chiefs. The Chapter concludes:

In this manner having augmented ninefold the revenues of the State from what they were, the wise king caused the country to be so prosperous as never to know the calamities of famine.

The *Panda Wapi* (Panda Tank) of the Mahavamsa may, I think, readily be recognized in the Padavi or Padavil Kulam of the Wanni district of to-day. The *Pal Wapi* and the Tamil word *Kulam* (incorrectly spelt *Colom*) both mean tank, so that the Pali expression *Panda Wapi* is really the equivalent of the Tamil *Panda* or *Pandi Kulam*, which might very easily have been corrupted into *Padavi* or *Padavil Colom* (*Kulam*).

As the "Sea of Prakrama" has been identified from its remains to-day as being in the Tamankaduwa district in North Central Province, it is most probable that the boundaries of the Eastern Province at the present day were different from what they were in the time of king Prakrama Babu the Great and that this great tank was really in the Eastern Province as it then was.

TEN OUTLETS

According to Turnour's translation of the Mahavamsa, there were no less than 10 outlets from the "Sea of Prakrama" by means of which the accumulate water of this colossal tank was conveyed in different directions. Turnour writes:

The king Prakrama formed the deep canal called the Makara Ganga, which flowed from the Makara outlet of the Sea of Prakrama; from the same Sea the great canal Haima Wattee flowit

to the Maha Maigree Wame. From the outlet called Samammal, the canal distinguished by the name of Neela-Wapane; flowing from the outlet called the Keels-Kara Oodyaane, the Salalawatte Canal; flowing from the outlet celebrated under the name of Waitra-Wattee, the Waitra-Wattee Great Canal; from the southern outlet, the Toongha-badsa Canal; flowing from the Mangala outlet, the Mangala Ganga Canal; flowing from the eastern outlet, the Champus Canal; flowing from the same sea to the Poornawardhana Tank, the Saraswattee Canal; flowing westward of that, the Walimawattee Canal.

It will be interesting to know whether any of these outlets can be identified and how many of them are in existence to-day.

GOVERNOR WARD'S TRIBUTE .

Governor Sir Henry George Ward in 1855 gives a most interesting account in a Minute he wrote after a visit to the Eastern Province, which enables one to form some idea of the magnitude of this gigantic tank. His Excellency wrote:

It is the most wonderful work that I have yet visited, whether we look to size, difficulties of execution, or to the time at which those difficulties were surmounted.

North of these again, about 40 miles, is Padiwel Colum, the most gigantic work of all, for the bund which is in perfect repair, except at the one spot where, in the course of ages, the waters have forced a passage between it and the natural hills which it united, is 11 miles long, 30 feet broad at the summit, 180 feet at the base, and 70 feet high.

Padiwel Colum, the greater part of which I rode or walked over, was formed by the waters of the Morray Oya and Moonguna Oya, confined to the plain by the enormous bund which I have just described. Its construction must have occupied a million of people for 10 or 15 years.

WHAT TENNENT SAYS

Sir Emerson Tennent, who also gives a very interesting account of this tank in his work "Christianity in Ceylon", calls it the largest as well as the most perfect of these gigantic works in Ceylon. Incidentally, Tennent also states that

on the top of the great embankment itself and close by the breach, there stands a tall sculptured stone, with two engraved compartments, that no doubt record its history, but the Odrear (Udayar) informed us that the characters were Nagara, and the language Pali, or some unknown tongue, which no one can now read.

AFTER CENTURIES OF NEGLECT

What the Ministry of Agriculture and Lands now aims at doing is practically the re-creation of this colossal tank, which king Prakrama Bahu named "Prakrama Samudra" or Sea of Prakrama in the twelfth century. Technically, the proposal involves the diverting of water from the Abanganga at Angamadella, just above its confluence with the Mahaweliganga, by means of a $3\frac{1}{4}$ mile channel to the great storage reservoir now identified as the Prakrama Samudra. The bund of the original sea is said to be in a state of preservation still except for one big breach. Naturally, during the many centuries of neglect that have elapsed since it was built, the Yodi-ela or the conveyance channel has also fallen into utter disrepair and no less than 11 miles of the Yodi-ela and the connected channel distributary system will have to be constructed afresh. The entire work is expected to take two years.

Some details of its dimensions and capacity may not be without interest. The bund will measure $8\frac{1}{2}$ miles in length and in places will be fully 70 feet high. Its maximum capacity will be 26,619 million gallons. This is 50 per cent. greater than Minneri, $2\frac{1}{2}$ times Iranamadu, and four times Unichchai or Giant's Tank. It is estimated that when full this super-tank (the Island's largest) will be capable of submerging an area of $9\frac{1}{2}$ square miles and of perennially irrigating no less than 18,000 acres of paddy, 2,000 acres of fodder and 1,500 acres of pasture land. In short, a return to the spacious times of king Prakrama Bahu, the great patron of Irrigation and Agriculture, and the days when Lanka gloried in the name of "The Granary of the East".

POSTAGE THE POOREST PEOPLE PAY

BY MR. S. C. GUHA

GEOGRAPHICALLY India is often described as an epitome of the world. In many other ways also its claim as such may very well be established.

It is a land of two extremes in several ways. The most striking of them is, perhaps, that it is a very rich soil inhabited by practically the poorest people on earth. And, again, an official in the land drawing the heaviest salary the world has ever seen is to be found in this the poorest country.

The rate of postage is also one of the heaviest in the world. While the United States of America, as the richest country in the world, pays only one cent for an inland postcard, we in India, which is again smaller in area, are paying about half as much more; and our foreign letter-postage is simply prohibitive. Within the limits of the British Empire, New-Zealand, for example, pays a penny* for a letter to India; while the latter has to pay for a reply as much as $2\frac{1}{2}$ annas, which is certainly no less than $2\frac{1}{2}$ times a penny.

In the matter of a book-packet, or 'printed paper' post, India has, perhaps, shown the most remarkable attitude of equality towards inland and foreign post: the inland postage for a book-packet of 5 tolas (about 2 oz.) is nine pies, while the same postage (9 pies) would carry a packet of similar weight, 2 oz. (about 5 tolas) to the remotest corner of the globe, in fact to any part, not only of the British Empire but also

to any other of the 'Union countries'—an international postal league comprising, up till now, over 150 countries, alphabetically from Abyssinia to Zanzibar. A list of those countries will be found in the *Indian Post & Telegraph Guide*.

NEWSPAPER CONCESSION

The inland newspaper rate of postage is, however, liberal in the case of a publication issued monthly or more frequently. But the strictness of the rules to be observed has made it very difficult even for monthly publications to continue to get the benefit of the concession. Even after a periodical publication has with some difficulty passed through the Magisterial Court of a district and the consequent Police scrutinies as required by the Postal and Press laws, the Post Office is not prepared to reckon a monthly as technically coming within the category of a monthly publication unless it is regularly published exactly on an appointed and declared date of the month and posted the same day at one particular post office before the same is closed for the day.

CONDITIONS IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES

Conditions are rather liberal in many other countries. Take the instance of the U. S. A., where publications appearing 10 times a year are taken as monthlies. A number of the so-called monthly publications in that country will have no issues during the summer months of May and June, and it is hardly binding on such a monthly publication to post on a declared date of the month.

U. S. A. QUARTERLIES GET CONCESSION

Publications issued less frequently than monthly are also granted a concession

* We have since come to know that the rate in New Zealand has latterly increased to 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ pence, which too is only about half we pay for a similar foreign letter within the British Commonwealth of Nations.

rate. Thus quarterly and even bi-annual publications are entitled to the concession. For an example, let us cite the case of *The International Journal of Ethics*, a quarterly publication of the University of Chicago Press. It is "entered as second-class matter, October 19, 1928, at the Post Office at Chicago, Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1879". Along with the above, the journal also prints the following:—"Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Section 1108, Act of October 8, 1917, authorized October 11, 1928."

Not only quarterlies but half-yearly publications also seem to get some sort of concession in the U.S.A. *The Monist*, formerly a quarterly publication, receiving the second class Mail matter concession was converted into a bi-annual magazine in January, 1938; and we have reason to believe that it has continued to get the same concession in respect of inland postage.

It is clear that in the U.S.A., monthly or ten-times-a-year publications, quarterlies and even half-yearly magazines get some sort of concession, which is refused by the Indian Post Office. In India, a periodical published at intervals more than 31 days are not eligible for any concessional rate of postage granted to registered newspapers.

That other conditions are also more liberal in U.S.A. will be evident from the fact cited below: *Abridged Readers' Guide* published monthly except July and August by the H. W. Wilson Co. of New York was begun in September 1935. It is transmitted by post under the cover of an envelope which can be opened at one end. On the envelope at the left side of the type-written address of the addressee is printed

in facsimile handwriting of the sender: "With our compliments. First Issue of the *Abridged Readers' Guide* for your consideration." One such cover is in the possession of the present writer, who had received a copy by post on February 22, 1936.

U. S. A. BOOKPOSTAGE FURTHER REDUCED

The following Press news published in *The New York Times*, November 1, 1938, with the caption "Postage on Books is cut by President to 1½ cents" will speak for itself.

Washington, October 31—President Roosevelt, through a proclamation to-day, reduced the postage on books to 1½ cents a pound for all domestic mail.

The President declared the new rate, effective to-morrow until June 30, 1939, was required in the promotion of the cultural growth, education and development of the American people.

Books had previously been under parcel post rates, from 7 cents a pound upward. The National Committee to abolish postal discrimination against books called attention to the fact that these rates made it cost more to send a Bible through the mails, for instance, than some pulp magazines.

From the above we see that in the U.S.A. the postage on books was 7 cents a pound, which is now reduced to 1½ cents. One pound is about 40 tolas, for which the inland book-postage in India is 4½ annas and parcel-postage is 4 annas. Registration when desired is charged 3 annas extra in either case. We have already shown that the Indian *inland* book postage is so heavy that it is practically equal to *foreign* post. A packet of 5 tolas (about 2 oz.) requires book postage of 8 pice (9 pies) *inland*, while for the *foreign* post too the book postage on a packet of similar weight, 2 oz. (about 5 tolas) will be exactly the same, viz., 8 pice or 9 pies.

The U.S.A. President and his Government are keen about the promotion of

the cultural growth, education and development of the American people. On this point the November, 1938, *Indian* has, perhaps, rightly remarked:

Indians are much poorer than Americans and are far below the standard of literacy and general education attained by their fellow-creatures in the United States. In view of the above facts, should not the Government of India rather look to other sources of revenue, or minimise expenditure otherwise than overburdening postage?

That the examples cited as to the condition in the U. S. A. are real, will be evident from the following extracts from a reply from an American friend, to whom the present writer had written. The friend is a competent hand and she (Johanna Kramm) writes in the capacity as the Editorial Correspondence Secretary of the publishing firm of the H. W. Wilson Co. of New York. She writes under date March 14, 1938:

We . . . must say that your statement is correct. All our weekly and monthly publications, including those issued ten times a year, are mailed on permit, which does not restrict us to any particular day of the month, but to the month and the number of issues . . . Printed or any mechanically produced messages 'may be given on any envelope so long as it does not interfere with the address and easy handling.'

INDIAN POSTAL RATES NOT CHEAPEST

The November, 1938, *Modern Review*, p. 581, has the following editorial note:—

Mr. G. V. Bewoor, Director-General of Posts and Telegraphs, is reported to have said in the course of an informal talk with members of the Mysore Chamber of Commerce on the 22nd October 1938, that "India has the cheapest postal rate in the world". This is not true. Japan's rates are cheaper and there may be cheaper rates elsewhere too.

The remarks made by the *Modern Review* as to the postal rates in Japan is true according to the *Japan Year Book*, describing that the lowest postal stamp

in that country is valued at $\frac{1}{4}$ sen, which is equivalent to $\frac{1}{4}$ pie ($\frac{1}{16}$ anna), while the lowest unit of postage we pay in India is one pice (i.e., 8 pies or $\frac{1}{8}$ anna). It is not known if the postal rate in Japan has increased latterly during the Sino-Japanese War.

We have shown that the U. S. A. has a cheaper rate of postage and, moreover, the postal conditions in that country are more favourable to the public than in India. We have also shown that in New Zealand the rates are cheaper too. It may not be difficult to prove that not only in the United Kingdom* but also throughout the Dominions including Canada, Australia and South Africa, the postal rates are more favourable than in India.

The Indian Post Office will do a public service by giving a comparative statement of rates at least in the countries of the British Commonwealth of Nations. This can be shewn in justification in one page of the *Post and Telegraph Guide*.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The policy of the Government in the matter of fixation of postage rates in India is, perhaps, contradictory to its assertions. If it is prepared to encourage educational and cultural interests, there is no reason why in the matter of postage it should take a stiffer and stiffer attitude when other countries are adopting liberal views.

* A recent letter to the Press sent jointly by five well known publishing bodies (viz., Messrs. Macmillan & Co. Ltd.; Longmans Green & Co. Ltd.; Blackie & Sons, India, Ltd.; Allied Publishers' and Stationery Manufacturers; and Oxford Union Press), was concluded with the following sentence in italics. "It is cheaper to post a pound of books from London to Poona than from Bombay to Poona."

IT HAPPÉD IN SHANGHAI

BY MR. E. S. WARREN

FU CHIN got into a second class compartment of the Shanghai Express and sank with a sigh of relief on the cushioned seat. There were only two more passengers in the compartment, a middle-aged man in grey European costume, and an attractive girl in a shimmering sea-green dress. Americanised type, concluded Fu Chin at a glance—the father a prosperous businessman and the daughter one of those cool cosmetical flappers against whom his wife had warned him so many times.

"Mishaun was right," he said to himself, "as she always is. One can't be too careful against these sirens."

Fu Chin was on the sunny side of forty and exuded opulence and respectability from every pore of his healthy ripe-corn-coloured skin. With his merry eyes and boyish cheeks, he looked like one who found life a very pleasant game and wanted others also to do the same. His face gave you the idea that here was a young head on middle-aged shoulders, and Fu Chin never took the trouble of disproving the impression conveyed by his features.

A porter came in with his ponderous trunk and comfortable bedding; and having arranged them with geometrical precision, he coughed for payment.

"How much is it?" asked Fu Chin, taking out his bulging wallet.

The porter made a lightning study of him and asked for half-a-dollar. Fu Chin was on the point of giving it when the middle-aged man in European costume stepped forward and asked the blue-clad figure whether he called himself a railway porter or a Bolshivik bandit.

And turning to the bewildered Fu Chin, he said:

"Don't give him more than a quarter. That is the scheduled rate, you know."

Fearing that the game was up, the porter pocketed the coin that was offered, and went away cursing the whole tribe of interlopers that infested railway trains.

"I thank your honourable self very much," began Fu Chin to the middle-aged man, "the fact is I am on a train for the first time and can't understand the ways of these people."

"Every one is like that on his first journey," laughed the other, "and, besides, these porters are nothing but bandits in blue."

Fu Chin laughed heartily at this description and took instantly to his rescuer who gave his name as Chi Sun Kaun and added that he was an army contractor. He then introduced his daughter Lola to Fu Chin, who tried to say how happy he was at making her acquaintance and managed to emit a confused rattle with great difficulty.

After these painful formalities were over, Fu Chin was invited to join them at lunch which had been brought in from the railway refreshment rooms. And under the influence of the excellent food washed down with a glass of whisky-and-soda, he shed most of his rustic nervousness and began to talk freely about himself to the flatteringly attentive audience.

He was a landlord and had lived in the country ever since he was born. His fields were good, his workers were good, and the rains too were often good with

the result he had managed to feather his nest pretty well. And there was his wife who looked after him as well as he looked after the fields.

"There is the story of my life in a nutshell," concluded Fu Chin with a complacent chuckle.

"Then you are going to Shanghai for the first time?" asked Lola with an envious smile. "You will find everything so wonderful up there. And if you don't have the time of your life in the city, you will have only yourself to blame."

"I thank you for the advice," replied Fu Chin, "but I will have little chance of merry-making in the city during my short stay. The fact is I am making this trip to collect a rather considerable amount a friend of mine borrowed from me last year. Debtors before dancing-girls, as Confucius would say."

Lola whispered something in her father's ear and the latter invited Fu Chin for dinner with them at a small but select night-club on the following evening, at eight. Fu Chin tried to excuse himself on the ground that he was not accustomed to all these new-fangled night-clubs with their girls and gaiety, but the two brushed aside his excuses and succeeded in having their invitation accepted by him.

The rest of the journey was spent in small talk, snacks and slumber, and at the crowded terminus the pair took leave of Fu Chin with an injunction not to forget the address of the night-club.

At a quarter to eight in the evening Fu Chin presented himself at the small club for the select, looking rather self-conscious in his flamboyant dress, with the inevitable wallet bulging out of his breast-pocket. He had scarcely been

there for ten minutes when a high-powered car brought Lola to the club. She was in a cream-coloured kimono with sky-blue serpents criss-crossing all over and wore a beautiful necklace with a magnificent pendant. Fu Chin's gaze rested for a while on the necklace and he could not help admiring how it set off the stately beauty of her throat. But he was at a loss to understand why she had come alone without her father who had promised to be at the night-club without fail.

"Please excuse me for having made you wait so long," said Lola, shaking hands with Fu Chin who appeared to be overwhelmed by her beauty.

"You are too considerate," he replied, "but what has prevented your honoured father from accompanying you?"

"Poor dad!" sighed the girl, "he is a martyr to lumbago and had a severe attack last night. But he did not want to break his word to you and sent me to be your hostess tonight, that is, if you could be satisfied with such a poor substitute."

"I am very sorry for him," said Fu Chin, "and not at all for myself."

"What a nice compliment!" smiled Lola, "if only it is true."

She led her guest to a sequestered table and ordered a dinner which the latter had always associated with royalty only. Lola partook of the repast as one accustomed to it all her life, but the other did ample justice to the sumptuous fare before him.

"Do you often have dinner here?" asked Fu Chin in a tone of subdued reverence.

"Yes, very often," answered the other, shooting a significant glance at her guest,

"but seldom have I enjoyed myself so well as I am doing this evening."

The man was startled at what he considered such seductive boldness, but tried to screen it by wondering what any modern girl could see in a country bumpkin like himself.

"You are being too modest," bantered the girl, for there are some men who are born to attract women, and they can't help doing so, whether they come from the country or the city."

Fu Chin was immensely flattered by this compliment and could not help showing his feelings by moving his chair closer to his beautiful and witty hostess.

Then came the wine which Lola poured into two glasses; and while her guest was removing some crumbs from his lap, she managed to add into one glass a few drops from a small phial which would have easily passed muster as a perfume bottle.

Having succeeded in removing the crumbs, Fu Chin was attracted by the crimson glow of the wine and took both the glasses and held them up against the brilliant electric light so as to admire their glow better. Then with a sigh of pleasure, he laid them down again.

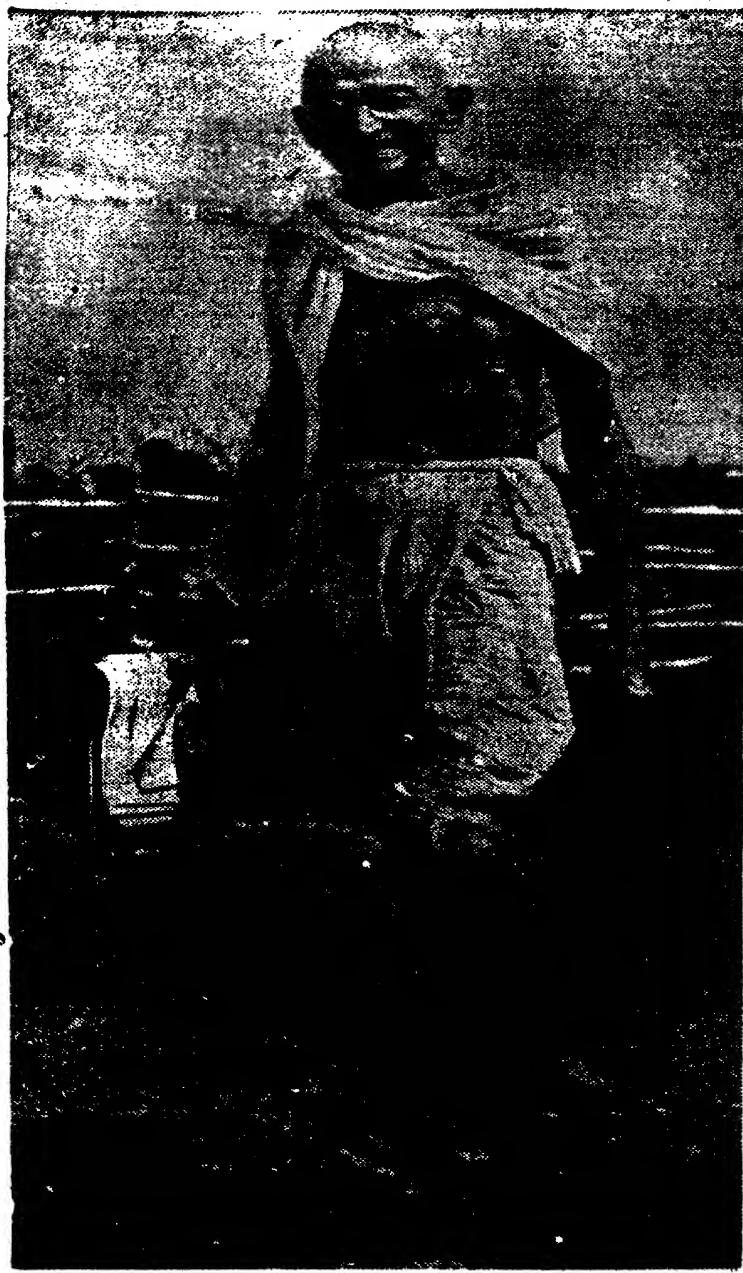
Instantly, Lola took the glass nearer to her and offered it to her guest. "To our lasting friendship," she said, and drank the contents of the other. Fu Chin repeated the toast and emptied the glass in a minute.

Ten minutes later, he left the night-club and made straight for the railway station.

On the following morning, Fu Chin was narrating his adventures in Shanghai to an adoring wife and a pair of fascinated children:

"I met them on the train," he said, his narrow eyes opening wide with the gusto of the satisfied narrator, "two of the slickest Americanised Chinese I have ever clapped eyes on. The man inspired confidence like a Buddhist monk, and the girl was as fine a piece of painted flesh as ever set a man's heart throbbing. They must have taken me to be a country money-bag to be had for the picking, and I did my best to fit in with the role. They invited me for dinner at a smart night-club in Shanghai, and when I went there on the following evening, there was no father coming, but only the girl, and I must say, with all respect to you, she looked really stunning. She said something about her father having lumbago and sending her to be my hostess. The dinner was grand, and she played the role of the siren very well. Then came the wine which she poured into two glasses, and I observed her putting one or two drops from a phial into one glass that must have been intended for me. But I managed to change the position of the glasses while pretending to admire the colour of the wine, and she drank the drugged wine I was to have taken. Within ten minutes, she was completely unconscious and I left without attracting any notice."

"She was after my bulging wallet—bulging with your letters, you know—and even that she could not steal from me. By the way, my dear, here is a fine necklace with a finer pendant for you. I relieved Lola of it while she was sleeping the sleep of the drugged, and I hope it will teach her what my revered father always used to say: 'Fu, steal your own purse before you try to steal another's.'"



МАНДАМ ГАНДИ

other living religion of the world. In fact, a Hindu without a wife has no status or place in important religious functions. I am not here expressing an opinion as to the advisability or otherwise of the Hindu marriage reform. It may appear that it is in the fitness of things and is an indication of our progress in civilization that, we believe, we are now making, that a new instrument should be forged into to undo marriage ties in Hindu society. There does appear to be no insuperable obstacle to this step, but it has to be conceded that when a Hindu divorcee thinks of remarriage, there is no sanction in Hindu scriptures for her to be married under Hindu rites nor for her to be treated as being fit to play the role of a Hindu wife. I do not think that the problem whether monogamy is the best and why polygamy or polyandry should not be recognized as equally good, is germane to the issue before us. It seems to be generally assumed in the civilised world that monogamy is the best. In speaking about Hindu society, there does not seem to be any religious sanction for the promiscuous practice of polygamy. In fact such sanction, if any, seems to be surrounded by a number of almost impossible conditions. But at the present economic state of the average Hindu, the problem is not a vital one and a legislative decision in this matter is not likely to evoke resistance.

Take the question of the laws of inheritance. Legislations have interfered even in this matter and the laws have been changed and fresh heirs introduced. Consider the question of religious endowments. Our religious endowments have not only been brought under secular control, but new rights are sought to be

created in respect of them so as to be enjoyed by classes which were expressly forbidden from participation in religious ceremonies by the older law and traditions. I am not prepared to say whether these changes introduce chaos or whether they introduce order into a system that had fallen into a chaotic condition. Time alone will reveal whether we are wise in abandoning age-long principles which preserved the integrity of the Hindu society till many centuries, alone amongst the civilizations of the world. But it is equally clear that our conceptions with regard to social institutions are undergoing a change whether or not an acknowledgment of this fact involves a denial in the traditional beliefs connected with Hindu social institutions as being unchanging and unchangeable. It is also equally clear that our new humanitarian ideals of equality of opportunity for all and the right of every individual to be happy are wholly inconsistent with a social economy which drew its inspirations from the axioms of religion.

There are several other aspects of the change that threaten to affect or have affected Hindu society. There is the question of caste, the question of joint Hindu family, the problem of population in Hindu society—not to speak of a factor intimately connected with these—the increased process of urbanisation that is going on. If there is one feature of our social organization more original and unique than others irrespective of a consideration of its merits, it is the caste system and the many things that go with it. The principle of occupational basis with hereditary duties and rights assigned to it is a unique sociological principle which, perhaps, has imparted the

special strength to the Hindu society which has enabled it to survive these two or three thousand years during which there had been several violent attacks on it. One sees the institution almost dissolving before our eyes. I do not think that this dissolution is due to any deep and growing distrust of the hereditary principle, but I believe it is far more due to the variations in the economic life of the people and the variety of occupations which have come in and which cannot be brought within the caste classifications of Hindu society. The four *varnas* of Hindu society were a simple and satisfying division of social functions in ages gone by and can no longer fit in with the new political and economic divisions in society that is coming into, *viz.*, the worker and the capitalist. The result has been that the lines which demarcated the class of Hindu society have become blurred and the economic basis of social relations is fast coming to be more important. Yet again there is the question of the joint Hindu family. The institution has practically been broken up and only lingers in order to provide effective obstacles to the making of uniform legislation in the country—not to speak of the opportunities for work that it provides to the lawyers and to the Law. The social trend towards urbanisation has had not a little to do with the breaking-up of the joint family system, though it has not been the sole fact in deciding the issue. There is yet another big problem about which Hindu society has never had to think till now, *viz.*, the question of the growing population and its inevitable reaction on society in all its aspects: political, economic and social. It is a fact that the breaking-up of the joint family system, and the violent trend

towards the urbanisation, are not a little due to the increase of population and to the fact that the economic resources of the family would hardly support a growth in its number. It is curious that while in Western countries the war gods are pleading for an increase in the birth-rate, offering various baits to householders to increase their output of canon fodder, the problem is totally different in regard to a country like India where the birth-rate has been alarmingly increasing. Things have undoubtedly come to a phase that "it has become one of the major issues to be tackled by the people of this country. It is not that I am pleading for birth-control, but the fact that Western economists have, it seems, condemned the Malthusian concept as pre-eminently one suited for an agricultural country is not without its lessons for India.

The result of the emergence of these various problems I have outlined before has been that the lines which demarcated the classes in Indian society have become blurred, and some of these problems have made the economic basis of social relations relatively more important. The period that we are passing through is a period of transition and social chaos arises chiefly during a period of transition from one social order to another. The chaos is there; the social order we have left behind is there. But do we have a clear conception of the order that is to emerge from this chaos? I confess that any speculation as to what this new social order is going to be, however interesting as an intellectual exercise, is not exactly fruitful for the evolution of society, nor does it follow the clear-cut laws of reasoning. It can scarcely be argued, however, that intuition can fill the gap where reasoning fails. I do not think there is any social prophet who is intelligent enough or any thinker who has the equipment necessary to foretell what the coming society is going to be like.

INDIAN AFFAIRS

BY "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

The Rajkot Impasse

THOSE who had hoped that the Gwyer award had settled the Rajkot dispute are completely disillusioned. The change of heart expected to result from the fast is yet to come. A fresh hitch has occurred over the constitution of the Reforms Committee, the Thakore Saheb maintaining that of the seven names submitted by Sardar Patel, only one happened to be a subject of the State. To add to this, Moslems, Bhayats and the Depressed Classes have been set up to demand representation on the Committee. Some of them have even gone so far as to accuse the Mahatma himself of breach of promise. Mr. Jinnah and Dr. Ambedkar have not been slow to take advantage of the situation, Gandhiji has had interminable discussions with all parties and there seems no end to obstructive tactics. Alternative proposals have had no better chance. And so he says in a deeply moving statement issued on the eve of his departure to Calcutta:

I have left empty-handed, with body shattered, hope cremated.

It is a depressing confession of failure.

"Rajkot to me has been a priceless laboratory," he adds.

My patience has been sorely tried by the tortuous politics of Kathiawad.

I have told Mr. Veerawalla: "I am defeated. May you win. Placate the people by giving as much as possible and wire to me so as to revive the hope which I seem to have lost for the moment."

It is true the Viceroy, in asking Mr. Gandhi to break the fast, gave an assurance that he would see to the implementing of the award. But Gandhiji would rather avoid such coercion from the authorities and would prefer conversion by a process of goodwill and co-operation.

As we go to Press, the Thakore Saheb says in a message to Gandhiji:

My ardent desire is to come to a settlement as early as possible. Sincere efforts are being made by people of all shades of opinion to compose the differences.

Let us hope so.

The Indo-British Trade Agreement

With autonomy in the Provinces, it is rather odd to find the Central Government functioning by certification. Sir James Grigg's five consecutive budgets had to be certified in succession. That even a trade agreement between England and India should be forced down the throat of an unwilling country is a situation that is hard to reconcile with reason or common sense. For as Mr. Bhulabhai Desai rightly warned the Government:

You can bring goods into the country under any conditions of favour you like, but to sell them is a very different proposition.

What are the facts? The Central Assembly rejected the Tariff Bill embodying the Indo-British Trade agreement. The Governor-General returned the Bill to the Assembly for further consideration in its original form. The Assembly again rejected it by 54 against 87 votes, the Muslim League members remaining neutral. But the Governor-General certifies the Bill and has it passed through the Council of State with a packed majority. There is neither reason nor justice in flouting the clearly expressed verdict of the elected majority. The idea of holding down India in this way at a time when war is imminent is not prudent, warns the *Statesman*.

To flout the legislature now when provincial self-government has been in operation for two years and federal self-government at the centre is hoped for at an early date, is a course hard to justify in any event.

The idea of holding down India is quite impracticable. India will be with Great Britain. We trust that, in the name of defence, there will be no flat-footed folly from London at the outset, indicating distrust of provincial governments and legislatures.

Federation or Disunion?

Yet another attempt at Constitution making is before us in the form of an elaborate scheme to divide the country into communal groups. This is a draft scheme of an all India constitution prepared by Dr. Syed Abdul Latif of Hyderabad, Deccan, at the request of the Sub-Committee of the All-India Muslim League. This belated attempt to replace the federation scheme embodied in the Government of India Act of 1935 is an ingenious devise to shatter the hopes of national unity. Dr. Latif's novel scheme is vitiated by the unwarranted assumption that "Islam and Hinduism stand poles asunder" and that there could be no possibility of economic or political unity in the country except "through a programme of hate against foreign domination". The scheme which evidently has the approval of Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim Leaguers is frankly revolutionary, contemplating as it does the creation of communal zones and transfers of wholesale population on a staggering scale. The immediate outline is

the Muslim block of thirty millions in the north-west, consisting of Sind, Baluchistan, the Punjab, North-West Frontier, Kashmir, Khairpur and Bahawalpur. The Hindus and Sikhs from this area may concentrate in the Punjab States on the boundaries of Kashmir and Jammu with readjustment of the frontiers. Amritsar would be made a free city for Sikhs. There will be another solid Muslim block of 30 millions in the north-east comprising Bengal and Assam. There will be a central block of twelve millions in what is to be called Delhi-Lucknow block including Rampur State. From this, however, Hindu religious centres of Muthra, Hardwar, Benares and Amritsar will be excluded. There will be a Deccan Muslim block consisting of the dominions of Hyderabad and Deccan with the narrow strip running south to Madras city.

Thus is the country to be parcelled out into communal groups, each repellent to the other, with diverse interests and distinct affinities. A federation of such units will bring about dissolution sooner than ever.

Burma Riot Inquiry Report

Public complaint of the incompetence of the Burma Police to deal with the riot is fully confirmed by the Report of the Inquiry Committee, which reveals the extent of that incompetence. Inexperience coupled with ignorance of the law seems to have so completely reduced the efficiency of the Police in Burma that the force was quite incapable of affording proper protection to the resident citizens. The report is unambiguous.

We feel it necessary to say that on the whole the establishment of the Police both in Rangoon and in Burma generally proved in an emergency inadequate in numbers, in training, in equipment, in preparedness, and in confidence in themselves to give to the Indians of Rangoon and of the districts that measure of protection which as British subjects they are entitled to receive.

The Commissioner of Police, we are told, is found to have surrendered his powers to the Minister. Weakness in handling the situation is apparent from top to bottom and none escapes criticism. The Committee find that

in many cases action was taken too late, that in others resort to firing was delayed until its repressive effect was lessened and that the hesitation and irresponsibility shown in the higher offices, filtering through all grades of the Force, was responsible for much unnecessary suffering and loss.

Such findings would be useless if they carry no lesson for the future, and the Committee recommend

a complete examination by a really competent Commission of the organisation and practice of the Civil Police in Burma with a view to removing causes of distrust and suspicion and establishing confidence and trust in the Force itself.

Bombay Shop Assistants' Bill

Congress Governments in different provinces are tackling labour legislation in different forms so as to secure for workmen better conditions of life and amenities. The Bombay Government has taken the lead with a piece of constructive legislation for a class of people whose grievances have seldom been championed. In a recent Bill introduced in the Bombay Legislature, the Prime Minister, Mr. Kher, grappled with the scandal of clerks and shop assistants being sweated for indefinite hours for the benefit of their employers. Clerks and shop assistants are doing an essential service to the community and it is high time that the conditions of their work and wages should be regulated. Trade unions for such classes are very weak in India, and the Bombay Government have done well to take the initiative in safeguarding the interests of this particular class of overworked labourers.

Mr. Kher stated that the average daily hours of work in Bombay Shops and Restaurants were 12'25. Over 60 per cent. had to work over 11 hours a day and 15 per cent. of the workers were compelled to put in more than 15 hours. Shop-assistants, who were generally working irrespective of any count of hours, night or day, are now given a charter fixing their liability to 10 hours, and one complete holiday per week is made statutory for them. As for the employment of children under twelve years, it would be henceforth illegal to exact more than eight hours of work per day.

The measure has had the widest support from all sections of the House, and enlightened public opinion in the country expects other Provinces to follow the excellent lead given by the Western Presidency.

The A. I. C. C. Meeting

The hope of a compromise between the Rightists and the Leftists as a result of the Gandhi-Bose-Nehru talks in Calcutta having failed, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose submitted his resignation to the A. I. C. C. which has since elected Babu Rajendra Prasad in his stead.

After explaining the circumstances under which, in spite of the best efforts, no settlement could be made as to the formation of the Working Committee, Mr. Bose said at the meeting of the A. I. C. C. :

I feel that my presence as President at this juncture may possibly be a sort of obstacle or handicap in its path. For instance, the A. I. C. C. may feel inclined to the appointment of a Working Committee in which I shall be a misfit. I feel further that it may possibly be easier for the A. I. C. C. to settle the matter if it can have a new President. After mature deliberation and in an entirely helpful spirit, I am placing my resignation in your hands.

As we write, the A. I. C. C. is discussing the situation arising out of the failure of the negotiations and the resignation of Mr. Subhas Bose. A resolution requesting Mr. Bose to withdraw his resignation of the Congress Presidentship and renominate the members of the old Working Committee to his new Working Committee was moved by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. The resolution satisfied neither the one side nor the other, and Mr. Nehru, therefore, thought it best to withdraw it.

Throughout the discussions and in his correspondence with Gandhiji, Mr. Bose made no secret of his Leftist tendencies. He has broken with the Mahatma, because the latter could not see his way to agree to Mr. Bose's demand for a partially Leftist Working Committee. The Working Committee is the Executive of the Congress. If its work is to be effective, argues Gandhiji, there must be complete agreement among its members on the broad principles of policy.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

BY "CHRONICLER"

Congscription in Great Britain

THE decision to introduce conscription in Great Britain is a momentous step that has been taken after prolonged and profound deliberation. It cannot be said that the decision was taken precipitately; for His Majesty's Government have patiently waited for months past for a change in the European situation. But the methods of the Dictators have made it impossible to wait and watch any further; for every day adds to the danger of war and it would be folly to be unprepared for the worst. British labour, while keenly alive to the gravity of the situation, is averse to conscription. But the consensus of opinion is in favour of a determined stand; and conscription is at once a symbol of that determination and a warning that Britain is now in earnest, prepared to resist aggression at any cost and will tolerate no further disturbance of Continental security. By her assurances to Poland, Greece, and Rumania, British liabilities have enormously increased and conscription would appear to be an inevitable concomitant to the shouldering of such responsibilities in Europe.

The Fall of Albania

Yet another State has passed into the orbit of the Axis—Albania. Italian troops occupied the capital on the 8th April. Albanian resistance collapsed in a few hours, the King and Queen flew to Greece, and Italy is in full control of the country. The Italian Press justifies the aggression with the same old arguments. Similar to the cases of Spain and Abyssinia, it is argued that Italy has always had the right to protect Albania and that their invasion took place because the Albanian people had complained of misgovernment by King Zog and had invited the Duce to set things right.

The Polish Question

"Britain will fully support Poland in the event of any action likely to threaten Polish independence." This assurance was given by the Prime Minister, Mr. Neville Chamberlain, when he spoke on the international situation in the House of Commons on March 31. He said:

I now have to inform the House that in the event of any action which clearly threatened Polish independence and which the Polish Government accordingly considered it vital to resist with their national forces, the British Government would feel themselves bound at once to lend the Polish Government all the support in their power. They have given the Polish Government an assurance to this effect.

Mr. Chamberlain's statement has caused extreme annoyance in Germany. The immediate reaction is Hitler's denunciation of the German-Polish agreement of non-aggression. Following Poland's rejection of the German offer "that Danzig be returned as a Free State into the framework of the Reich", Hitler has repudiated the old treaty.

British Pledge to Greece and Rumania

In the course of a statement in the House of Commons on April 18, the Prime Minister extended the anti-aggression pledge which he gave some days ago to Poland.

In the event of any action which clearly threatens the independence of Greece or Rumania, and which the Greek and Rumanian Governments respectively consider vital to resist with their national forces, His Majesty's Government would feel themselves bound at once to lend the Greek and Rumanian Governments all the support in their power.

Although they found it difficult to reconcile the Italian landing in Albania with the maintenance of the independence and integrity of Albania, he did not take the view that the Anglo-Italian Agreement should be considered at an end.

Nobody with a sense of responsibility can in these days lightly do anything which would lead to increased international tension.

Roosevelt's Message

Once again President Roosevelt has made a gallant attempt to save Europe from the horrors of another war. In a spirited message addressed to Herr Hitler and Signor Mussolini, the President asks whether they will give an assurance that for the next 10 years at least they will not take arms against certain independent nations. The President gives a list of these countries, whose integrity is likely to be violated, refers to the general fear of war throughout the world and says that if the assurances he asked for were given, he would transmit them to their Powers and secure reciprocal assurances from them. The President's initiative has met with warm approval in Britain and France.

Hitler's Address to the Reichstag

Herr Hitler, in his address to the Reichstag on April 28, replied to the President in detail explaining point after point categorically and repudiating the charge that Germany wanted war. He was against the Conference idea as he had no belief in solution of international problems that way.

The German Chief expressed his readiness to give an assurance to each State named by the President conditionally on absolute reciprocity, provided the State concerned requested such an assurance from Germany "together with appropriate proposals".

A significant development of the crisis is his repudiation of the Naval Pact with Britain and his declaration that as Poland had rejected his proposals, the Polish-German treaty was no more in force. Thus the situation is unrelieved and is as tense as ever before.

A Democratic Front

The time has come when England and France, unaided by Russia, can give no effective help to the Balkan States in the event of German aggression. But Russia has always suspected England and France of double dealing since the betrayal of Abyssinia, and she has good reasons too to suspect. For the Munich pact was a rude slap to Stalin with the object of placating Hitler and Mussolini. Events have shown the folly of that misadventure, and one wonders if Mr. Chamberlain as yet realises the grave danger of ignoring Russia. "If you are going in without the help of Russia," said Mr. Lloyd George during the debate in Parliament, we are walking into a trap. Russia is the only country whose arms can get there.

South Africa and War

General Smuts, Minister of Justice, outlined the South African Government's war policy in a recent speech at Paarl. He said

"But, if things go as they appear to be going to-day, and if a group of nations tries to dominate the world and annex other countries to strengthen themselves at the expense of the other nations, then the people of South Africa will not have much difficulty in deciding their attitude."

General Smuts urged South Africa to stand by the other members of the British Commonwealth in the present hour of world danger.

The Tragedy of Spain

The tragedy of Spain is now complete. The Republican resistance has collapsed and Franco is master of the whole country.

"Chamberlain and Daladier," says Mr. Lloyd George, cannot honestly wash their hands in the basin of Pilate and declare that they have no personal responsibility for the assassination of Spanish freedom although they have accorded official sanction to the outrage.

Without their acquiescence at every stage, the friends of liberty in Spain could never have been overcome.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

- March 31. Mr. Chamberlain announces British pledge to Poland guaranteeing her independence.
- April 1. Herr Hitler ridicules Britain's "virtuous attitude in old age".
- April 2. H. E. Sir Henry Craik opens the Emerson Barrage.
- April 3. Sir Maurice Gwyer in his award on the Rajkot dispute upholds Sardar Patel's claim.
- April 4. Mahatma Gandhi interviews H. E. the Viceroy.
—King Ghazi of Iraq is killed in a motor accident. His three-year old son is proclaimed King.
- April 5. The Maharaja of Benares is dead.
- M. Lebrun is re-elected President of France.
- April 6. Death is reported of Dr. Har Dayal in Philadelphia.
- April 7. Mr. J. A. Lyons, Australian Prime Minister, is dead.
- April 8. Italian troops occupy Durazzo, the capital of Albania.
- Mr. Bhulabhai Desai opens the Federation buildings—the gift of Lala Shri Ram in memory of his father—at Delhi.
- April 9. The Pope delivers an Easter Message of Peace from the Vatican.
- April 10. Muslims in London condemn Italian action in Albania.
- April 11. British Ministers confer and the King confers with the Prime Minister.
- April 12. Sgr. Mussolini gives an assurance to Greece that he has no territorial designs on her.
- April 13. Mr. Chamberlain announces Britain's pledge to support Greece and Rumania against aggression.
- April 14. Mahatma Gandhi submits a list of 7 names for the Rajkot Reforms Committee.
- April 15. President Roosevelt addresses a personal message to Hitler and Mussolini.
—Viceroy certifies the Tariff Bill.
- April 16. Rajkot Muslims and Girasias stage a demonstration against Gandhiji, soon after his evening prayers.
- April 17. Mr. Jinnah asks Muslims to boycott Rajkot Committee.
- April 18. The Council of State adjourns sine die after passing the Certified Tariff Bill.
—Serious Railway accident at Majdia Station.
- April 19. General Smuts outlines South Africa's War Policy.
- April 20. Addressing an Exhibition Committee in Rome, Sgr. Mussolini sneers at Roosevelt's suggestion of a Conference of Powers.
- April 21. Sir John Woodhead is appointed Governor of Bengal.
- April 22. Hitler discusses Roosevelt's message with smaller States, who declare that they are not menaced by Germany.
- April 23. Gandhiji announces that negotiations with Mr. Virawala for the settlement of Rajkot issue have failed.
- April 24. Conscription is discussed by the British Cabinet.
- April 25. Lord Zetland moves the Second Reading of the India Amendment Bill in the Lords.
- April 26. Britain advises the Fuehrer to accept the U. S. offer.
- April 27. Gandhi—Bose—Nehru talks in Calcutta.
—Mr. Chamberlain's motion for conscription is adopted by 876 votes to 145 in the Commons.
- April 28. Herr Hitler addresses the Reichstag replying to President Roosevelt's message.
- April 29. All-India Congress Committee meets in Calcutta.
—Mr. Subhas Bose resigns presidentship.
- April 30. Babu Rajendra Prasad is elected President in place of Mr. Subhas Bose.

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Pallas Publishing Co. Ltd., London.
(G. A. Natesan & Co. 12 As. each.)

The first instalment of biographies of contemporary celebrities includes such names as Chamberlain, Hitler, Goering, Dr. Benes, De Valera and Franco—typical representatives of the different countries to which they belong. The lives are written by eminent English and Continental authors with a wealth of biographical details which must interest the lay reader. They are particularly valuable to the young to whom the words of such outstanding personalities of our time, so fully quoted, must have a special appeal. Dealing with dominant political characters, the sketches are part history and part biography, and what could be more fascinating for the young than to read the story of our time through the lives of the great actors who are making history. The lives show that the days of adventure are not over, as some of these leaders have literally risen from the log cabin to the white house. A happy feature of these studies is their up-to-dateness. The record of events is brought down to recent months—to the Munich settlement and Dr. Bene's acceptance of an American Professorship. The authors have attempted to show how the achievements of these leaders are made possible by their early training and character. We have vivid examples of Chamberlain's cautious optimism, Hitler's ruthlessness, and Goering's vulgarity. The downright earnestness of De Valera, and the amazing perseverance of Franco, have made a

difference in the fortunes of their respective countries. Recent happenings in Central Europe have, to a certain extent, upset the apple cart of Mr. Chamberlain, whose complacency over the Munich settlement must now be rudely shaken by the complete annexation of Czechoslovakia. The studies, however, are written with a certain degree of detachment and serve as a lucid commentary on some of the tremendous political transactions of our time.

FROM MY AFRICAN NOTE BOOK. By Albert Schweitzer. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London. 6s. net.

Here is an interesting and simply written account of the peoples among whom the famous Dr. Albert Schweitzer has worked for so many years. It will be an interesting fact for many a reader that the Hill of Adolinanongo, on which Dr. Schweitzer's hospital stands, is the site of the home of Trader Horn. In this hot and sticky country on the west coast of Africa, the doctor has laboured for many years and in this slim little volume, he has collected for our interest and entertainment many a story of the primitive folk he has done so much to help. Their system of magic and taboo, their strange marriage and birth customs, their folklore and superstitions, are all related here with such a sympathetic and humourous pen that we are enabled to see into the workings of their primitive minds. The book is simply enough written for an intelligent child to enjoy and is illustrated with many photographs.

**MOUREE IN CHINA,
BRITAIN BY MASS OBSERVATION,
THEY BETRAYED CZECHO SLOVAKIA.**

Penguin Specials. G. A. Natesan & Co.
Rs. 7 each.

These are welcome additions to the Penguin Series published at an astonishingly cheap price. The three books, as their titles show, deal with topics of current interest. The first gives a graphic picture of "an ancient civilisation caught in the turmoil of a bitter war"; the second is the work of two adventurous young men, who deal with some of the most immediate and urgent aspects of contemporary culture and crisis; while the third narrates the tragic story of the greatest betrayal of all times.

THE SPANISH PISTOL AND OTHER SHORT STORIES. By A. G. Macdonell. Macmillans. 7s. 6d.

To those who have enjoyed Macdonell's long stories and plays, this book will come as a pleasant surprise; for, one finds him equally clever at short stories too. Each story is marked by a distinctive flavour ranging from a delightful foolery to a sheer biting satire. He does not spare his victims whom he chooses from a varied and extensive field. He attacks among others the modern film stars and producers, the war mongers and profiteers, the proud and wealthy aristocrats fond of pomp and show, and some specimens of lovers. The cricket match between Dingley Dell and Ali Muggleton is exceptionally amusing, while the modern version of Ali Baba and the forty thieves is thoroughly original. It is quite an entertaining book.

THE RISE AND FALL OF MUHAMMAD BIN TUGHLUQ. By Dr. Agha Mahdi Husain, Agra College, Agra.

Modern opinion is wearing round the belief that Muhammad Tughluq of the Kaurana dynasty is more sinned against than sinning. By a careful sifting of the testimony of the medieval historian Ziauddin Barani and the Moorish traveller Ibn Batuta, Mr. Husain brings out in detail their biased rendering of the history of the reign. The author has been fortunate enough in having secured fragments of the autobiography of the Sultan which clarifies several hotly disputed issues of the period. The two Sanskrit inscriptions of 1327 and 1328 and the poetical history of Isami, present true accounts of the life and policy of the Emperor who was "an enigma to Barani," "an enemy of Islam and friend of Hinduism" to Isami, and "a mixture of opposites and a freak of Nature" to other historians.

In laying down the book, one feels that Mr. Husain plays the part of the true historian, setting out the facts in an impartial manner and does not reveal himself as a biased Muhammadan.

HALI'S POETRY: A study. By M. Tahir Jamil. Taraporewala Sons, Bombay.

Hali stands as the leader of a new movement in Urdu poetry, diverting it to fresh channels of vigorous nationalism—a note altogether novel and inspiring. His poetry roused the Muslims from their deep slumber. A study of such a poet must be invaluable to a generation that is growing conscious of its national inheritance. Those who cannot appreciate Hali in the original, must be thankful to the author.

STUDIES IN BENGALI LITERATURE. By Kalipada Mukherjee. Published by Arthur H. Stockwell, Ltd., London.

The author makes a praiseworthy attempt and succeeds in interpreting for the English readers the beauty and the iridescent spirit of the poetry of C. R. Das and Kamini Roy. C. R. Das was famed as a Lawyer and Politician, but his real ambition was to be and live as a Poet. A devout Vaishnavite, his sea-songs (Sagar-Sangita) of forty-nine verses form a unique collection, which will delight the lover of poetry and devotion. The author gives his own renderings in English of several of the verses which are in Bengali. Mrs. Kamini Roy, who died at the age of 69 in 1933, was one of the most famous poets in Bengal and known for her social service in the cause of her country and fellow-women.

PRIMARY EDUCATION IN INDIA. By Dinkar D. Desai. Published by the Servants of India Society, Girgaum, Bombay.

Written by a member of the Servants of India Society and dedicated, as is quite appropriate, to G. K. Gokhale, the book attempts to carry on the good work started by the late Gokhale, who was the first to champion in 1912 a scheme of Free and Compulsory Primary Education for all the boys and girls of the land. During the three decades since Gokhale took up the scheme some progress has been achieved, though the results are not at all commensurate with the expenditure incurred. Stagnation and wastage are responsible for the poor results and the suggestions made by the author for combating this evil, as well as for getting additional money that may be required, are bold and original.

BOOKS RECEIVED

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TALKS WITH SWAMI VIVEKANANDA. Advaita Ashrama, Mayavati, Almora.

THE GIRL-BOY MYSTERY as told to Waac. T. Werner Laurie Ltd., London.

OUR PROBLEMS. By Mr. N. Roy With the collaboration of V. B. Karlik. Bavendra Library, Calcutta.

ANNUAL STATEMENT OF THE SEA-BORNE TRADE OF BRITISH INDIA for the year ending 31st March 1938. Manager of Publications, Delhi. Rs. 17.4.

BASIC AND THE TEACHING OF ENGLISH IN INDIA. By Adolph Myers. The Times of India Press, Bombay.

DRAFTING AND OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE. By A. N. Khosla, B.A. Vocational Institute, Lahore. Rs. 2.8.

SMALL-POX: An exposition of the Indian system of treatment. By Nagendra Kumar Majumdar. Chatterjee & Co. Ltd., Calcutta.

PSYCHICAL FORCES AND YOU By Louis S. Vernon-Worsley. L. N. Fowler & Co., London.

ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF MODERN INDIA. Edited by Prof. Radhakamal Mukerjee Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London.

PREFACE TO FAITH. By Louis Arasud. George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London.

AGRICULTURE AND ANIMAL HUSBANDRY IN INDIA, 1936-37. Manager of Publications, Delhi.

EASTERN RELIGIONS AND WESTERN THOUGHT. By S. Radhakrishnan. Oxford University Press, London.

A CONCISE HISTORY OF THE INDIAN PEOPLE. By H. G. Rawlinson. Oxford University Press, London.

SELF-RESTRAINT vs. SELF-INDULGENCE, Part II. By M K Gandhi. Navajivan Press, Ahmedabad.

SURVEY OF INDIA: GENERAL REPORT FOR 1938. Published by order of Brig. G. G. Lewis, o.b.e., Surveyor-General of India, Calcutta.

REPORT OF THE OPERATIONS OF THE OPIUM DEPARTMENT for the year ending September, 1938. Manager of Publications, Delhi.

THE CRISIS BOOKLETS
THE CRISIS AND WORLD PEACE. By Leyton Richards.

WHAT DOES A DO NEXT. By F. A. Cookin.
THE COMMONWEALTH OF MAN. By Ruth Rouse. Y. M. C. A. Publishing House, Calcutta.

INDIAN STATES

Hyderabad

THE NIZAM AND THE VICEROY

The following exchange of telegrams between H. E. H. the Nizam and the Viceroy on the occasion of the latter's speech to the Chamber of Princes was released through the Information Bureau:-

The Nizam telegraphed:

I trust Your Excellency will allow me to express my personal views about the admirable speech which you delivered the other day on the occasion of the opening session of the Chamber of Princes. I cannot help saying how deeply grateful the whole Princely Order should be at your strong support to their treaties and rights and yet at the same time your wise and friendly counsel for those who have not yet put their houses in order, to do so without further delay in view of the present time of rapid change. I am sure that all those present must have deeply appreciated and taken to heart the lesson which Your Excellency conveyed to them in such eloquent words. If they do so, it would then be only for their good and happiness.

The Viceroy replied:

I send my warmest thanks to Your Exalted Highness for your kindest telegram of March 18. I greatly appreciate it and am touched by the interest which Your Exalted Highness has been kind enough to show in my speech to the Chamber of Princes and the very important subjects which it covers.

NIZAM GOVERNMENT'S DECISION

A recent *communiqué* following demands by a section of the Moslems regarding the proposal and the suggestion that the reforms be postponed, says:

"It is the desire of the Nizam's Government that the public should know in this connexion that the Government cannot accept any suggestion for a postponement of the reforms. On the contrary, it is the settled policy of the Government to expedite their announcement and to inaugurate them with as little delay as possible."

Baroda

REPEAL OF PROTECTIVE DUTIES

The Baroda Government have responded to the popular wish regarding the protective duties imposed by them in the interests of the trade of the Okha Port. The people of the Mehsana district felt that they were aggrieved by these duties. Government accordingly considered the position, revised the schedule of tariff duties and simplified the procedure of collection so as to give facilities to local merchants.

THE NEW RESIDENT

His Excellency the Viceroy has been pleased to select Lt.-Col. G. V. B. Gillan, C.I.E., for appointment as Resident for the Baroda and Gujarat States vice Lt.-Col. E. J. D. Colvin on leave.

Rajkot

THE RAJKOT AWARD

Sir Maurice Gwyer, Chief Justice of India, to whom the Rajkot dispute was referred for adjudication, has upheld Sardar Patel's claim that he (the Sardar) should have the last say in the nomination of seven out of ten members of the contemplated Reforms Committee and not the Thakore Sahib.

Accordingly, Mahatma Gandhi has submitted a list of seven names to the Thakore Sahib for inclusion in the Rajkot Reforms Committee. In a statement, Gandhiji explains that his nominees have been selected after fulfilling the first indispensable condition of team work so that they would all make a conscientious effort to represent the whole interests of the people of Rajkot. It will be the duty of the members of the Committee, emphasises Gandhiji, to safeguard and protect the rights of all minorities in the State.

Mysore

MYSORE REFORMS

That of the seven seats for Mysore in the Federal Assembly, four should be filled by election and three should be filled by H. H. the Maharaja was the far-reaching recommendation decided upon by the Mysore Reforms Committee at its recent sittings in Bangalore.

The Committee has decided to recommend that of the three seats allotted to Mysore in the Federal Upper House, two should be filled by H. H. the Maharaja, and the third by election, but whether it should be direct election with the whole State as a single constituency or indirect election through the Mysore Legislative Council has not been decided.

Mysore's representation in the Lower House of the Federal Legislature will be even more democratic than British Indian representation, as the franchise in Mysore will be lower than in British Indian Provinces.

Kashmir

REFORMS IN KASHMIR

In pursuance of the proclamation of February 11, His Highness the Mahareja of Jammu and Kashmir has been pleased to command the appointment of Praja Sabha Under-Secretaries to ensure the co-operation of representative and responsible public opinion and to establish close relations between the Council and the Sabha. The number of Under-Secretaries is fixed at four.

Cochin

COCHIN REPORT FOR 1937-38

The report on the administration of the Cochin Income Tax Department for the year ended August, 1938, shows that by the introduction of super-tax, Government were hopeful of securing a net annual revenue of about one lakh of rupees.

Travancore

TRAVANCORE UNIVERSITY

The first meeting of the Senate of the Travancore University met in April under the chairmanship of Sir C. P. Ramaewami Aiyar, Vice-Chancellor of the University, in the Council Chamber. All the recommendations of the Syndicate were accepted by the Senate, and the resolutions given notice of by the members of the Senate were discussed one after another.

In view of the fact that arrangements are now in progress for the opening of a College of Engineering in July 1939, under the faculty of Technology, Mr. T. H. Mathewman, Principal of the proposed Engineering College, moved the recommendation of the Syndicate to the effect that the Engineering Degree, which has not been included in the Degrees of the University, might be brought under the statutes and for this purpose the statute might be accordingly amended. The recommendation which was seconded by Dr. K. L. Moudgil was accepted by the Senate.

Benares

THE MAHARAJA OF BENARES

The death occurred, on April 4, of His Highness Sir Aditya Narayan Singh Bahadur, Maharaja of Benares, at Ramnagar Fort, Benares State, at the age of 86 after a prolonged illness. His Highness had not been in good health for several months, but his death was unexpected.

Sir Aditya Narayan Singh Bahadur is to be succeeded by the heir-apparent Maharaj Kumar Bibhuti Narayan Singh, born on November 5, 1927, adopted by His late Highness as his son and successor on June 24, 1934.

Rajputana States

REFORMS IN THE STATES

In view of the growing agitation for responsible Government in the States, the recent speeches of H. E. the Viceroy at Jaipur and Jodhpur and Udaipur have been welcomed as a sure indication of the policy of the Paramount Power in regard to Princes and their States. In all the three centres, His Excellency welcomed "the steps taken to secure the closer association of your subjects with the development of your administration.

It is in these days of vital importance not only that the administration should be conducted on sound up-to-date lines but adequate provision should exist for ventilation of legitimate grievances and for bringing to the notice of the Government the wants and suggestions of its subjects.

But the experimental reforms now introduced should not be considered the last word. In a striking passage in his Banquet speech at Jaipur, H. E. emphasised that progress has to continue to meet the trend of modern development, and modifications of the reforms have to be provided for through machinery susceptible of readjustment as occasion may arise.

Kolhapur

KOLHAPUR REFORMS

References to the steps contemplated by the Kolhapur State to create a Legislative Assembly and to Federation were made by the Viceroy at Kolhapur when speaking at a State Banquet given by the Maharaja in His Excellency's honour. Lord Linlithgow said:

I have been greatly interested to hear that a form of local self-government based on a panchayat system has been in force in Kolhapur since so long ago as 1928, and that the Ilakha Panchayat should have discharged so successfully the purposes which it was created to serve. I need not say how earnestly I trust that the reforms which Your Highness tells me that you now have in contemplation for the establishment of a Legislative Assembly in your State will be attended with no less success.

Indore

THE MAHARAJA'S MARRIAGE

At a special Durbar at Indore, on March 27, His Highness the Maharaja Holkar announced his marriage with Miss Marguerite Lawler in Europe.

His Highness added that his health now has sufficiently improved not to necessitate his going abroad and, therefore, he intended to remain here and work amongst his people, whose service His Highness considered to be his first duty. But, for the proper performance of his duties, he required health and domestic happiness for securing which he had married a lady whom he loved from his heart, and now he and the Maharani Holkar proposed to devote themselves to their people's service.

His Highness announced that this marriage will not affect succession to the State.

Patiala

THE REFORMS COMMITTEE

A Committee to scrutinise the existing laws and regulations in the State and suggest amendments and modifications suitable to the present requirements of the State has been appointed by His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala.

The Committee consists of the Minister of Law, Chairman; Foreign and Education Minister, the Government Advocate and Legal Remembrancer, and the Under-Secretary to the Minister of Law, Secretary.

Bhopal

PROHIBITION IN BHOPAL

In the Bhopal Legislative Assembly, a resolution by Pandit Chatar Narein Malaviya to introduce total prohibition in the State was rejected by an overwhelming majority.

INDIANS OVERSEAS

South Africa

INDIA AND SOUTH AFRICA

Reports from South Africa show that the Government of India's suggestion to hold a Round Table Conference over the question of Segregation and other proposed disabilities of Indians in that Dominion has been accepted by the Union Government.

Interviewed on the subject, Mr. G. A. Natesan, Editor of this Review, welcomed the proposal and said:

The proposed legislation to prevent Indians in South Africa from occupying houses within the suburban areas to which the majority of European residents raise objection, is one more attempt to brand our countrymen in South Africa with the bar sinister of inferiority. It is scandalous in conception and will prove in the end to be as dangerous as the provisions of the Class Areas Bill of 1924 and the later ill-fated attempt in 1930 to virtually segregate Indians. It is undoubtedly a clear attempt to deprive Indians of even some of the citizen rights which they have at present.

One is not surprised that the South African Indian Congress has regarded the proposed measure as a matter of life and death to them. They have luckily sent to India a tried patriot and worker in the person of Swami Bavani Dayal, and I do hope he will be able to rouse India to a sense of the gravity of the situation in South Africa.

For over half a century our countrymen in South Africa have been the victims of persecution and ill-treatment in various forms. By their own courage, their strength, their firmness of purpose and their readiness to sacrifice, as in the past, they with the help of the Government of India have been able to prevent attempts so constantly made at their extinction. Fortunately for us in the matter of ill-treatment of Indians overseas, Government of India and Indian nationals speak with one voice.

The representatives of the Union Government at such a conference should be from among the first-rate politicians who have a broad outlook, who will have the courage of their conviction and who will be in a position to influence their countrymen for the better.

There has long been a feeling in our country that most of the ills of Indians overseas is due to India's political inability to assert herself, and that the British Government at home have not been sufficiently strong in demanding fair and equitable treatment for a large section of His Majesty's subjects. First-rate knowledge of the feeling in India and strong representations from the Government of India and the Imperial Government will, I am sure, enable the proposed deputation to restore peace and confidence to the Indians in South Africa and, need I add, better relationship between India and South Africa.

SIR RADHAKRISHNAN'S MESSAGE

Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, in a farewell message to South Africa, says that it is admitted that Indians in South Africa have contributed to some extent to the building up of the country. "I am convinced that they will make even more effective contributions to the general life of this country if they are given a chance to do so."

Sir S. Radhakrishnan recognises that Indians of South Africa are at one in regard to their objective, though there are some differences due to assertion of personalities more than principles. "The strength of honour of the Indian community lies in their united and organised effort to improve their present position. I must emphasise that they must do nothing to make themselves disagreeable or unacceptable to their neighbours.

Malaya

INDIANS IN MALAYA

The needs of Indians in Malaya, their service conditions and questions regarding their owning rubber estates in the Island are among the topics dealt with in the annual report of the Agent of the Government of India in British Malaya for the year 1937 published only recently.

There is a feeling, says the Agent, that in India there should be a strong, representative and influential overseas league or association, non-sectarian and non-political in character which, through its membership and organisations, should bring about a more personal and intimate touch between the mother-country and the two and a half millions of Indians who are living in the overseas countries.

One of the constructive methods to improve the condition of Indians abroad is to develop cultural contacts between India and the Indian colonists.

Ceylon

INDIANS AND SINHALESE

We are prepared to extend our goodwill and co-operation to every community in this country and we are in sympathy with the national aspirations of the people of this country. But it must be clearly understood that we cannot as a very important section of the population accept the position of mere aliens which the Sinhalese leaders wish to thrust upon us," said Mr. R. Rustomjee presiding at the All-Ceylon public meeting of Indians held in Colombo Town Hall on April 2. Continuing, he said:

Let not also Sinhalese community imagine that an unequivocal demand made by us for our political, economic and civic rights is to be interpreted as an indication of hostility. We have been witnessing the growth of this unfortunate tendency in the minds of the Sinhalese leaders in recent times. Time was when the Sinhalese themselves condemned in unmistakable terms the "White Australian" policy of the Commonwealth Government, and the policy of discrimination against Indians pursued by the Governments of East and South Africa. But to-day they are raising the cry of "Ceylon for the Sinhalese", unmindful of the political and economic consequences of such a cry.

No less a person than the Minister of Health himself has warned us that in the near future if the Indian community in this country is not prepared to toe the line at the dictates of the Sinhalese leaders, repercussions such as those witnessed in Burma to-day as a result of the anti-Indian cry raised by the Buddhist Burmese will be witnessed in Ceylon.

We cannot but take such utterances seriously. It is difficult for us to conceive that Britain which has held the scales even between the various communities in her Eastern Empire, will permit on the part of the Sinhalese leaders such action as would not be justified even against aliens who owe no common allegiance to the King-Emperor.

Tanganyika

INDIANS IN TANGANYIKA

The *Indian Social Reporter* advises our countrymen in South Africa not to make common cause with Kenyan Europeans against the German demands for the restoration of Tanganyika.

When the time comes, the British in Kenya will make terms with Germans and impose on them their own anti-Indian prejudices. Incidentally, the argument that Germans are unfit to be entrusted with the control of territories containing native populations because of their oppression of their Jews is patently disingenuous. The Boers and British in Africa are very accommodating to Jews, but that does not make them tender to native Africans or Indians. Indians are opposed to the settlement of Jewish refugees in Kenya, while the Europeans there favour their importation. The Governor of Tanganyika has offered a large area of land for Jewish settlement if the international Jewish organisations will finance the project. If there is truth in the allegation sometimes made that the rival of the Indian in South Africa is the Jew and that anti-Indian measures mainly are to his benefit, the settlement of a large Jewish colony in Tanganyika or Guiana will certainly affect the position of Indians there. We mention all these circumstances and possibilities so that Indian leaders in Africa and in this country may decide upon their course of action in full view of them.

Kenya

KENYA INDIANS

The Hon. Mr. J. B. Pandya, a member of the Executive Council and of the Legislative Council of Kenya, is now on a visit to India. "The question is not merely an economic and a local one. It is an insult to the Indian race," said Mr. Pandya, in an interview, on the Kenya Highlands Order in Council. He said that in effect the Order debarred Indians from acquiring a share of the fertile highlands.

He emphasised that while even a non-British white man could acquire land on the Kenya Highlands, the British Indian subject who, it was claimed by the British Government, enjoyed equal rights in the British Empire was debarred from that privilege.

TOPICS From PERIODICALS

AMERICA AND THE DEMOCRACIES

"There are many methods short of war, but stronger and more effective than mere words of bringing home to aggressor Governments the aggregate sentiments of our own people," said President Roosevelt in his annual message to the American Congress. America's foreign policy seeks to combat the totalitarian states with every means available short of force. The main points in the present American foreign programme are listed in *The Round Table* of March 1939. They are:

1. An intensive armament building program, under which American fighting forces for the coming fiscal year will cost about \$1,500 million.
2. Projection of a naval base at Guam on Japan's front door-step over 3,000 miles west of Hawaii.
3. Extension of trade preferences, meaning economic and perhaps political stability to the Philippines and perhaps eventual "dominion status" for the islands.
4. Substantial financial aid to China.
5. Diplomatic insistence on American "rights" in Asia.
6. Constant verbal warnings and thrusts directed toward the Nazis.
7. Direct assistance to France and Great Britain through the export of American aircraft and other materials.
8. Proposed amendment of the Neutrality Act to assure France and Britain of continued War supplies so long as they can pay for and transport them.
9. Projected economic, monetary, and tariff "sanctions" against the authoritarian Governments.
10. An effort to strengthen economic ties between normal trading nations through reciprocal pacts.
11. An effort to forge inter-American continental solidarity and keep the totalitarian states out of the New World.
12. Every practicable step to aid the Jews, particularly in refugee work.

The armament programme, the Journal adds, will make the American navy second to none comparable only to the British,

It will eventually bring the American air force and aircraft factories up to the German level, particularly if there is a good deal of exporting. It will make the navy's task of defending the western hemisphere a guaranteed success. Most important, perhaps, will be the American aircraft factories if they are an assured secondary source of supply to Great Britain and France.

The proposed naval base at Guam right on the flank of the Marianas and the Carolines is a direct challenge to Japan. But it is thus far a diplomatic move, a blue chip valuable in a possible poker game with Tokyo. Guam is no more than 1,500 miles from that capital. A full American naval base there capable of supporting the American fleet with our unexcelled aircraft carriers, taking planes perhaps half the remaining distance to the Japanese mainland, would greatly threaten Japan's present naval supremacy in her own waters. This is something for Japan to think about as she struggles with the Chinese octopus.

AMERICAN VIEW OF ENGLAND

"We lose either way whether we support England or not," writes Elmer Davis in the *New Republic*, "and the only question is which way we lose more heavily."

"Before Munich, I thought it would be less costly to stay out; but if the British buy themselves off by putting their fleet at Hitler's disposal, God only knows. It would be a different story, we might join in the resistance with some feeling that it would be worth its cost if anybody but the Chamberlain-Hoare-Simon crowd were running England. But if anybody else had been running England in the past few years, Japan would not be half-way across China and fifteen million Czechoslovaks, twenty-odd million Spaniards could still be counted against the Fascist Powers instead of for them. No wonder Hitler has indicated his satisfaction with the present British Government."

"MY STRANGE ILLNESS"

This is the subject of an article contributed to the current number of the *Modern Review* by Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, President of the Congress. It relates in some detail the cause of his illness since he last met Mahatma Gandhi at Wardha after his presidential election.

He points out when he suggested that the meeting of the Working Committee be postponed till the Tripuri Congress Session, he had not the faintest idea that the majority of the members of the Working Committee would resign. He adds:

Much fuss has been made by interested parties over the above suggestion and it has been alleged that I did not permit the Working Committee to transact even routine business. Such an allegation is altogether unfounded.

My concern was over the draft resolutions for the Congress, which are usually framed by the Working Committee on the eve of the annual plenary session. In the second place, in my telegram to Sardar Patel, after giving my views regarding postponement, I requested him to ascertain the views of other members and wire the same to me. The reply to my telegram was the resignation of 12 members.

After describing why he determined to go to Tripuri and while at Tripuri how false rumours were set afloat that he was not really ill until a medical board examined him, Mr. Bose writes:

Owing to the morally sickening atmosphere of Tripuri, I left that place with such a loathing and disgust for politics as I have never felt before during the last 19 years. As I tossed in my bed at Jamadoba by day and by night, I began to ask myself again and again what would become of our public life when there was so much of pettiness and vindictiveness even in the highest circles. My thoughts naturally turned towards what was my first love in life—the eternal call of the Himalayas. At times the call of the Himalayas became insistent. I spent days and nights of moral doubts and uncertainty. Then slowly a new vision dawned on me and I began to recover my mental balance as well as my faith in man and in my countrymen.

Mr. Bose then recounts the nature of his illness and says that amulets etc. were often suggested to him but he had no faith in such a treatment.

PATH TO INDIA'S FREEDOM

The political emancipation of India lies in the intensification of her spiritual ideals, points out Swami Nikhilananda in the latest issue of *Prabuddha Bharata* and not in the blind imitation of Western communism, which is quite unsuited to the cultural genius of the Indian people. He says:

If communism aims at giving people, especially the neglected masses, food, clothing and other amenities of life which are theirs by birthright and at the same time allow them the completest self-unfoldment, which is their divine heritage, then we approve of it. But if it promotes class hatred, if it resorts to violence and oppression in order to silence those who honestly differ with its method, if it destroys one class in order to further the interests of another, if it aims at creating a dead uniformity in society on the basis of materialism alone and if it interferes with man's legitimate freedom in thought, speech, and action, then I submit in all humility that it will not help us in our struggle to emancipate the nation from its present stage of degradation. No civilization or culture can be created or developed on the basis of class prejudice alone.

Everywhere in the world, continues Swamiji, a high degree of culture has been achieved only by religion.

The tall sky-crappers of New York, the concrete roads in the Alps over which rumble on high-powered motor trucks, the battleships, the air-planes or the underground fortresses are not the indicators of European civilisation. Take away from Europe the great monuments of religion and it will appear bleak and desolate. The masterpieces of Raphael, De Vinci and Michael Angelo have been inspired by religion. The *leit-motif* behind the creations of Brahmin, Beethoven, and Wagner has been religious. Take away the sculptural exhibits inspired by religion from the pillared museums of France and Italy and there will be nothing left to attract the world's attention. The cathedrals of Rheims and Milan, the flowering of the Gothic architecture, testify to the religious fervour of the Middle Ages. And in point of literary excellence, the Holy Bible still stands superior to Shakespeare, Milton, Wordsworth or Browning.

Many radical changes in our society are quite necessary, agrees Swami Nikhilananda, but he warns

in order that these reforms may be conducive to our national welfare, they must be in tune with our inherited instincts and racial traditions. Any scheme of reforms in India which is not in keeping with our spiritual ideal must fail and if it ever succeeds, it will certainly destroy our society.

THE MIDDLE CLASS MENTALITY

"M. M. J.", writing in the *Humata* for March, says that Persis present to the world the strange phenomenon of a community composed entirely of the middle classes.

We have a lower middle and a higher middle grade but no labour class, menial or servant section or any of the so-called "lower strata" of society that may or may not be something on which we can pride ourselves, but it seems to me that the entire tragedy of our community lies in the fact that some of us are either by tradition, socially, intellectually or spiritually aristocratic. A true aristocracy has always been the repository of art, culture, of fine and gracious living, of all those qualities which make up that wonderful composite known as "breeding". Our trouble has been that we have no one to imitate, to look up to, or live up to in our own ranks.

When money descends on a Parsi, he is not called upon to make any cultural or intellectual adjustments, but he

migrates from his two rooms and a kitchen to a large and opulent bungalow over-stocked, over-furnished and over-decorated, subscribes a couple of lakhs to some senseless charity or another, decks his wife and children with the maximum of expensive things, touts them off to Europe to see all the obvious places and do all the obvious things and lives at just the same level of unawareness that he has done before. He has not the opportunity to realise that there are other values besides economic values and that they are far more important than those he has been taught to worship, or has unconsciously learnt to worship all his life.

The pest of the twentieth century is the middle class mentality, the feeble, half baked and melancholy compromise between the wholesome attitude of the peasant and the elegant, sophisticated and brightened sensibilities of the aristocrat.

That kind of sophistication into which the individual flowers through experience is a thing one cannot in one's wildest dreams imagine as belonging to one of us. And yet if we are to get anywhere, we have to realise that it is the measure of a man's sensibilities which determine the stage of evolution he has reached; that it is not enough to live well but that it is important to live fully; that a man must be willing to endure hunger and thirst, scourge his body, undertake arduous pilgrimages for the sake of finding the truth, creating beauty and understanding the loveliness of human souls.

GANDHIJI'S FAST

Gandhiji's public fasts are not instances of reckless martyrdom but the *tour de force* of his campaign of non-violence," writes the *Indian Affairs* explaining the significance of the fast.

Equally, it is foolish, the journal continues, to regard fasting as the means of achieving victory in every political issue. The anti-Hindi agitators, for instance, who took to fasting even at the door-steps of the Mahatma, could not understand the difference between Gandhiji's fast, and their own.

"Where was the spirit of non-violence, the sanction of a wide-spread popular movement, the restraint that cries halt almost at the moment of triumph, the clear-cut issue, not to speak of the towering personality which alone can quicken the moral conscience of a whole people? When Gandhiji fasts, he supplies moral nutrition alike to rulers and the ruled."

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PROHIBITION

Now that the Major Provinces have formulated a programme of prohibition, Mr. V. G. Ramakrishnan's examination of its financial implications in the pages of the *New Review* for April is of particular interest. The total revenue of British India from restrictive Excise varied from 20 to 21 crores of rupees.

The percentage of Excise to total revenue in the various Provinces is as follows:—Madras 39; Bihar & Orissa taken together 34; Bombay 28; the U. P. 12; the Punjab, 11. It is evident from this that of all the Provinces, Madras stands first in the matter of Excise revenue and that a policy of total prohibition would financially affect Madras more seriously than the other Provinces.

Mr. Ramakrishnan reviews the position of the Provinces one after another with special reference to the results of prohibition in limited areas. Writing of a typical village in the Madras Presidency, where the experiment has been carried out, he observes:

With the advent of prohibition, there has been a great improvement in the standard of living of at least 17 families.

More money is spent on the necessities of life and debt liquidation too is facilitated. It is computed that between October 1937 and June 1938 the money saved by the people of this village was about 75 lakhs of rupees. That is, after prohibition 7 lakhs of addicts had a per capita increase of income of Rs. 11 for 9 months. There has also been a diversion of expenditure from unwholesome to fruitful channels. Money-lenders who were supplying loans, report a fall in the demand for loans. Crimes too are on the decline, for the average man is not a wilful addict but only drifts into the habit through sheer pressure of circumstances.

What is true of one place is equally true of others. But "the financial implication of total prohibition in Madras will ultimately be a loss of revenue of about 4½ crores per annum, for which additional taxation will have to be introduced in the form of death duties, agricultural income-tax, and tobacco tax".

It is worth mentioning in this connection that, apart from a sudden and dramatic introduction of prohibition, experiments might be made in the industrial use of alcohol so that the resources of the country now devoted to the production of

drink might be utilized in more profitable and less harmful ways. The U. P. Government have set up a Committee to devise ways and means to manufacture power alcohol from molasses. It has been estimated that unless power alcohol is about 15 per cent. cheaper than petrol, it cannot compete with it.

All efforts should, therefore, be concentrated on the introduction of power at the cheapest possible rate. Already four Provinces are conducting experiments in this direction—Madras, Bombay, Bihar, and the U. P.—and we shall await with interest the commercial possibilities of these provincial experiments and see how far they are likely to fill the financial gap created by prohibition programmes.

THE CHAMBER OF PRINCES

Suggesting that the attention of the Indian Chamber of Princes must be directed into other useful channels for the common welfare of India, Sardar Rao Bahadur M. V. Kibe writes in *Triveni*:

"The present condition of the League of Nations ought to be taken into consideration. The growth of nationalism has been fatal to the full growth of the League. Yet, it has been doing a steady and useful work in matters of a technical and humanitarian nature in which the states of the world, which had held aloof from the beginning, are co-operating. There is ample scope for such activities on the part of the Chamber."

Indeed, had it taken these up previously, it would not have been reduced to its present plight. In these matters even the Autonomous Provinces in British India will join hands, not to speak of the Federal Government when it comes into existence. In fact, the initiative is passing into other hands. Will the Princes take note of this development? All their well-wishers hope that they will take note at any rate before it is not too late by rejuvenating the Chamber of Princes.

THE HINDU SOCIAL ORDER

What is the end of the State according to the Indian conception, asks Mr. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar in the *Aryan Path*. It is to ensure the liberty of the citizen and to secure the general moral welfare.

Thus the state was not a centralised despotism but a benevolent monarchy; the king was looked upon by his subjects as a father. The proper position of the Hindu state has hardly been realised by modern critics. Every effort was made by ancient kings to found a cultural state in several cases with success; the names of Chandragupta Maurya, Asoka, Samudragupta, Harsha, and others may be mentioned. One way of promoting the moral welfare of society was to see that all castes conducted themselves aright in their respective orders. If they swerved from the ordained path, the state had the right to punish them. In this way the state, which represented the common will, helped the promotion of the common good.

The Hindu social division aimed at unity in diversity. It had, unlike the modern social organisation of the West elements of permanence, side by side with orderly movement.

Being saturated by ideals of common good there was nothing too high, nothing too low, in that social organisation. Each individual rose to his full mental vigour in his own sphere and made his mark. In the light of a stanza in the *Mahabharata*, the so-called superiority of caste disappears. It says: "He who would serve as the shore on the shoreless place and as a boat in the boatless place, is always entitled to respect, whether he be a Sudra or any other." Such an elaborate organisation made it possible to absorb the activity of the individual in different forms of social grouping, where the individual, to repeat again, merged himself in the general will of the state.

Hindu social organisation very nearly approximates to the Platonic doctrine of justice, which included a society divided into three classes according to function. Thus the Indian system stands in striking contrast to the modern totalitarian state, where the worth of the individual as such is not regarded.

THE GANDHIAN WAY

Dr. Kagawa, the Japanese Christian leader, recently paid a visit to Mahatma Gandhi. The following is the conversation as recorded by the Editor of *Harijan*:

'What is the feeling of people in Japan about the war,' asked Gandhiji.

'I am rather a heretic in Japan, said Dr. Kagawa. Rather than express my views, I would like to learn from you what you would do if you were in my position.'

'It would be presumptuous for me to express my views.'

'No, I would like very much to know what you would do.'

'I would declare my heresies and be shot.'

'I would put the co-operatives and all your work in one scale and put the honour of your nation in the other and if you found that the honour was being sold, I should ask you to declare your views against Japan and in so doing make Japan live through your death. But for this inner conviction is necessary. I do not know that I should be able to do all that I have said if I were in your position, but I must give you my opinion since you have asked for it.'

'The conviction is there. But friends have been asking me to desist.'

'Well, don't listen to friends when the Friend inside you says: "Do this." And friends, however good, can sometimes easily deceive us. They cannot argue otherwise. They would ask you to live and do your work. The same appeal was made to me when I took the decision to go to jail. But I did not listen to friends with the result that I found the glow of freedom when I was confined within the four solid walls of prison.'

PARLIAMENTARY LIFE

"In all parties there is a lack of men of ability between the ages of 40 and 55," writes Sir Charles Petrie, BART., in the March *Windsor Magazine*, discussing "Possible Prime Ministers of the Future".

The members of the present Cabinet are for the most part far beyond what is usually accepted as the prime of life, but the generation which should be treading on their heels does not exist. It lies in its graves in Flanders, in Gallipoli, and in Irak.

There can be no gainsaying the fact that a Parliamentary career is a risky business for a young man without sufficient money or influence to obtain a safe seat at the beginning.

Just when he is successfully launched at Westminster and has been given his first appointment, he may be defeated; then he may quite likely have to wait three or four years before he is able to get back into the House again. By that time his contemporaries with safer seats, though not necessarily with greater ability, will have been promoted over his head, and he must start afresh.

Financially, the M. P. is better off than he was a few years ago, but it is doubtful if more than a handful of members, at any rate on the Government side, save a penny of their £600 a year. An election may cost anything up to £1,000, and there has, since the War, on an average been one every three and a half years; most constituencies expect an annual subscription of not less than £200 and then there are incidental expenses, of which postage and entertaining are not the least.

Nor is this all; for it is not easy for a young man to make a living while a Member of Parliament. To-day to be an M. P. is practically a whole-time job.

The older men may acquire remunerative directorships which interfere little, if at all, with their Parliamentary duties, but such things do not come the way of youth.

To succeed at Westminster, and earn a livelihood elsewhere at the same time, means unremitting toil. In these circumstances what is

remarkable is not that there are so few but rather that there are so many young men of promise in Parliament. The temptation to go into the City was never so great as to-day.

In business or a profession there is, too, relative security of tenure, which is certainly not to be found at Westminster. It is, of course, true that for these reasons many a young man has eschewed a political career who in the past would have adopted one, but the fact that this tendency has not become universal is in itself a tribute to the public spirit of the much abused younger generation.

By JAWAHAR LAL NEHRU

The remarkable human being whose name is Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru is, next to Mr. Gandhi, the most important Indian in India, writes John Gunther in *Asia*. "This handsome, cultivated, and exceptionally fastidious and sensitive Kashmiri Brahman, who is generally accepted as the Mahatma's successor in the nationalist movement, is not so baffling a creature as Mr. Gandhi, but he has complexities enough. The struggle in Nehru is triple. He is an Indian, who became a Westerner; an aristocrat who became socialist; an individualist, who became a great mass leader. More than this, he is a man with a modern mind, a man of reason, a devout—if this is the proper adjective—rationalist. And in India—the continent of caste and holy cattle, of religious fanaticism in an extreme degree—India, which is a sort of cesspool of rival faiths, but in which faith, any faith, is a paramount desideratum! Nehru the agnostic, Nehru the modern man, faces the colossal mediaevalism of India. He fights the British, but he fights the entrenched conventions of ritualism of his own people too. His struggle is that of twentieth century mind, trying to make a revolution of material going back beyond the Middle Ages."

PRACTICAL VEDANTA

Swami Pranavesananda, writing in the *Vedanta Kesari*, makes a comparative study of the teachings of Sri Krishna and Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa. The author of the Gita, he says

repeatedly goads us to work. Yoga is dexterity in work. We have to work in this world without attachment to reward or punishment, with mastery over one's body, senses, and mind.

Sri Ramakrishna also made Vedanta practical in all fields of life and places of existence. Before his advent, Vedanta was being worked out only by sanyasins and recluses on the plane of spirituality in caves and forests. He, on the other hand, showed that the truths of religion can be practised by one and all, not only by sanyasins but also by students and householders in the midst of their sorrows and troubles.

Sri Krishna attempts to synthesise in the Gita the different schools of Vedanta philosophy, Sankhya doctrines, Mimamsa injunctions and Bhakti cults prevailing at his time and correct their extravagances.

That is why we find in it conflicting views about the means of discipline and end of freedom. Yet he harmonises them and shows them the exact place and value of each of them.

The Gita recognises that the Infinite God can be approached and worshipped through any of his aspects. Through this tolerant spirit, Sri Krishna made Hinduism a synthesis of different kinds of worship and spiritual experience, a harmony of all cults, creeds and systems of spiritual culture based on the fact that the one Truth has many aspects.

Although during his lifetime, Sri Krishna attempted to combine the different forces as there was no practical sanction behind that unity, the sects went on with their campaign of mutual hatred and fight till India became hopelessly divided and fell an easy prey to foreign conquerors.

In order to remedy this evil, immensely magnified by the passage of time and to

effect a solid unity among the different peoples of India, the merciful Sri Krishna, we are told, came again in the form of Sri Ramakrishna. He not only harmonised but also kept the door open for synthesising all religious ideas that might crop up in the future; for, human mind is ever progressing and broadening.

India to-day is the home of all religions and in order to meet the demands of this age, it looks as if the same Sri Krishna, who united the different sects and aspects within the fold of Hinduism, came again as Sri Ramakrishna, in order to show that the religion of the Hindus is universal and has in it the monotheistic view of the Islamic religion and the dualistic aspect of the Christian religion and can easily absorb all the religions in its fold, just as Sankara made it possible for Buddhism to be absorbed into Hinduism.

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NO COMPROMISE WITH VIOLENCE

"Mussolini, like Hitler, understands only one kind of argument—firmness with adequate strength behind it," says Mr. Wickham Steed in the *Contemporary Review*. "It is true that the Italian people and the German people do not want war. Mussolini knows it; Hitler knows it. But it is truer that the German and the Italian peoples will have no say in the matter if Hitler and Mussolini push their threats to the point of war. Neither the Italian nor the German people has any real dislike of 'peaceful' concessions extorted from us or France by threat of war; and every such concession rivets Mussolini's and Hitler's hold upon their respective countries. The only way to save those countries and our own from war is, I am convinced, forthwith to show that we will yield nothing, nor will we advise France to yield anything to threat of war; and that we take our stand not on the defence of this or that territory or strategic position, but on the principle which we have, so long trampled underfoot—that until lawless violence ceases to be the rule in international affairs, those who follow this rule and spurn both human right and democratic freedom, must reckon with our unflinching resistance.

With the rule of violence we cannot compromise, nor can we make fear—masquerading as prudence or appeasement—our counsellor when we are bidden to 'stand and deliver' colonies or anything else. Otherwise we shall merit all the evil that will come upon us. But we need to be quite clear in our minds that in withholding the rule of violence and armed menace, we shall be challenging the very existence of the totalitarian systems."

RELIGION IN RUSSIA

Views about Russia are still as varied as ever before. Why did Russia discard religion, asks Mr. Basant Kumar Chatterjee in *Kalyana Kalpataru*, and answers as follows:—

"Bolshevism has attacked religion in the garb of philanthropy. Hence it is that in Russia although churches are destroyed, theatres, bioscopes and other means of enjoyment have not been prohibited.

If it were true that Russia has accepted philanthropy as the only aim of life, it would have prevented the large expenditure of money on these means of enjoyment. As a matter of fact, Bolshevism has taken enjoyment of the senses as the aim of life and because religion is an obstacle to enjoyment, it has declared a crusade against religion. It is following the path of pleasure without religion and is wading through immorality and licentiousness."

INDIA IN PERIODICALS

ECONOMIC PLANNING FOR INDIA. By Dr. P. S. Loka Nath. [The New Review, April 1939.]

INDIAN INFLUENCE ON WESTERN THOUGHT. By Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji. [The Aryan Path, April 1939.]

IS CONVERSATION ALIEN TO THE SPIRIT OF HINDUISM. By Dr. A. S. Altekar, M.A. [Prabuddha Bharata, April 1939.]

CHRISTIAN EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS IN INDIA. By Dr. H. C. Mookerjee, M.A., Ph.D. [The Modern Review, April 1939.]

INDIAN FEDERATION. By Prof. Sri Ram Sharma. [The Twentieth Century, April 1939.]

INDIA'S MINERAL WEALTH. [Science and Culture, March 1939.]

NUNNERY SCHOOLS IN INDIA. By G. J. Bhatt. [Humania, March 1939.]

THE BAROVENKARTON OR THE PRINCES' CHAMBERS. By Sardar Rao Bahadur M. V. Kiba. [Triveni, March 1939.]



H. E. LORD LINLITHGOW
Viceroy and Governor-General of India

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS | DEPARTMENTAL | NOTES

Questions of Importance

WAR EMERGENCY MEASURES

The main provision in the Bill to amend the Government of India Act introduced in the House of Lords on the 5th April is thus explained in a New Delhi message:

Under Section 102 of the Act, the Governor-General could proclaim an emergency and when he has done that the Central Legislature would have wide and unfettered power to legislate on any subject including subjects in the Provincial List. But the section leaves unchanged the executive relations between the Central and Provincial Governments. The amendment is designed to correct this position and to secure for the Centre essential powers of direction and control without, however, aiming at any general inroad into provincial powers.

The amendment proposed consists of the addition of a new clause as Section 126A to the Act as follows:

Where a proclamation of emergency is in operation whereby the Governor-General has decided that the security of India is threatened by war—

(a) The executive authority of the Federation shall extend to the giving of directions to a province as to the manner in which the executive authority thereof is to be exercised, and any directions so given shall, for the purposes of the last preceding section, be deemed to be directions given thereunder.

(b) Any power of the Federal Legislature to make laws for a province with respect to any matter shall include power to make laws as respects a province conferring powers and imposing duties or authorising the conferring of powers and the imposition of duties upon the Federation or officers and authorities of the Federation as respects that matter, notwithstanding that it is one with respect to which the provincial legislature also has power to make laws, etc. etc.

At the Second Reading of the Bill in the House of Lords on April 25, Lord Zetland assured the House that it was "simply and solely a war measure and nothing more".

THE RAJKOT AWARD

Sir Maurice Gwyer, Chief Justice of India, to whom H. E. the Viceroy referred the Rajkot dispute for arbitration, gave his verdict on April 8.

Referring to the documents under dispute, Sir Maurice Gwyer declares that according to them the Thakore Sahib undertook to appoint the persons recommended by Mr. Vallabhai Patel and that he did not reserve to himself any discretion to reject those of whom he disapproved.

The Thakore Sahib, says the Chief Justice, was entitled to criticize the recommendations and to urge their reconsiderations but unless it could be shown that any of the persons were neither servants nor subjects of the State, Mr. Vallabhai Patel was entitled to have the last word.

"It is true," he says, "that the appointment of all the members of the committee is vested in the Thakore Sahib alone even when they are recommended by Mr. Patel. A committee of this kind could scarcely come into existence in any other way."

"There is nothing inconsistent between the reservation by the Thakore Sahib of the right of appointment and an undertaking by him to appoint a certain number of persons who are recommended by another."

With regard to the appointment of the chairman of the committee, he says that the second paragraph of the notification of December 26 restricts the number of members of the committee to 10 and that, therefore, the chairman, who is to be appointed by the Thakore Sahib, must be one of the 10 and not an additional member.

Utterances of the Day

DR. MUKHERJEE ON PROHIBITION

Dr. H. G. Mukherjee, M.L.A., Head of the Department of English, Calcutta University, delivered on April 8 a public lecture under the caption "Is Prohibition practicable?" In the course of his speech, he said:

We have come to realise the damage done to our motherland by using stimulants and narcotics and all educated and uneducated, Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, and Christian should unite to root out this evil from our country. I contend that in the face of the universal demand which exists for the introduction of prohibition, it is the duty of every responsible Ministry to take immediate steps to make this movement an absolute success. No consideration of the revenue which may have to be sacrificed should be allowed to influence my Government in the decision regarding this vital question.

Turning towards the activities of the Congress provinces in favour of prohibition, Dr. Mukherjee observed.

The success of the prohibition campaign in the different Congress provinces has proved that it is not at all necessary to wait and see if once public opinion can be mobilised in its favour. How this can be done successfully may easily be ascertained by reference to the respective governments. My experience in Madras has convinced me that this can be done. The time has passed when prohibition was at the experimental stage.

Assuring the people who would think that adoption of prohibition entailed a serious loss of revenue, he said:

This argument of loss in revenue is very dangerous on account of the temptation it holds out to a number of people who are led to overlook the immense gains which would accrue to the addicts by prohibition by legislation.

Marshalling all past experiences of other countries and their great men, Dr. Mukherjee went on to say

Sir Josiah Stamp has shown that if the money spent on drink was diverted to other channels, there would be more and better food for the children, additional clothing and more amenities and an increase in the general savings of people. There is an incontrovertible relation between drink and poverty, and often between drink, crime, and immorality.

No relief from the burden of taxation can ever be expected by retaining the present system. On the other hand, an increase in the revenue from more prosperous citizens can be looked for only when abstinence and temperance are universal. The opinion of Joseph Chamberlain whom no one can ever dream of labelling as a prohibition crank

is worth remembering. He said, "If I had an enchanter's wand and could destroy in one day the desire for strong drink in English people, what changes we should see; we should see our taxation reduced by millions sterling in a year, we should see our jails and workhouses almost empty; we should see more lives saved in twelve months than are consumed in a country of bitter savage war; we should transform the whole country. Let us not think that what is true of England is not true of our country."

Dr. Mukherjee, collecting reports on Prohibition activities in the Congress provinces, remarked finally that the social and moral effects of prohibition had been remarkable, the position of women and children among working classes in particular had substantially improved.

CHAMBERLAIN ON BRITISH POLICY

Mr. Chamberlain, speaking in the House of Commons on April 8, reiterated British support to Poland and declared that it was "a tremendous departure from anything that this country had undertaken and constituted, if not a new epoch, a new point in their foreign policy."

If Poland were threatened, I have no doubt that the Polish people would resist. In that case, the declaration means that France and ourselves would immediately come to her assistance.

German assurances have now been flung to the winds. That is the new fact which has completely destroyed confidence and forced the British Government to make a great departure. I am not asserting that a German challenge has been made officially, but it is no exaggeration to say that public opinion throughout the whole world has been profoundly shocked and alarmed. This country is united from end to end in the conviction that we must make our position clear and unmistakable whatever may be the results.

There is no threat to Germany so long as Germany is a good neighbour. I am no more a man of war to-day than I was in September. I have no intention and no desire to treat the great German people otherwise than I would have our own people treated here. I was looking forward with strong hopes to the result of the trade discussions, but confidence so grievously shaken is not easily restored.

We are now entering into a specific engagement. If this German policy were pursued, Poland would not be the only country in danger. We welcome the co-operation of any country, whatever its internal system of government, not in aggression but in a resistance to aggression.

THE COMMUNAL BOGIEY

The communal question with particular reference to the allegations by Muslim League Leaders regarding the so-called "oppression" of Muslim minorities is the subject of a vigorously worded statement by Mr. S. Satyamurthi, M.L.A. Mr. Satyamurthi suggests that the Premiers of all Congress Provinces should issue a categorical joint statement regarding the Muslim League allegations and "proving that there is no basis for these wild allegations made deliberately to foment communal hatred".

I want to invite the attention of the people and of the Governments in this country to the speeches of these gentlemen which read by ignorant people are calculated to incite them to violence; such phrases as 'fighting with coats off,' 'going down dying,' reminding them of 'their past achievements in conquering India' and such appeals to passion and prejudice are bound to result, as contemporary events show, in riots and disturbances.

The law is no respecter of persons and I think that if law and order are to be enforced, the tallest must be taught that the extent of their tallness is the extent of their responsibility. This appeal is sought to be enforced by continual assertions in spite of the continual contradictions of so-called 'oppression' of Muslim minorities in the Congress provinces.

"The perpetuation of separate electorates is not only a danger to democratic government but is also becoming a danger to peaceful government of any kind.

This problem must be solved on a provincial basis and joint electorates should be introduced wherever possible with the consent of the minorities concerned and with reservation of seats for minorities on a just and generous scale.

In this connection we must add that Hindu communalists are no less to blame than the Muslim communalists and it is the duty of all friends of peaceful and ordered progress in this country to put a stop to this violent incitement on the part of people, Hindu and Muslim, who ought to know better, to this false and malicious propaganda of 'oppression' of minorities in the Congress provinces and to this fantastic demand of vivisecting the country.

I appeal to the best minds of both communities to adjust their differences in peaceful and honourable ways and achieve the freedom of India which is the common objective of the Congress and the Muslim League."

THE SALES TAX BILL

As we go to Press, the Select Committee, which examined the Madras Sales Turnover Tax Bill, has made its report which leaves the Bill substantially unaltered though with a few changes incorporated in the light of the examination. The rate remains the same, namely, 1 per cent. on turnover, but this percentage is made applicable to all turnover exceeding Rs. 10,000 per annum, the second slab, Rs. 10,000 to Rs. 20,000 having been eliminated. Dealers whose turnover is less than Rs. 10,000 will pay Rs. 5 per mensem, a reduction of Rs. 15 per year, and one which brings their total payment to a figure more nearly 1 per cent. The Bill as revised specifies the goods which it is proposed to exempt from its operation either wholly or partially. Stocks and shares, securities, bullion, cotton and yarn, and handwoven cloth sold by persons dealing in them exclusively are to be exempt from liability to pay the tax. Hides and skins are to be taxed at one stage only. Another category of goods which will receive special treatment is wholly manufactured goods exported to places outside the Province. In their case, provision is made for a 50 per cent. rebate.

PROHIBITION IN U. P.

The second anniversary of the introduction of Provincial Autonomy in the United Provinces in March 31 was marked by the extension of Prohibition to four more districts in the province: Bijnor, Badarpur, Farrukhabad, and Jaunpur. The total area of these districts is 6,998 square miles with a total population of 8,959,111.

Etah and Mainpuri districts covering 3,892 square miles with a population of 1,810,111 were declared "dry" in April 1938.

DR. SAPRU'S WARNING

In his convocation address to the Gauhati University, Sir Tej Babadur Sapru took occasion to tackle the problem of education in India in a realistic manner. "While religion and politics divide society into sections and accentuate the acerbities of opinion," he said, "the pursuit of common culture tends to unite us and soften those acerbities." That is the key-note of his address.

Unemployment among the educated and discipline among the students—two topics of immediate interest in the country—engaged his attention. He would have our education in the three stages—primary, secondary, and university—reorganised to suit the conditions of each area.

Stressing the need for discipline, he deprecated the methods of the factory in the school room.

Young men have got to recognise—and must be made to recognise—that there is no affinity between a university and an industrial concern, and a strike against the university or against the teachers is, in my judgment, a strike against knowledge, culture, and good manners.

But, even worse than the ordinary strikes are the hunger-strikes resorted to by some young men to enforce their will or their judgment against the will and judgment of those who are in authority over them.

It is hardly necessary to draw attention to the appositeness of these remarks to the situation in more than one university in India.

TEACHING OF HINDUSTANI

The Madras Government have decided to introduce compulsory teaching of Hindustani in one hundred more secondary schools in different parts of the Presidency in the year 1939-40. It will be remembered that the compulsory teaching of the language was first introduced by the Government last year in a group of one hundred secondary schools.

POWER-POLITICS

Sir G. S. Bajpai, Secretary to the Government of India in the Department of Education, Health and Lands, summed up the thesis of his Convocation address to the Delhi University in these words:

The quest of political and economic power is both an urge of human nature and a necessity of civilisation. Rightly used, it is not immoral. It is evil only when directed to curtail man's legitimate freedom or corrupt his will. The crux of the matter, therefore, is how power, be it political or economic, is used. It must seek to assure to every citizen the fullest scope for self-expression.

Sir Girja said that power was one of those words for which few people could find a concise definition. Broadly, it may be described as an ability to produce an intended effect.

Acton's phrase—that all power corrupts—was too wide to be true. It was not the possession of power, but the use to which power was put that determined its morality. The political power of the State, based on the consent of the governed, was not only objectionable but essential for human progress.

He emphasized that, in its origin, the power of both the democratic and totalitarian State may be popular.

But the methods that duped or destroyed one's freedom of choice would rob assent of all title to that name and only convert it into an uneasy mask for what was in reality coercion. Judged by the test of the purpose to which totalitarian power was put, it failed to satisfy any rational moral standard. What action said of absolute power was true historically of all experiments in domination. Where the individual was looked upon as the means to an end and not an end in himself, the power of the State turned into tyranny.

Sir G. S. Bajpai next addressed himself to the question as to what should be the true aim of power of the State. The answer was, he said, simple.

The ideal aim of such power must be to secure to each individual the fullest opportunity for self-expression. The ultimate purpose of man is man himself. The power of the State must, therefore, be harmonised with the liberty of the individual.

Legal

WOMAN'S CLAIM FOR MAINTENANCE

A case of pathetic interest came up before Mr. Justice Krishnaswami Iyengar of the Madras High Court. It was that of a girl wife ill-treated by her husband. In his learned judgment, His Lordship pointed out when ill-treatment of a wife amounts to legal cruelty. In allowing the woman's claim for maintenance, His Lordship observed:

This is a very unfortunate case. Within less than a year of the marriage, the quarrels between the husband and the wife, which seem to have started almost immediately, came to a head resulting in separation, followed soon after by the suit for maintenance. Both the courts below have concurred in rejecting the claim hoping at the same time that a reconciliation would take place.

But the gulf widened and reconciliation became impossible. The respondent would not have the appellant except on one condition, namely, that she should be a complete slave to his will in everything.

The appellant's errors were those of a girl wife, too young to understand life and too inexperienced to realise the probable consequences of her husband's displeasures.

The ill treatment and chastisements to which the respondent subjected her were the result of a settled conviction that a husband has the right to apply physical violence and inflict corporal punishment on a wife who does not conform to his wishes even in matters of dress or other equally non essential particulars. It may be desirable that the wife should, as far as possible, yield to the husband and conduct herself according to his tastes. But I cannot agree that either her omission to accept his dictates in matters which do not affect the purity of her character or her conduct towards him so long as it does not degenerate into positive misbehaviour justifies the husband's inflicting physical punishment. Neither can it warrant her being cast off without even the right to be maintained by him.

Her civil rights, in this regard, are not forfeited by any and every act of insubordination even though it be but venial or inconsequential. Judged by this test, which I consider is the only proper test, I hold that the appellant has not by her conduct forfeited her right to maintenance. The courts below have erred in not paying due regard to the age and inexperience of the appellant nor did they take note of the wrong mentality displayed by the respondent which was the cause of the ill-treatment and the troubles that followed.

THE T. N. & Q. BANK

The Privy Council dismissed the appeal filed by the ex-Directors of the Travancore National and Quilon Bank (in liquidation) against the judgment of the Madras High Court regarding the legality of the extradition warrant.

In pursuance of an order issued by the Chief Presidency Magistrate at Madras on warrants issued by the Resident, Madras States, Trivandrum, Messrs K. C. Mammen Mapillai, C. P. Matthen, K. M. Eapen and K. V. Verghese, ex-Directors of the Travancore National and Quilon Bank, Ltd., were sent in custody and escort, on April 4, to Trivandrum where they are under State custody while the case against them is proceeding.

PROSECUTING OFFICERS

The Madras Government have ordered that, as an experiment, prosecuting Police Officers in the Mofussil be replaced by Advocates. The experiment will be tried for some time in five districts, one of them being Malabar. The prosecuting Police Officers in those districts will be reverted to executive police work.

The scheme, it is understood, will be extended to other districts if the experiment is successful.

HIGH COURT FOR SIND

A resolution urging the Government of India to convert the Judicial Commissioner's Court at Karachi into a High Court in Sind was passed at a largely attended meeting of Sind Bar Association.

IN GANDHIJI'S LIFE INSURABLE?

This is the subject of an interesting article in the current issue of the *Insurance Herald*. It will be remembered that on the eve of his historic Rajghat fast, Mahatma Gandhi, in the course of a statement, said:

A breach of promise shakes me to my root, especially when I am in any way connected with the author of the breach, and if it cost my life, which after all at the age of 70 has no insurance value, I shall most willingly give it in order to secure due performance of a sacred and solemn promise.

To his countrymen the life of Gandhiji is invaluable, and India cannot think of any assessment of the value of Gandhiji's life in terms of money. But the question of an insurance policy on the life of Gandhiji can be discussed from an impersonal, scientific point of view. The *Insurance World* requested an eminent Actuary (Fellow) to ascertain the premium at which a policy could be issued on Gandhiji's life. Here is the quotation:-

Normal mortality above age 70 years.

According to Oriental experience (Vaidyanathan) actual deaths about 105 $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. of deaths expected by OM (5) Table. Normal mortality above age 70 has been assumed to be OM (5) with 5 years added to the age.

Gandhiji's Blood Pressure—Systolic 160 m.m.
Diastolic 90 m.m.

Normal " Systolic about 137 m.m.
 " Diastolic about 87 m.m.

Departure from Normal Diastolic + 3 m.m.
" " Systolic + 23 m.m.

From a table published by Hunter in J. I. A. Vol. LXV p. 78 (the data collected from the experience of New York Life 1923-32) in the case of above departures from normal blood pressure the ratio of actual to expected deaths would be 132 per cent. The experience of the Metropolitan of New York (1922-31) giving the departures from average Systolic B. P. gives the ratio of the actual to expected deaths as 148 per cent.

In the present calculation it is assumed that the ratio of actual to expected deaths would be about 200 per cent.

On this basis, the premium for a 10 years' Double Indemnity Assurance (sum assured Rs. 1,000 on death or Rs. 1,000 on survival) comes to Rs. 305.6/-, the annual premium for the same age being Rs. 30.6/-/-/-.

INSURANCE ACT, 1988

Official announcement has been made by the Government of India that the Insurance Act of 1988 shall come into force on the 1st July, 1989.

The Insurance Amendment Act (1989) had been duly passed by the Central Assembly and the Council of State, and it received the assent of the Governor-General on the 28th March 1989.

The provisions made by the Select Committee of the Central Assembly were duly incorporated in the Act. No material change has been made thereafter.

The revised Draft Rules under the Insurance Act, 1988, have been published in New Delhi on the 1st April, 1989.

The most important changes in the revised draft are:

(1) Rule 4 in the original draft regarding definition of Insurance business transacted in India has been entirely deleted.

(2) Regarding election of policyholders' Directors,

(a) the minimum qualification is fixed as holding policies of Rs. 2,000 in companies of over five years' standing and Rs. 1,000 in other cases,

(b) the meeting for election can be convened by publishing notices in newspapers or by sending same by post to every policyholder.

(c) votes may be given either personally or by proxy.

INDIAN ENTERPRISE ABROAD

Some Indian Life offices have extended their operations outside India, mostly in British East Africa, Ceylon, and Straits Settlements. The total new sums assured by these offices outside India in 1986 amounted to Rs. 1,80,00,000 yielding a premium income of Rs. 11,00,000.

PROTECTION FOR HOME INDUSTRIES

The Government of India has announced its decision regarding further protection to the sugar, paper, wood-pulp, and magnesium chloride industries of India.

In regard to the first, the Government proposes to fix the amount of protection accorded to the Indian sugar industry for a period of two years from April 1, 1939 to March 31, 1941. During this period the Government proposes to impose the present protective duty less 8 annas per cwt.

The Government agrees with the Tariff Board that it is necessary to continue the protection to the paper industry, but it has not found it possible to accept the Board's conclusions with regard to the measure of protection. The Government also considers that no case has been made out for the continued protection of woodpulp. In regard to magnesium chloride, the Government has decided to impose a duty of 18 annas per cwt.

TRADE BETWEEN JAPAN AND INDIA

The trade balance which was favourable to India to the extent of 27,600,000 yen in 1937 went in favour of Japan to the extent of 10,800,000 yen, states the quarterly report of the Indian Government Trade Commissioner in Japan for the period July to September 1938. As compared with 1937, exports showed a decline of 45·8 per cent. and imports of 68·4 per cent.

Indian rubber and guttapercha, which accounted for imports valued at 87,400 yen during the last quarter, disappeared altogether from the foreign trade accounts. Oil-cake met with a similar fate, whereas imports of beans and peas, which in the corresponding quarter of 1936 and 1937 were valued at nearly a million yen, were reduced to negligible proportions.

THE NEW TAX: ITS PROS AND CONS

The Madras General Sales Tax was the subject of discussion at a meeting of the Madras Economic Association. Professors of Economics and some leading businessmen in the city participated in the discussion. Among the speakers were: Dr. P. J. Thomas, Dr. P. S. Lokanathan and Mr. T. K. Doraiswami Aiyar besides Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, M.L.A., and Mr. K. J. Cleatus of Messrs. Tata and Company. Rao Bahadur G. A. Natesan presided.

"I claim that all sales taxes are ~~not~~ injurious and that even certain sales taxes which are regressive in incidence may be justifiable in the peculiar situation facing us here to-day," said Dr. P. J. Thomas, Professor of Economics, Madras University, who initiated a discussion.

A warning that the new tax would increase production costs was uttered by Mr. K. J. Cleatus of the Southern India Chamber of Commerce. He added that the consequent inability of employers to meet the demands for increased wages would lead to industrial and social unrest and accentuate the tension between capital and labour.

Both the academic and practical issues involved in the turnover tax were discussed at some length, while Economists and businessmen put their respective cases with vigour and trenchancy and continued to differ.

Rao Bahadur G. A. Natesan, who presided, said if they all believed in prohibition as being in the best interests of the country, they should support the tax, particularly as they were unable to suggest an alternative acceptable to all.

Women's Page

LEGISLATION FOR WOMEN

The Hon. Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar, Premier, presided over a meeting held at Pantheon Gardens, Egmore, under the auspices of the Madras Constituency of the All-India Women's Conference on March 26.

Speakers at the Conference pleaded for legislation to secure various rights for women, including right of inheritance for Hindu women, for the abolition of polygamy, the prevention of begging in public places and establishment of homes for beggars, and the opening of more nursery schools to spread education.

The Premier said the beggar problem could not be solved unless its economic causes were removed. He thought that it was impossible to educate all children in nursery schools, and he regarded these schools more as centres giving knowledge to women to bring up children. Regarding legislation to abolish polygamy, he said that public opinion should be educated to secure obedience to law.

HINDU WOMEN'S RIGHTS

The Central Assembly accepted without a division Dr. Deshmukh's amendment to Mr. Hegde's resolution regarding the position of women under existing laws, recommending the appointment of a committee consisting of a chairman and six others, of whom not less than four shall be non-officials and of whom one at least shall be a woman, to report on the reforms which are necessary for establishing the right of Hindu women to residence and maintenance, and legislative measures necessary to give effect to such reforms.

ADVICE TO COLLEGE GIRLS

The Hon. Mr. C. J. Varkey, Education Minister, addressing the girls of St. Agnes's College, Mangalore, on April 12, asked that none of them should imagine she was the prettiest and wisest star on the horizon of this planet and exhorted them to wear khaddar and buy swadeshi.

"What I have observed in the world is that a woman intoxicated by pride and self-conceit is more difficult to deal with than a man intoxicated by alcohol. By preaching and practising the gospel of the simple life and plain living with or without high thinking, we hope to bring about an unconscious, silent revolution on the social and economic side of our society."

Mr. Varkey passed on to observe:

The principle of the dignity of human labour is essentially a Christian conception as we see from the past history of the world. It is a lack of this principle among the ingredients of the present system of education that makes parents and husbands sometimes feel sorry for some of the effects of modern education on the modern girl.

It is to counteract this evil that our great national leader, Mahatma Gandhi, has suggested his novel system of education based on the sound pedagogical principle of learning, by doing now popularly known as the Wardha Scheme of Education.

BOMBAY WOMEN'S CORPS

Steps towards the preparation of a register for the formation of a women's organisation to be called the Bombay Women's Auxiliary Corps of the Indian Red Cross Society, which will function in Bombay in times of emergency, have been taken by the Bombay branch of the Indian Red Cross Society.

His Excellency the Governor, President of the Bombay branch, has given consent for the formation of such an organisation.

The whole scheme is being worked out by the Bombay branch, which is working in co-operation with the St. John's Ambulance Brigade.

EMPIRE PRESS UNION

Major J. J. Astor has been re-elected President of the Empire Press Union on the motion of Sir Roderick Jones at the Union's annual meeting.

Major Astor, referring to the forthcoming activities of the Union, pointed out that this year's annual conference in June would provide a more ambitious programme than of recent years. The conference would discuss the relationship between the Government and the Press.

ASSEMBLY PRESS GALLERY

The Hon. the President of the Central Legislative Assembly has reconstituted the Press Gallery Committee for the year 1939 as follows:—

Mr. U. N. Sen, C.B.E., Chairman; Mr. J. W. Collins, Mr. B. Shiva Rao, Mr. A. S. Iyengar, Mr. I. Jehu and Mr. Muhammad Jafri: members; and Mr. P. D. Sharma: member and secretary.

THE LONDON MERCURY

The "London Mercury" has ceased to exist and its rights become merged in "Life and Letters To-day," a magazine founded by Mr. Desmond MacCarthy a few years ago and now in other hands. Sir John Square, the founder of the "London Mercury," who made it, among other things, the vehicle for the younger poets of England, gave up the editorship four and a half years ago, and Mr. R. A. Scott-James when he took charge maintained the early standards of the "Mercury".

DR. KUNHAN RAJA

Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, Head of the Department of Sanskrit in the University of Madras, has been elected President of the Sanskrit Section at the session of the All-India Oriental Conference to be held at Hyderabad in December 1939.

SIR JADUNATH SARKAR

The Government of India have re-appointed Sir Jadunath Sarkar as an ordinary member of the Indian Historical Commission for a further period of three years with effect from the 20th March, 1939.

THE LATE DR. HAR DAYAL

Dr. Har Dayal, M.A., Ph.D. (London) who went to the United States last October for a short visit and to help to organise the Fifth World Parliament of Religions of the World Fellowship of Faiths, suddenly passed away in his sleep from a heart attack on March 4, 1939.

Har Dayal originally left India in 1911, though before that he was known in India and had impressed people by his remarkable intelligence. In 1911, he left India for America where he organised the Gadhur Party, which aimed, it is stated, at overthrowing the State by revolution. It was on account of his connection with this Party that he was prohibited from entering India. Since the War, however, his ideas changed, and since 1927 till lately, when permission had been obtained, he had been making occasional attempts to obtain an amnesty from the Government of India.

SIR W. BOOTH GRAVELY

The Hon. Sir Walter Booth-Gravely is appointed Acting Governor of Burma during the absence of Sir Archibald Cochrane, who has been granted leave of absence for urgent reasons of private affairs for four months with effect from July, 1939.

Sir Walter Booth-Gravely is Counsellor to the Governor and is on leave in England at present.

THE LATE MAHARAJA OF SANTOSH

The esteem in which the late Maharaja Sir Manmatha Nath Roy Chowdhury of Santosh was held in Bengal, found expression in the Bengal Legislative Assembly when all sections of the House paid tributes to his services to the country.

The House stood in solemn silence as a mark of respect to his memory, and it was resolved to send a message of condolence to his family.

SIR HASSAN SUHRAWARDY

The Marquess of Zetland, Secretary of State for India, has appointed Lieutenant Colonel Sir Hassan Subrawardy, O.B.E., as his Adviser under Section 278 of the Government of India Act, 1935, in succession to Sir Abdnl Qadir whose term of office expires on July 1939.

ANDHRA MEDICAL DEGREE

The progress made by the Medical Council of India in the matter of obtaining recognition for Indian medical degrees by foreign countries was mentioned by Major-General E. W. C. Bradfield in his presidential address at the eleventh session of the Council, which concluded its two-day sitting recently.

The Council decided to recognise the M. B. B. S. degree of Andhra University and to hold a further inspection of the Medical College, Vizagapatam, at the end of two years with special reference to the progress of the extensions and improvements which the Council considered necessary so as to place the facilities for teaching on a more satisfactory basis.

LADY DUFFERIN HOSPITAL

A high tribute to the humanitarian work that is being carried on by the Lady Dufferin Hospital was paid by Lady Reid in opening the new building of the Hospital in Amherst Street, Calcutta.

Built at a cost of nearly Rs. 6,80,000, the building is designed in accordance with the modern style of architecture, with strongly marked horizontal lines.

With the opening of the new Lady Dufferin Hospital by Lady Reid, a further step was taken in affording medical relief to the women of Bengal.

The enterprise is another of the important results of the success attained in Bengal by the organisers of the Silver Jubilee Fund.

TUBERCULOSIS ASSOCIATION

Inaugurating the Tuberculosis Association of India at New Delhi, Her Excellency the Marchioness of Linlithgow said that it was with a feeling of pride and gratitude that she addressed them, pride at the partial achievement of her hopes and gratitude for the help she had received from all over India.

She said partial because she had aimed at a larger sum than the amount of over Rs. 70 lakhs collected so far. The most important result of her appeal had been the permanent establishment of the provincial and states associations,

HEALTH

FAT IN DIET

You can get along with very little fat, says Science Service. An experiment has been reported in which a man lived for six months on a diet containing only two grams of fat per day. Two grams is equivalent to about seven-hundredths of an ounce—a mighty small speck of butter. Surprisingly this man felt no fatigue. The rest of his diet, however, was very carefully planned. An ordinary fat-lacking diet such as was eaten in European countries during the World War, results in premature hunger, lowered energy, and reduced capacity to work.

The average adult should eat about one-third of his daily calories as fat. Margarines or processed vegetable fats give better value for the money than butter, but ordinarily lack the vitamins A and D which butter supplies.

HEALTH AND THE FEET

The wise woman who considers foot comfort important to health is careful in her choice of shoes. Shoes have to be strong enough to protect and naturally shaped otherwise they hamper movement. To force a normal foot into an abnormal shoe is to ask for trouble.

When the big toe is pressed out of line and against the others, the inner support of the forefoot is removed and the ankle is allowed to cave inward thus destroying the line of balance. Pains in the arch, the ankle, the knee, the hip as well as backache are the result. The foot itself rebels and develops corns, bunions, ingrowing toe-nails and similar deformities.

INFANT MORTALITY IN BOMBAY

The death-rate at Chowpatty, Malabar Hill and other aristocratic localities is nearly half the death-rate obtaining in the humbler parts of the city like Umerkadi, Parel and Byculla.

"Infant mortality for the same localities shows a ratio of nearly one to six, as many as 828 children dying out of every 1000 born in one-room tenements. Diseases like tuberculosis and pneumonia are almost exclusively confined to the overcrowded localities," observed Mr. S. V. Parulekar at a recent discussion.

CURRENCY AND BANKING

RAILWAYS.

THE INDIAN BANK

A profit of Rs. 45,000 more than in the previous year, a dividend of 10 per cent., further augmentation of the Reserve and other Funds, new branches in Pudukottah, Quilon and Kumbakonam, the transformation of the Bangalore Cantonment sub-office into a full-fledged branch and the establishment of a branch at Tanuku, and more town branches—these are some of the features of the working of the Indian Bank Ltd. as revealed at the 32nd annual general meeting of shareholders, held on March 4.

This record is particularly striking in view of the fact that 1938 was an unusually trying year for South Indian banking.

THE INDO-CARNATIC BANK

Before Mr. Justice Gentle, at the Madras High Court, an application had been preferred on behalf of Mr. K. N. Guruswami of Bangalore, a creditor and shareholder of the Indo-Carnatic Bank, Ltd., for the winding up of the Bank, on the allegation that the Bank had failed to pay a sum of at least Rs. 8,000 by way of interest for over 21 days after demand. After hearing counsel on either side, His Lordship was of the opinion that the Bank should be wound up and passed orders accordingly.

GOLD IN GUJARAT

According to the *Times of India*, gold has been discovered in what are claimed to be paying quantities over a wide area in Gujarat, and a company is shortly to be formed to exploit the discovery.

The paper says that it is believed that the Government of Bombay may take an interest in the company, and a plant will be established within three years.

CENTRAL BANK OF INDIA LIMITED

The net profit of the Central Bank of India, Ltd., for the year ended December 31, 1938, subject to audit, including Rs. 8,67,514-10-1 brought forward from last year's account, amounts to Rs. 86,27,061-7-9.

MONEY-LENDING

The Madras Government intend to introduce legislation as soon as possible in regard to money-lending and money-lenders, including pawnbrokers.

WORKING OF INDIAN RAILWAYS

Gross receipts of Rs. 95 crores on the State-owned Railways, Rs. 8'25 crores, is excess of the previous year, which made possible a contribution of Rs. 2'75 crores to the Central Revenues; an increase in passenger earnings from Rs. 20'37 crores to Rs. 31'09 crores and in goods earnings from Rs. 67'88 crores to Rs. 69'66 crores (a figure which exceeds the earnings for the peak year 1928-29) and the highest total receipts since 1929-30 on the Bengal-Nagpur, Bombay, Baroda and Central India and East Indian Railways are revealed in the report of the Railway Board on Indian Railways for the year 1937-38.

The report also gives particulars of the action taken by the authorities to provide for passengers' comfort, to ensure civility on the part of the Railway staff, and to stimulate goods traffic and combat competition by road services.

THE M. S. M. RAILWAY

Encouraged by the success of the North-Western Railway in running a subsidiary road service, the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway are proposing to start on a similar venture on a larger scale. A private limited company has been registered for acquiring existing road services and opening new ones. The capital is limited to one lakh of rupees and the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway will take 55 per cent of the shares. The Madras Motor Vehicles Act is expected to eliminate uneconomic competition and it is confidently and justifiably expected that the new venture will prove a commercial success.

A RAILWAY ACCIDENT

Yet another regrettable Railway accident is reported. Twenty-five people were killed and 26 injured following a severe collision between the North Bengal Express and the Dacca Mail, both Down trains, at Majdia, 66 miles from Calcutta, on the Eastern Bengal Railway. The accident occurred at about 8-28 on April 17.

As we go to Press, it is learnt that the casualties are much greater than reported and that the disaster is one of the worst of its kind in recent years.

ITALIAN HONOUR TO INDIAN ARTIST

The King of Italy has conferred the title of Cavaliere of the Order of the Crown upon Mr. Jamini Prosad Ganguly, the well-known Bengali artist.

Mr. Ganguly was educated at St. Xavier's College, Calcutta, and came to the fore in the artistic world by winning the Viceroy's Prize in 1908 with a landscape entitled "Sunset at Simultolla". He was appointed Vice-Principal of the Calcutta Government School of Art in 1916, and officiated as Principal of the Institution on several occasions.

In recognition of his services to Indian art, Mr. Ganguly was awarded a Certificate of Honour by King George V on the occasion of the Delhi Durbar in 1911. At the exhibition of the Academy of Fine Arts, Calcutta, in 1928, Mr. Ganguli's picture "Light of Asia" was awarded the Popular Prize.

He retired from the Government School of Art in 1930, and since then has executed a large number of private commissions for Princes and noblemen throughout India.

Mr. Ganguly's forte is portrait and landscape painting.

CENTENARY OF PHOTOGRAPHY

The Hundredth Anniversary of the discovery of the photography was celebrated at Lahore on April 4 by the opening of the First Punjab (All-India) Salon of Photography by the Hon. Sir H. Wilberforce-Bell, Agent to the Governor-General for Punjab States, at the Literary League Hall, under the auspices of the Punjab Photographic Association. A remarkable collection of exhibits, which had been hung at famous salons totalling 400, were on view.

Sir H. Wilberforce-Bell, declaring the Salon open, dealt with the evolution of photography from the days of its discovery to modern times, when photographs were also works of art. He congratulated the President on the success which he had achieved in instituting the first Salon.

SPORTS

THE ANNUAL BOAT RACE

The Annual Boat Race between Oxford and Cambridge, rowed on April 1, over the 4½-mile course from Putney to Mortlake was won by Cambridge in a most comfortable manner by four lengths.

The timing, 19 minutes 8 seconds, was the best for many years except for the record set in 1934 by Cambridge, 18 minutes 8 seconds.

Cambridge have now won 48 races to Oxford's 42. One race ended in a dead-heat.

CRICKET PAVILION FOR BENGAL

A large gathering of cricketers witnessed the laying of the foundation-stone of the Bengal Gymkhana by the Maharaja of Mymensingh at Calcutta on March 24. Mr. J. C. Mukherjee, in welcoming the Maharaja, said that Bengal needed a pavilion and they were glad that after years of struggling they were able to erect one.

Mr. A. L. Hosie, of the Calcutta Cricket-Club, congratulated the Bengal Gymkhana on their efforts to make cricket popular in the province.

WORLD'S SWIMMING RECORD

Richard Hough of Princeton University claims to have broken the world record for 200 yards breast stroke again, his time being 2 mins. 22 secs.

Recently Hough covered the distance in 2 mins. 19'8 secs.

The record holder is Jack Kasley of Michigan with 2 mins. 22'5 secs.

A WALKING RECORD

Athol Stubbs, who will probably represent Australia in the 1940 Olympic Games, established a world mile walking record with 6 mins. 18'2 secs. beating the previous record of 6 mins. 21 secs. held by Asernard of Latvia.

WOMEN'S WORLD SWIMMING RECORD

In women's swimming, Miss Soeren Sen of Denmark broke the world's 500 metres breast stroke record with 7 mins. 58'8 secs. beating 8 mins. 1/6 sec. of Miss Vande Kerkhove of Belgium.

PROF. EINSTEIN'S RESEARCH

On the eve of his 60th birthday, Professor Albert Einstein stated at Princeton University, where the great scientist is now working as Professor, that he had discovered what he believed to be the solution to the riddle of what was the cause of gravitation. He was at present engaged in developing his findings to the point where they could be checked by experiment.

Professor Einstein said that since the formulation of the General Theory of Relativity, there had existed the problem of bringing under the unifying mathematical concept the gravitational field, the electro-magnetic field, and the material particles.

To explain what he meant by a unifying concept, Professor Einstein took as an example Newton's Theory of the Motions of Heavenly bodies. The fundamental concepts of this theory were two hypotheses: first the Law of Motion and second the Law of Force. These two laws, he said, were logically independent of each other, in that it was possible to modify one while retaining the other in its original form without running into logical contradictions. In formulating a fundamental mathematical concept to displace such a theory as this, Professor Einstein believes that he may help to explain the origin of gravitation, which remains unsolved among the problems of matter and radiation.

SIR C. V. RAMAN

Sir C. V. Raman has been elected an honorary member of the Societe Philomathique de Paris on the occasion of the 150th anniversary of the Society. The society includes the names of most of the famous men of science in the history of France, commencing from Lavoisier in the 18th century and ending with Pasteur in the 20th century.

MR. J. J. GHANDY

Mr. J. J. Ghandy has been elected an honorary fellow of the Institution of Chemists (India).

INDIAN FILMS

A spirited appeal for more Indian films was made by Sir Harry Lindsey, Director of the Imperial Institute, when he addressed a meeting of the East India and National India Associations in London.

Sir Harry, who spoke on "India's Place in Empire Films," showed two short Indian films—"Romantic India," which he described as one of the most popular films in the Empire Film Library at the Institute and "Song of Ceylon", which he called "the nearest approach to the Eastern mind".

But although India had a marvellous story to tell, he did not remember ever having seen a single Indian film which told this story perfectly.

SNOW WHITE'S RECORD

Walt Disney's presentation of *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* has been an unrivalled success. It is said to have created a world record.

The film has made a tour of 41 countries and has been produced in 10 languages. During its eight-week run in New York, it was seen by 800,000 people, and it ran for 85 weeks in London, 81 weeks in Paris, and 16 weeks in Stockholm.

Still more amazing was the success of the film version in book form, over 22,000,000 copies being sold, which means 50,000 copies have been bought every day.

More than two million Snow White dolls have been sold.

PRAHALADHA

Prahaladha, Central Studios Tamil mythological, is making rapid progress. The picture features popular artistes like Master Mahalingam, Miss M. R. Santhanlakshmi, R. Balasubramanian, Master Sethuraman and others. Santhanlakshmi appears as Leelavathi, Prahaladha's mother, while Sethuraman and Mahalingam play the title role in two different stages. Under the direction of Mr. B. N. Rao, the picture is expected to set a new standard with an appeal both to the classes as well as masses.

SUGGESTIONS TO MOTORISTS

Bennet's Budget offers the following good advice to motor drivers:-

Regard pedestrians as having prior rights on the road; you and your family are sometimes pedestrians.

The road hog is with us twelve months out of every year. If he tries to monopolise the road, don't stand too firmly on your rights.

Never overtake another car at crest, corner or curve.

Life is more valuable than time.

Never park just round a corner.

Do not count upon children to look out for themselves.

Cross crossings cautiously.

Never "out-in". Taking a chance may take a life.

Use care when approaching a crest that obscures the road in front.

Give the recognised hand signals when leaving the kerb, or turning or stopping, or slowing down. It protects yourself as well as others.

THE OPELS

With all the many makes of superlatively improved cars on the market, it is not every one that meets the discriminated ideas of the average motorist. Here and there are cars that do. One of the blessed few is the Opel, as near "right" as it is technically possible to produce in respect to looks, style, power, size, performance, capacity, comfort, safety, and (last but first) economy in running and upkeep.

The Opel 10 is built for the countless thousands who want high-class motoring at cut price cost. It is a powerful car incorporating every style feature of General Motors design, such as genuine knee-action, all steel body, uni-stool turret top, hydraulic brakes and all-weather ventilation. It costs no more than a good motor-cycle. More powerful and with a wheelbase of 96 inches as against 92 inches in the "10", is the Opel 12, again a true car bargain in every way. Either of those is individually ideal for use.

AVIATION

AIR MAIL IN INDIA

Which country was, perhaps, the first to start aerial post in the world? The answer is not Germany, France, England or America, but India.

In 1911 it was arranged that an aeroplane conveying mails should make a point-to-point trip for demonstrational purposes at the United Provinces Industrial and Agricultural Exhibition held at Allahabad.

The trip was made on February 18 by M. Picquet from the grounds of the Exhibition to Naini, a distance of about five miles and involved a flight over the river Jumna which is about a mile wide in that part. The flight began a little after 5.30 p.m. The plane circled twice above the starting point in the Exhibition grounds and then made for Naini where it alighted 18 minutes after its departure. After depositing the first official air mails, M. Picquet returned immediately to Allahabad, the whole affair taking about half an hour. The aviator signed some 40 post cards.

HENSHAW'S FEAT

The airman, Mr. Alex. Henshaw, who took off from Gravesend in an attempt to fly to the Cape and back in four days, arrived at Gravesend beating the London-to-Cape-and-back record by 80 hours and 45 minutes.

The time taken was four days, 10 hours and 15 minutes against the five days and 17 hours taken by Flying Officer A. E. Clouston and Mrs. Kirby Green in 1937.

WAB PLANE'S RECORD

All speed records were substantially exceeded by a Curtiss Hawk pursuit plane, which made a free dive at over 575 miles per hour and may even have exceeded 600 m.p.h. as the indicator's range was exceeded, according to the claim of Curtiss officials.

The plane is one of a hundred being built for the French Government. The pilot said that he felt no ill-effects.

INDUSTRY

MR. DESAI'S APPEAL TO INDUSTRIALISTS

A twofold warning to Indian industry was uttered by Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, Leader of the Opposition in the Central Assembly when opening the permanent building in Delhi given to the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry by Lala Shri Ram in memory of his father.

Mr. Desai defended the policy of protection and maintained that the penalty of increased price was worth paying in the larger interests of keeping money within the country. "But," he continued, "I appeal to industrialists that they may not, under the wall of protection, exploit the poor consumer of the country and they may not, even if the Government were favourable, ask for protection for longer than is necessary.

These are the two warnings which Indian industrialists should take note of. They must give up protection soon by the application of better methods and by satisfaction with lesser profits to make India self-sufficient and to give her as high a standard of life as America."

FEDERATION OF COMMERCE & INDUSTRIES

The Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industries at its annual meeting, held in Delhi, passed important resolutions relating to the position of Indians abroad and the question of establishing an agency for co-ordinating labour legislation in the Provinces. One of the resolutions condemned the Government's currency policy and another recommended to the Government of India the adoption of a more dynamic and active policy of full-fledged protection for industries.

INDUSTRIAL GRANTS

The Provincial Government have promulgated new rules for regulating grants to assist young men in starting industrial undertakings.

Grants may now be made to educated young men who have been trained to set up business or trade, and to those already in business to help them to expand their activities. The grants will not ordinarily exceed Rs. 1,000.

AGRICULTURE

LANDLORDS AND VILLAGERS

The Maharajadhiraja of Dharbhanga, presiding over the All-India Landholders' Conference at Lucknow, on April 8, urged the members of his class to alter their outlook and reorientation of their policy to fit in with the changed conditions and things if they wanted to exist as a class. He advised the landlords to think in terms of the welfare of the villagers. He blamed the Provincial Governments for the spread of agrarian troubles in the country and appealed to the Indian National Congress to take immediate steps to remedy the situation. The suggestion was made in the Conference that a syndicate, which would serve as an agency for the marketing of crops, for supplying short-term credits and for easier rent collection, could be started to afford help to the growers.

CROP INSURANCE SCHEMES

The United States Government have just brought into operation a scheme of crop insurance. To begin with, the benefit of the scheme is confined to wheat. Under it, in return for a bushel of wheat an acre, more or less dependent upon the crop record of the farm and district, a farmer secures protection up to 75 per cent. of the average yield against all weather losses and pests. For a lower premium, an insurance policy up to 50 per cent. of the yield could also be secured. When a policyholder's crop falls below the 75 or 50 per cent. stipulated in the policy, he will be reimbursed in wheat. That is to say, the farmer can for this small premium get every year an assured crop regardless of weather and pests.

AGRICULTURISTS' RELIEF BILL

A Bill seeking to relieve the agriculturists of the burden of indebtedness was introduced in the Bombay Legislative Assembly on April 4.

It will apply to agriculturist debtors who cultivate lands personally and whose debts do not exceed Rs. 15,000 and are not less than Rs. 100. And provides for the scaling down of the debts to the paying capacity of the debtor.

WARNING TO WORKERS

A warning to the workers of Jamshedpur against resorting to wrong tactics such as boycott of the recent Tata centenary celebrations is given by the Congress President, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, in the course of a statement issued to the Press. Mr. Bose says:

"It would be wrong to try to hit the employers by all possible means, fair or foul. Our hands must be clean as also our methods so that even if we have to fight the employers hard, we may be able to fight them clean. Even if at any place the employers are not clean, there is no reason why we should imitate them. There was no sense in boycotting the centenary celebrations. It was the duty of the workers, as also of the management, to pay homage to the memory of the India's Premier industrialist, who built a modern industrial city out of a jungle and provided all of them with bread. My object in issuing this statement is to give a friendly warning to the workers of Jamshedpur that this sort of policy is quite wrong and will do no good to them. It will only bring about further estrangement between the workers and the Company.

Let us be honest and straightforward and build up our trade unionism on the right principles."

LABOUR WELFARE

The United Provinces Government, it is understood, are making a provision of Rs. 80,000 in next year's budget for the Government labour welfare work in the province.

Of this grant, a sum of Rs. 20,000 will be spent in Cawnpore, Rs. 5,000 will be spent on labour welfare work in Lucknow, and another Rs. 5,000 on labour welfare work in Hathras or Firozabad.

Labour welfare work through Government agency has already been started in Cawnpore, and last year the Government sanctioned Rs. 20,000 for this city.

The funds will be administered through the Labour Welfare Advisory Committee, of which the Labour Commissioner is the chairman, and Mr. S. P. Awasthy, M.L.A., the chief honorary organiser.

THE GANGES AND THE JUMNA

The wonderful mysticism which seems to surround these two great rivers has for itself also some other reason which is supported by modern scientific investigation. The Hindus think that the Ganges and the Jumna are not just rivers. They are more than rivers, observes Mr. Dhirendranath Roy in his "Spirit of Indian Civilization". They are possessed of mysterious powers which are not found in any other rivers of the world. That this is true has been borne out by renowned scientists of our time.

For instance, the distinguished bacteriologist, Dr. F. C. Harrison, Principal of the Macdonald College, McGill University in Canada, writes in an article "Micro-organisms in Water":—

A peculiar fact, which has never been satisfactorily explained, is the quick death (in three to five hours) of the cholera vibrio in the waters of the Ganges and the Jumna. When one remembers sewage by numerous corpses of natives (often dead of cholera), and by the bathing of thousands of natives, it seems remarkable that the belief of the Hindus, that the water of these rivers is pure and cannot be defiled, and that they can safely drink it and bathe in it, should be confirmed by means of modern bacteriological research. It is also a curious fact that the bactericidal power of the Jumna water is lost when it is boiled; and that the cholera vibrio propagates at once if placed in water taken from the wells in the vicinity of the rivers.

A very well-known French physician, Dr. D. Herelle, made similar investigations into the mystery of the Ganges. He observed some of the floating corpses of men died of dysentery and cholera and was surprised to find "that only a few feet below the bodies, where one would expect to find millions of these dysentery and cholera germs", there were no germs at all.

A British physician, Dr. C. E. Nelson, F.R.C.S., tells us of another striking fact. He says that

ships leaving Calcutta for England take their water from the Hugli River which is one of the mouths of the filthy Ganges and this Ganges water will remain fresh all the way to England. On the other hand, ships leaving England for India find that the water they take on in London will not stay fresh till they reach Bombay, the nearest Indian port, which is a week closer to England than Calcutta. They must replenish their water supply at Port Said, Suez or at Aden on the Red Sea.

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Lord William Bentinck and Madras

By SIR FRANK NOYCE, K.C.S.I.

So much is happening in these crowded days that the centenary of Lord William Bentinck's death, which took place at Paris on June 18th, 1839, will probably attract scant attention. There is curiously little material available from which to weave a funerary wreath.



SIR FRANK NOYCE

Bentinck, by some extraordinary chance, escaped the usual two or three decker biography so popular in Victorian days. Search in the vast library of the India Office has only yielded to the present writer the brief and inadequate biography by Demetrius Boulger which appeared in "The Rulers of India" series nearly sixty years after Bentinck's death. It is a

pity that the correspondence which Mr. Boulger said had recently been discovered has not been edited and published, for it would have thrown much interesting light on conditions in Madras at the beginning of the nineteenth century. But the memory of the Governor-General, who abolished *suttee*, suppressed the Thugs, made English the official language of India for admission to the public services and proceedings in the Courts and pursued a policy towards the Press which was singularly liberal for his generation, deserves a tribute in the pages of a progressive Journal published in the capital of the Province of which he was Governor for four years. It is that four years which forms the subject-matter of this article.

It cannot be said that they gave any promise of Bentinck's subsequent eminence. He came to Madras in August, 1808, when he was only 29, probably the youngest Governor ever sent from England to India. But promotion came early and easily to sons of Dukes in those days. Three years after he joined the Army as an ensign in the Coldstream Guards, Bentinck was Lieutenant-Colonel in the 24th Light Dragoons!

The utter lack of distinction which characterised Bentinck's tenure of the Governorship of Madras is shown by the fact that Mr. Boulger mentions as one of

his most important acts the introduction of a passport system! Partly as a precaution against the machinations of French agents and partly to safeguard the commercial interests of the Company, Europeans were prohibited from travelling more than fifteen miles from Madras without a passport.

It is to Bentinck's credit that in the contest which was waging in Madras when he arrived there between the advocates of the ryotwari and those of the zemindari system, he supported Sir Thomas (at that time Colonel) Munro, then Principal Collector of the Ceded Districts. He held that "the creation of zemindars, where no zemindars before existed, was neither calculated to improve the condition of the lower orders of the people, nor politically wise with reference to the future security of the Government". In spite of his support, the battle had yet to be won for, after both he and Munro had left India, a system of triennial leases was introduced in the Ceded Districts which was followed by one of ten years' leases as a preliminary to the adoption of a permanent settlement. Experience of this system proved that Munro and Bentinck had been right and after eight years of it, the Court of Directors ordered a reversion to the ryotwari system.

Very few of the Governors of Madras of that era were fortunate enough to enjoy a full term of office. Only a quarter of a century before Bentinck, Lord Pigot had been deposed and imprisoned by a majority of his Council and had died in their custody. His successor, Sir Thomas Bumbold, who unkind rumour said had originally been a waiter at White's Club in London, managed to get away from Madras only a month or two

before the receipt of a despatch dismissing him for questionable proceedings connected with the Vizianagaram zemindari. The Vellore Mutiny, of which we shall have more to say later, led to Bentinck's recall a year before the end of his normal tenure and his successor, Sir George Barlow, who had been Governor-General for two years after Lord Cornwallis died, was also recalled for a similar failure to deal as adequately as the Court of Directors thought he should have done with another Mutiny, this time not of Indian troops but of British officers.

In accordance with the Madras tradition of that time, Bentinck's relations with his Council were none too happy. When a vacancy in Council occurred in 1806, he decided to appoint Mr. Robert Strange in preference to his senior, Mr. Thomas Oakes. Oakes appealed to the Court of Directors who overruled the Governor and appointed him to the vacant seat. It is not surprising that there was constant friction between Bentinck and Oakes, but a far worse thorn in Bentinck's side was one of the Judges of the High Court which had been established in 1801, Sir Henry Gwillim. The trouble arose over the trifling matter of a legacy which had been left to a local charity. The Government consulted Sir Henry Gwillim about it, but, as is the way of Governments, pigeonholed his suggested scheme of administration and forgot all about it. A year later, another scheme for dealing with the money was submitted to them. Bentinck sent it on to Gwillim, asking for his opinion but incautiously adding that it had his complete approval. The fat was then in the fire. Gwillim replied in an abusive letter and the

correspondence grew more and more heated until Bentinck decided to continue it any further unless "I am addressed in the language of polished intercourse rather than in that of judicial rebuke". Gwillim neither forgot nor forgave. The establishment of a police force in Madras after the Vellore Mutiny and the appointment of a military officer, Captain Grant, to the charge of it aroused his fury and, in January 1807, in a charge to a Grand Jury, he denounced the "repeated insults which had been offered to himself by the Government and by the very ill-advised young gentleman at the head of it". The climax was reached in February 1807, when the Government ordered the Superintendent of Police to arrest an Indian against whom a criminal charge had been made. One of Gwillim's friends, a barrister named Marsh, moved a motion for Habeas Corpus before Gwillim. "Can these outrages," said Gwillim in the course of the hearing, "be sanctioned by a Bentinck, by one of the family so illustrious in the cause of liberty? It is impossible! None of the noble blood of the Cavendishes (Bentinck was descended from the Dukes of Devonshire on his mother's side and his full name was Cavendish-Bentinck) can flow in the veins of this man. He must be some spurious changeling that has been palmed off on that noble family and contaminated it. What! put a soldier to act at the head of the police where he is to deprive men of their liberties? Not one of us is safe." This amazing outburst was altogether too much for the Government which promptly protested to the Court of Directors. Gwillim was recalled to explain his conduct but did not leave Madras until

October 1808, a year after his ~~enemy~~
had done so.

One could wish that Bentinck's share of responsibility for the Vellore Mutiny had been as exhaustively appraised as has that of Baslow for "The White Mutiny" in Sir Alexander Cardew's book of that title, but the episode is better known to students of Indian history than any other in Bentinck's Governorship of Madras. Vellore had been chosen as the place of residence of Tipu Sultan's family after the fall of Seringapatam. Its garrison consisted of four companies of His Majesties 69th Regiment, one complete regiment of Indian Infantry and six companies of a second. In November, 1805, an order was issued prescribing a new turban, the intention being to introduce a greater measure of uniformity of head-dress throughout the Madras Army. This, in itself, might have given rise to little trouble but, unfortunately, a month or two later, another regulation was promulgated forbidding the sepoys to wear caste marks and ear-rings when in uniform. The two together caused profound dissatisfaction which came to a head in April 1806, when the 4th Madras Native Infantry refused to wear the new turban. Twenty-one of the ringleaders were tried by court martial in May; two of them were sentenced to be flogged and dismissed from the Army and the rest were pardoned. This did nothing to allay the prevalent discontent. Sir John Cradock, the Commander-in-Chief, who had been solely responsible for the objectionable orders, at last became thoroughly alarmed and appealed to the Governor for advice. He was unwise told by Bentinck, who had been a soldier himself and, at that period of his life

was unable to rid himself of the rigid military point of view, that, whatever the objections to the issue of the regulations, "yielding in the face of force was to be avoided". The consequences of this untimely advice were such as should have been foreseen, a mutiny on a large scale. On July 10th, the sepoys at Vellore rose in revolt, and killed thirteen officers and a considerable number of men. Help was summoned from Arcot, nine miles distant, and Colonel Gillespie, the hero of one of Sir Henry Newbolt's most spirited ballads, rode to "false Vellore" at the head of a squadron of his own regiment, the 19th Dragoons, a troop of Indian cavalry and two galloper guns. He was hoisted by a rope by the men of the 69th on to the ramparts and the survivors were rescued. The fort was speedily occupied by the British troops, four hundred sepoys were killed and many more wounded. Only then were the objectionable orders cancelled under Bentinck's express instructions. Both he and Cradock held that the mutiny was the outcome of a wide-spread plot to massacre the English and to re-establish a Muslim dynasty in South India. Munro, who knew Madras far better than either of them, did not share their opinion. He told Bentinck bluntly that there could have been no question of the restoration of the dynasty of Tipu Sultan since that could not have been desired by the Hindus who were in the majority in the Madras Army and could only have been wanted by a section of the Moslems. He attributed the mutiny to the unwise orders which had been construed as an attack on religious ceremonies as a prelude to forcible conversion to Christianity. He predicted quite rightly, that with the capture of

Vellore and the cancellation of the orders, there would be no further trouble.

The Court of Directors agreed with Munro's view and both Cradock and Bentinck were recalled. History does not say what eventually became of that irascible and slightly demented gentleman, Sir Henry Gwillim, but Cradock was afterwards Lord Howden and Bentinck, who had in the meantime become Member of Parliament for Lynn, Governor-General of India. He had protested vehemently but at the time ineffectively against his recall before his defence of his actions had been heard. That in the end he must have convinced the Court of Directors that he had legitimate grievance would seem to be established by the offer, in 1819, of the Governorship of Madras for the second time. This he not unnaturally refused and his next visit to his old Province was in 1834 as Governor-General. The state of his health had compelled him to leave Calcutta for the more salubrious climate of Ootacamund and there he established a temporary Council consisting of himself, Sir Frederick Adam, the Governor of Madras, Colonel Morrison, an officer of the Madras Artillery, Mr. Ironside, a provisional Member of the Bombay Council, who happened to be available, and Mr. Thomas Babington Macaulay, newly arrived from England. The composition of this Council was so obviously irregular and its actions so obviously illegal that an Act of Indemnity had subsequently to be passed by Parliament to put matters right. But that, as Rudyard Kipling would say, is another story. Lord William Bentinck's connection with Madras was certainly not such as to redound either to his fame or that of the Province.

THE PROBLEM OF PALESTINE.

By PROF. K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI, M.A.

THE problem of Palestine is a creation of British statesmen. It is a tangle resulting from conflicting promises made in the open and in secret to different parties in the midst of the world war. To win the war was the sole aim at the time; there was no consistent or unified guidance of political policy, and British statesmen readily agreed to do everything that promised an advantage in the prosecution of the war. Their necessities drove them to pledge their support after the war both to the Arab national movement and to Zionism in return for immediate aid from the Arabs and Jews against Germany and her friends in the Great War. With the return of peace, the occasion came for redeeming these contradictory promises, and since then the problem of Palestine has been to the fore.

Besides the large number of official reports and papers issued in the course of the last twenty years by the Commissions and enquiries that were instituted to deal with the problem in its successive phases, there has grown up a considerable volume of literature round the subject, and one of the most recent contributions to it is the brilliant book of Mr. J. M. N. Jeffries¹ who tells the entire story from the Arab side of the case which till now 'has remained unheard before the court of public opinion'.

Both Arab Nationalism and Zionism have their roots in the pre-war period. Both Arabs and Jews naturally tried to ensure the future realisation of their plans before they threw in their lot

with the Allies. In 1915-16, an arrangement was reached by which Hussein, the Shereef of Mecca, undertook to lead the Arabs against the Turks (and Germans) in return for a British guarantee of Arabian independence after the war. Palestine, a part of Syria, was necessarily included in this guarantee, and the only discussion regarding the lands comprised in the guarantee related to some districts of North Syria, 'Beyrouth and its coasts' as Hussein described them. As Britain had urged that there were prior French claims to these districts, Hussein agreed to leave the subject over for future negotiations, while he was quite emphatic about his rights even there. He said: 'At the first opportunity after this war is finished, we shall ask you (what we avert our eyes from to-day) for what we now leave to France in Beyrouth and its coasts . . . It is impossible to allow any derogation that gives France, or any other Power, a spate of land in those regions'. The British answer was: 'All your demands are accepted.' And the Arab revolt became, from 1916 to 1918, 'a definitely contracted part of the operations, developed in a clear cut way and crowned with success in every fashion'.

The Jews, under the leadership of Herzl, had developed the definite aim of regaining their ancient national home in Palestine. The Jewish Congress of Basle 1897 may, for our purposes, be taken to mark the birth of Zionism, and to Herzl and his followers this meant the attainment of the goal of national independence and self-government in Palestine. The ground for political Zionism had been prepared by more than a decade of more or less successful attempts at establishing Jewish

¹ "Palestine the Reality". Longmans, Green & Co., 1938, 25s. net.

colonies in Palestine. These colonists faced enormous difficulties and the Colonies were rendered possible at all only by sustained financial support from the richer Jews of other countries, particularly of Baron Edmond de Rothschild. In 1914, there were about twelve thousands of Jewish inhabitants in Palestine; and for the support of half of this number, Baron Edmond is said to have spent about twenty million dollars. Some of the Jews, however, have been struck by the smallness and inhospitality of the Palestine area which could hardly be thought of as a national home in any political sense for fifteen million human beings. They also fear that a national state for the Jews in Palestine might worsen the position of the Jews in other lands in many ways. To them Zionism meant the creation in Palestine not of a separate Jewish state but a spiritual and cultural centre for the Jews, which would renovate and maintain their time-honoured traditions of spiritual life and activity, and to which the Jews of all lands may resort for inspiration. But like all pleas based on moderation and reason, this view failed to attain sufficient influence in the face of the more thorough-going programme of the political Zionists.

Lloyd George and Balfour were responsible for the British Government adopting the Zionist programme in the famous Balfour declaration of November 1917, and their blunders and inconsistencies are mercilessly exposed by Mr. Jeffries. He traces Lloyd George's motives for supporting Zionism from his own utterances and says: first he supported Zionism as a reward for Dr. Weizmann's help in manufacturing chemicals during the war; secondly, the co-operation of the Jews,

notably in America, converted him to Zionism. His comments are as true as they are caustic: 'There was no question of Zionism converting Mr. Lloyd George to Zionism. In his own words. "There is nothing in that case." The Balfour Declaration, so far as it concerned the Prime Minister, was a salary he paid the Zionists for their services, no more, and if the metaphor be taken to the end, I fear it must be said that it was paid out of Arab trust funds.' Elsewhere Jeffries writes: 'It is an interesting point that in the volume of Mr. Lloyd George's memoirs which treats of American entry into the war, he makes no mention of Zionism as a contributory cause.'

Asquith was always against the policy of the Declaration. After reading a memorandum from Herbert Samuel (as he then was) on 'The future of Palestine' in January 1915, he wrote in his diary: 'I confess, I am not attracted by this proposed addition to our responsibilities.' Six years later, in the House of Commons, he described the Zionist proposals as 'a staircase of fragile, precarious and stumbling hypotheses', adding that 'it was a very large hypothesis to assume that "by judicious administration and by pacific penetration and in other ways the Jews and the Arabs were going to live side by side".'

The Balfour Declaration was unknown to the Arabs long after its publication to the rest of the world, and the Zionist Commission set up in Palestine soon after agreed to curtail their political activities, because 'a full display of the Government's pre-Zionist attitude had better be postponed till after the victory'.

With the aid of several documents, some of them published in this book for the

first time, Mr. Jeffries shows what a controlling influence was exercised by the Zionists in the shaping of British and American policy, in the drafting of the Balfour Declaration, and in the wording of the Mandate for Palestine.

The operative part of the Balfour Declaration stated that the British Government would use their best endeavours to facilitate the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, without prejudice to the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country. The very first local enquiry after the War conducted by an American Commission in 1919 proved conclusively that the policy of the Declaration was against the principle of self-determination and that the non-Jewish population of Palestine—nearly nine-tenths of the whole—were emphatically against the Zionist programme. But Wilson fell ill, and the Crane-King Commission's report was suppressed till America had confirmed the Balfour Declaration and approved the Mandate for Palestine by resolutions of the Congress in May-July, 1922.

We cannot follow here the detailed story of the perplexities and blunders that attended the execution of an impossible policy. Britain began to act as Mandatory in Palestine three years before the Mandate actually came into force and abruptly terminated the military administration of Palestine, because the Zionists found it inconvenient. Mr. Jeffries draws the moral; the Army, the only set of average British citizens who had direct access to the so-called 'Palestine problem', had returned their verdict of 'guilty' upon Zionism in Palestine.

There were six popular outbreaks of a more or less serious character, as many

delegations of Arab leaders to Whitehall, and even more enquiries and reports. And then the chronic disorder of the country grew to such an alarming extent as to lead the Arab officials in the Civil Service of the country to submit a joint memorandum on the subject to the High Commissioner in 1936. Through it all, a hundred thousand Jews have been imported into Palestine, considerable portions of the arable land of the country have been bought up and entailed to Jews, and large numbers of Arab peasants rendered homeless. Minor disputes on whether the Jews could take benches and screens to the Wailing wall, or the Arabs call for prayer or put up certain buildings near about, there have occurred often. The League of Nations and its Mandates Commission have proved pliant instruments in the hands of Britain. On only one occasion did the British (Labour) Government try to modify its policy by means of a White Paper (issued by Lord Passfield in 1930) which sought to curtail Zionist immigration and land acquisition in Palestine; but the protests from the Zionists and their friends compelled the Government to abandon the attempt. And things have steadily gone from bad to worse. Even the desperate remedy of Partition put forward by the Peel Commission has turned out to be impossible on further enquiry; and another conference on the Palestine problem has concluded its sittings only recently.

The Jews stand by their bond, the Balfour Declaration; the Arabs appeal to their inherent rights as children of the soil and the Covenant of the League of Nations. The attempt to put them off by pointing to the fulfilment of their hopes in Iraq and Hedjaz has not convinced them that England is playing them fair. And Italy and Germany are active in adding to the troubles of Britain in every quarter.

An Arab delegate to the recent Palestine Conference is said to have remarked: "The trouble is that during the War, the British Government sold the same home to two men." Mr. Jeffries' book puts up a powerful plea for the animal being recognised as truly Arab property, and for the sale to the Jew being set aside.

REALISM IN POLITICS

BY DR. R. P. PARANJPYE, M.A. (Cantab.)

(Ex-Member, India Council)

THE late Congress President recently pleaded for realism in politics and gave his own ideas of what the policy of Indians should be in the present international situation. In one sentence his attitude can be summed up thus: Britain is our enemy; England's difficulty is India's opportunity; hence if England is engaged in a life and death struggle with the axis-powers, India should make matters as difficult as possible for England, and not only not allow India's resources to be used in the empire's defence but if possible necessitate a certain diversion of England's military resources to this country to keep it quiet. I hope I am not misrepresenting Mr. Bose's views and I propose to examine them from a purely realistic point of view.

To obviate any misunderstanding, I wish to make it perfectly clear that I am guided solely by the interests of India and shall omit any considerations of general human progress or other philosophical abstractions. Some may perhaps feel, and I generally share the view, that Indian progress is essentially bound up with the progress of humanity. But it is best to have perfectly definite date in the course of any discussion. I also share the view held by Mr. Bose that British policy in India has often been short-sighted, that our rulers have, at least to a certain extent, followed the policy of divide and rule, that they have tried to consolidate only those Indian elements which are on the whole reactionary like the states and landholders, that they have not given enough attention to the educational,

industrial and social advance of the Indian people, and that, above all, they have left India utterly incapable of defending herself against a major enemy. If one could re-enact the history of India for the last hundred years, keeping in mind the experience acquired during that period, it is obvious that many things would be done differently and many others would remain undone. But such longings are vain and one has to chalk out one's line of action for the future taking the present position for granted. For a political realist this is the only possible course.

Everybody will agree that Mr. Gandhi, in spite of his astute political insight, is not a conscious realist. His doctrines of non-violence and *satyagraha* and his specialised technique of fasts do not appeal to me, nor do they, I believe, appeal to Mr. Bose in their full rigour. If Mr. Bose and his friends could feel that methods of violence have a reasonable chance of success, they would not be the vociferous disciples of the Mahatma that they claim at present to be. But if Mr. Gandhi is not a realist in the true sense of the word, no more is Mr. Bose. He too appears to be the slave of certain words and ideas which do not conform to a realistic attitude. One of these words is imperialism and one of these ideas is a constituent assembly. We all understand what is meant by imperialism though we may not be able to give a comprehensive definition of it. But it will be enough to say that imperialism consists in the use of superior political, military, or economic power by one people to keep

down another people, or at least to make the latter subserve the interests of the former. History is concerned with recounting the political manifestations of such imperialism. British imperialism is not its first instance in the political field nor will it be the last. But the religious supremacy of the priest, the economic supremacy of the capitalist, or the intellectual supremacy of the educated are near cousins of the main imperialistic species. Against some of these, Mr. Bose rebels like myself, others he may welcome. We may try to do our best to fight this imperialist monster in our midst, but it appears that we can only scotch it for a time. It is bound to reappear in some form or other as long as human nature remains as it is.

Pickwick recommended shouting with the mob, and, if there were two mobs, advised that one should shout with the bigger. Similarly if there was only one imperialism with which one is concerned, Mr. Bose's cry "Down with imperialism" would be intelligible. But he must be prepared, if he is fair, also to say when we have to deal with more than one: "Down with all if possible; if not down first with the 'worst'." In the present international situation we have to do not only with British imperialism but also probably with German, Italian or Japanese imperialism. In the present defenceless position of India, we would not be let alone whatever the Mahatma might say. We may fret over the policy followed by our rulers since the Mutiny, which rendered us dependent for our defence on the British military and naval power. The results of that policy cannot be undone in the course of a few months or years. Consequently while we may

urge a long-range policy of self-sufficiency in defence, our immediate consideration has to be about the comparative merits and demerits of these various imperialisms. Which of them do we dislike least? Do we want India to be a second China or a second Abyssinia or a second Czechoslovakia instead of remaining for the moment as we are, members and even subordinate members of the British Empire?

Under the rule of a Hitler or a Mussolini, we may perhaps be better organised to serve the ends of Germany or Italy; but even such a modicum of liberty as we have at present, such freedom to complain or agitate to a reasonable extent will be taken away from us. The slightest dissent from the policy of the dictators will lead one straight to the concentration camps. The threat of fasting will leave Hitler and his henchmen cold; for we are told that in concentration camps means of suicide are always kept ostentatiously handy for the inmates and the public learns only long after the event, if at all, that any particular undesirable person had died in the camp. If elections are a mockery in Germany or Italy itself, can we contemplate even our present elections, whether for the legislatures or the Congress organisations, going on peacefully under German or Italian rule? Would it be possible to have a League of Liberty, to enjoy a moderately free press, or to agitate for more political rights? Would not all important positions be the monopoly of true Fascists or Nazis to a far greater extent than they are at present the monopoly of the British? Shall we be allowed even to vote on the Indo-German trade agreement? Is it likely that swadeshi or khaddar propaganda

will be permitted if it is against the interests of Italian or German manufacturers? Will not the Nordic cult be propagated far more vigorously than the present British assumption of white superiority? It is as certain as anything can be that under German or Italian rule, Indians will fare infinitely worse than under the present British rule.

If, as appears to be more probable in case the British connection with India is dissolved, it is Japanese imperialism with which we shall have to deal, there will not only be all the disadvantages just mentioned about Italian or German imperialism, but there will be many additional ones. The European races cannot thrive in a tropical climate and it would be difficult for Italians or Germans to colonise any but a very small portion of our country. The Japanese are Asiatics and have a low standard of living approximately similar to our own. With a rapidly increasing population, the Japanese, will flood India with their superfluous millions; even such work as will not tempt an Italian or a German will be cheerfully taken up by a Japanese, and the Indian masses will not have even the hewing of wood or drawing of water left to them. Any manifestation of discontent will be sternly repressed, and if a modern Tarquinius Superbus from Italy or Germany will cut off the heads of all even moderately tall poppies like the heads of Congress organisations, his Japanese counterpart will not spare even the humbler members of those organisations. Should a political realist let his resentment against our present rulers run away with him and bring on his country a fate a hundred times worse?

It is not my object to defend British imperialism or the means by which it has established itself in India. Many wicked things have been done in its name in all conscience. But most of these occurred long ago and many of the British are now heartily ashamed of them. In any case there has been a very considerable amount of progress towards freedom and democracy, even though we may legitimately complain about the pace of that progress or regard some of the steps as ultimately harmful. Having for several centuries enjoyed freedom in his own country, the Englishman thinks it at least necessary to cover his selfish actions under a cloak of freedom. When his own interests are not too intimately involved, he lets other people alone. He has to preserve before the world a decent appearance of freedom under the British flag. His rough and ready methods are a contrast to the relentless efficiency of a German or a Jap. A British Viceroy will move heaven and earth to save an Indian Mahatma from starving himself to death. A German, Italian or Japanese Viceroy will welcome this simple way of getting rid of a pestilent enemy. Bad as British rule of non-white peoples is in many respects and unabashed as is his treatment of natives when British interests conflict with theirs, it is still far better than any alternative that is open to us at this moment. Probably, French rule of non-white races compares favourably with the British. Even under Dutch rule which is moderately benevolent, the Javanese have not progressed politically in three or four countries as India has under British rule in a hundred and fifty years. The Italians and Germans and the Japanese are new-comers in the

government of alien races. Even if they were racially as humane as the British, they will subject India to the same hardships through which she passed in the earlier days of British rule. These are some points which a political realist must take into account before he makes up his mind to take advantage of England's difficulty.

A realist must have a short range as well as a long range policy. The former has been briefly sketched above by implication. The long range policy is partly in his hands and partly in that of the rulers. What he himself can do is to make his people strong and united, to get them out of their old ruts of superstition and obscurantism and to reform radically their social system which is out of date. The rulers should at the same time take steps to prepare the country to shoulder its own defence by organising its man power, to utilise the vast natural resources of the land, to educate the people and to make India industrially self-sufficient. If these steps seem for the moment to be against the immediate interests of the British, they will be found ultimately to be a bulwark of his own safety. If at the present moment India's millions had been properly trained for defence and its vast resources had been utilised to the fullest extent, English statesmen would not have had to fly to Munich or be negotiating in various European capitals for consolidating an anti-aggression front. The sands are running fast; will they be wise even at this eleventh hour? Political realism is required just as much in British statesmen as in Indian leaders.

While from a realistic point of view, it appears to be to the undoubted interest

of India that if Britain is engaged in a life and death major struggle India should co-operate with England, it is equally true that any help that India will give in the present circumstances will be only half-hearted as it will come only from the head and not from the heart. If it could be brought about that in this struggle India's heart is engaged as well as its head, then both the quality and quantity of this support will be very much superior. Some of our leaders advocate that India should sell its co-operation at the maximum price. But modern wars come unannounced all of a sudden and there would be no time for any negotiations of this kind. Conferences then will be out of question. While the dark clouds are gathering fast, would it not be a manifestation of complete realism on the part of our rulers to take some steps that will appeal to the imagination of India, not consider what is the least that could serve the purpose but give the maximum amount possible, with the promise of granting complete freedom in a very short time? It is no use saying that the new Government of India Act has already been enacted; it has not satisfied any important section of the Indian public. It should, if possible, be drastically modified and if this cannot be done, it should be repealed and replaced by another satisfactory to Indian opinion. If this is done, India will continue to be a willing member of the British Commonwealth of Nations and will prove a greater bulwark than anybody imagines. Realism is all right in politics but it should be inspired by high ideals and permeated by imagination. British connection with India and Ireland has been one long record of good measures too long delayed and consequently evoking no gratitude. Only in the case of South Africa was a bitterly hostile nation transformed, as if by magic, into a friend by the grant of timely freedom. Is there a Campbell-Bennerman among British statesmen at this moment? If there is, I am sure that Gandhi and Bose will also change into a Smuts and a Herzog.

SAFETY IN NUMBERS

BY DR. E. ASIRVATHAM, M.A.

SHOULD a country aim at a large population or a small one? Is there safety in numbers or are numbers a menace to the well-being of a people? How are we to know whether a given population is large or small? Are we too many, too few, or just right? These are questions to which no categorical answer can be given.

Prof. T. N. Carver holds that the tests of national progress are that people should live in large numbers and should live well. Increasing numbers and increasing individual and national prosperity are to him the criteria of advancement.

From the early days of civilisation people have understood the importance of numbers in relation to the means of subsistence. Conscious attempts have been made both to limit the family and to stimulate population. In our own day, Italy and Germany are doing all that they can to stimulate population. Mussolini has repeatedly said that his country is over-populated, which is a fact. Yet he has been taxing bachelors and childless couples and encouraging the breeding of large families by allowances and tax exemptions. The psychological reason behind it is that when people come to feel that their country is over-populated and there is not enough elbow-room for all of them, they fall in easily with grandiose schemes of colonial expansion.

It is obvious that a country may be thickly populated and yet not be over-populated. Conversely, a relatively small population does not necessarily mean under-population. The average density per square mile in England is 895. Yet

it cannot be said that England is over-populated. To use the words of Prof. Carver, people are living in large numbers and are living well. The U. S. A., which is a much larger country and has a density of only 50 per square mile, has in recent years experienced a much worse unemployment situation than England. The British Dominions are all sparsely populated, and yet they do not welcome large additions to their numbers, because at the present stage of their economic development and organisation, they are unable to take in all those who seek their hospitality. Africa, south of the Sahara, is undoubtedly sparsely populated. At first glance it would look as though Africa could easily take in millions of surplus population from other lands. But this is not really so. The African native used to grazing sheep and cattle requires large acreage to carry on his living. If Africa is to support a much larger population, "the whole scheme of African life must be transformed".

The balance between numbers and adequate economic production is not easy to strike. Economists and statisticians have been at pains to discover that balance, but have not always succeeded. Up to a certain point numbers are important, because that means greater division of labour and advantages of co-operation, resulting in the reduction of the costs of production and distribution and greater prosperity all around. This statement has an application to conditions in the U. S. A. to-day, although organised labour in that country fights tooth and nail any attempt at substantial increase to the working population. Belgium is much more densely populated than

Norway, Yet Belgium is more prosperous economically.

Beyond a certain point increase in numbers means increasing economic want and even distress. Yet it must be said that density of population does not necessarily mean unemployment nor does sparsity of population necessarily involve employment for everybody. Several factors enter into the picture; and without a precise knowledge of these, we cannot come to any sound conclusion.

A phenomenon which strikes the observer of modern population trends is that the population of a country does not keep on increasing steadily till it reaches *ad infinitum*. After a certain point is reached, it shows a natural tendency to decline. Countries in western and north-western Europe have reached or are about to reach their maximum population. Many of them have begun their declining process already. In all of them, due to rising standards of public health and sanitation and progress in medical science and surgery, the death-rate is low and the expectation of life is twice as great as for a country like India. Yet not enough children are born to replace the existing generation. Limitation of the family is the order of the day. There is also reason to believe that the specific legitimate fertility of the people is declining. Birth-rate in England, for example, has fallen from 292·5 in 1871 to 110·4 in 1938. According to Carr-Saunders, England and Wales are likely to reach their maximum in 1948. The same writer believes that by 1975, the population of these countries will have declined by two millions followed by rapid decline reaching by 2,035 a size half the present.

In other parts of Europe, the fall is sure to come although more slowly. Among the European countries to-day, Italy and Poland are somewhat overcrowded. But even these will in course of time follow the trend of other European countries. Considering the present rate of increase in Russia, the population is likely to double itself before it declines; and once fertility falls, it is likely to fall with great rapidity.

Turning to non-European countries, we find that they have between them two-thirds of the population of the world. This does not mean, however, that the white races have been losing ground. During the last three hundred years they have increased from 1/5 to 1/4 of the world population. While in 1650 they were about 100 millions, to-day they number 720 millions. The people who have suffered most are the black peoples of Africa, who have sunk from 1/5 to 1/15 of the world population. Primitive races coming into contact with the Western civilisation have almost perished. They have succumbed to guns, alcohol, and certain diseases which were unknown among them in their days of primitive simplicity. But those who have survived are showing signs of renewed vigour. Such is the case in Fiji and among many African tribes and the Maoris.

Japan is a thickly populated country, the density being 489. The statistics cited are from A. M. Carr-Saunders: World population per square mile with a total population of 64·5 millions in 1930. During the last 60 years, Japan has doubled itself and people have become better off. According to Carr-Saunders, further increase of population is likely to be a menace. Since

1921, birth-rate and death-rate have been on the decline. But even now about two million babies are born every year. At this rate of increase, Japan may reach 78 millions in 1950.

It is generally admitted that India is over-populated. The first census was taken in 1872 when there were 206 million people in India. Since then a census has been taken every 10 years. In 1931, the population shot up to 352 millions, the rate of increase per year during the previous 10 years having been over three millions. Economists have been much alarmed at this unprecedented increase. But a glance at the population curve shows that there is really no cause for panic, as the population of India has not been rising in a gradually ascending scale all the time. It has been rising in a jerky manner according to the economic prosperity of the country. The long period of peace and orderly living, provided by the British Government, has undoubtedly been one of the important factors contributing to the increase of population.

While there is no sound foundation for the belief that numbers will soon be out of all proportion to the means of subsistence, due care should be taken to maintain a balance between numbers and means of living. Reclamation of waste land, large schemes of irrigation, and expanding industrialisation have played their part in materially improving economic opportunities. But further progress along these lines is limited. Wider dissemination of health rules, and observance of higher standards of public health and sanitation, will result not only in declining death-rate but also in declining birth-rate. The voluntary restriction of the family is not yet wide-spread. Religious practices and

long standing social customs are all against it. The only trouble with the efficiency of the small family system is, that those who can understand and practise it are the very ones who should be encouraged to breed faster than the thoughtless and eugenically inferior people. Care should be taken not to tax the middle class out of existence, since the middle class is the backbone of any nation.

We in India are certainly living in large numbers, but are not living well. A vast majority are living near the subsistence level. The material and moral progress of India does not demand that we should blindly ape the West. The unnecessarily expensive ways of Western life have no meaning or justification. But still we need higher wages for the vast masses in order to bring the ordinary amenities of life within their reach. Such pernicious customs as child-marriage and unhygienic ways of living should be given up. Deficiency diseases, which disable people for the battle of life, should be brought under control by a systematic nation-wide effort to popularise knowledge regarding nutrition. It is a pity that since 1891, there has been no material improvement in the expectation of life for the average Indian. Even to-day the expectation of life for the male population of India is only 26·7 years, while in several of the Western countries and in New Zealand, the expectation for both men and women ranges between 50 and 80. Quality is just as important as quantity if not more. But in our enthusiasm for improving the stock and for keeping the population level above the means of subsistence, we should not let the reproduction rate fall below the replacement rate.

THE PROFESSION OF PREVARICATION

BY DR. J. H. COUSINS

In the course of the evolution of human conduct, the practice of prevarication (vulgarily known as lying) became in one department so highly placed that Jonathan Swift identified "the art of political lying". Later, Oscar Wilde brought the whole circumference of lying to one level by omitting Swift's adjective. One gathers that a sort of holy joy was experienced in the whirling of whoppers. The modern joy in lying, however, is not that of the artist; "a natural though corrupt love of the lie itself" which Bacon reminds us certain later Grecians pondered the mystery of, "where neither they (the lies) make for pleasure, as with poets, nor for advantage as with the merchant, but for the lie's sake". To-day a substantial number of men (and women) lie for advantage: they have lost the *art* of lying and made it a *profession*. They follow the principle that, while two wrongs may or may not make a right, they will certainly make an excellent write-up. That is partly the reason for the campaign of vilification of India in American journalism and book-writing.

Generally speaking, professional prevarication begins in the literary realm with the "blurb". For example: "It took Hendrik Van Loon 80 years to learn enough to write *The Arts of Mankind*. It took him 10 years to write it. The result is . . . a book about *all* the arts for *all* the people," and the blurb's italicising of *all* indicates a claim to a universal inclusiveness. An office in Bombay on the publisher's title-page suggests that the *people* of India and their *arts* are in the *all*. And this is how the *all-ness* works out. In a book of 552

pages, "India, China and Japan" are put into a chapter of 16 pages of text, in which Indian art gets two pages with no hint of Indian painting. This is all that the author could make in 80 years of preparation out of the library of works on Oriental art that have been produced in that time; three per cent. of space for the art of one-sixth of the population of the planet during five thousand known years!

This is the quantitative aspect of the profession of prevarication, the spatial suggestion of unimportance. It has, however, a psychological basis. As J. H. Newman said in one of his Oxford sermons: "Of course, it is very common in all matters, not only in religion, to speak in an unreal way"—and he presents us with the politest excuse for the professional prevaricator—"when we speak on a subject with which our minds are not familiar". The author of the book that provokes this protest pleads gross ignorance on certain aspects of Oriental art. But stark ignorance is too naive to falsify others; it merely falsifies itself. This book has the certainty of its own rightness that is the root of all misrepresentation and all hypocrisy. For example—

On the Hindu temples, the author writes and I comment in brackets. "Those vast temples . . . are rarely pleasing to the European eye" (a quite legitimate reaction of unfamiliarity). "Most of them, unless seen from a long distance, fill one's heart with a sense of imminent doom and seem to preach the utter futility of all human effort against the implacable forces of nature." (A Hindu temple of the "vast" type cannot

be seen from a distance: all that can be seen are the great gateways and outer walls. They do not suggest "imminent doom" to those who realise that they refer only to eternal verities expressed in symbolical personages and events. They do not preach "futility", but that humanity can rise beyond its external and internal limitations). "The bathing pools, which are full of light, would form a pleasant contrast to the interior if one were not conscious all the time that the gold smeared all over the roof and the jewels stuck in the holy images could be better used if spent upon hospitals to cure at least part of the deformed humanity that creeps through these dismal sepulchres." (The bathing pools that are "full of light" in those "dismal sepulchres" are not as bright as the author paints them. Gold is not smeared all over the roof. If the gold and the jewels, donated by devotees over centuries, were sold, the amount obtainable for them, if marketable, would give a day's food or medicine to a number of people and leave them just as they were the next day with no economic or hygienic problem solved; and the shifting of the jewels would only shift a sin which the author thinks he sees but which he does not understand. There are lots of hospitals in India, but they are not visited by the peripatetic prevaricators. "Deformed humanity "does not creep through the temple interiors. The interiors are not "dismal sepulchres" but pathways shaded from tropical glare and heat; and are luminous highways to religious joy to the individual worshipper and centres for the conjoint fervour of fine men, gracious women, happy children" on numerous local and general

festivals which are occasions of joy and generosity. To omit these is an act of *suppressio veri* much used in the profession of prevarication.

So much for the temples. "As for the sculptures that are all over the place" (which, of course, they are not), "they have been twisted and tortured into figures that seem created for the express purpose of repelling at least the casual spectator." It is doubtful, however, if the sculptors of some centuries ago had any thought of annoying the casual spectator of to-day. Their *dharma* (job) was the serious and impersonal one of representing in visible form invisible powers, qualities, functions conceived as having embodiment in personages beyond human form and limitations, yet only representable in human form and extensions of it in multiple heads and arms symbolising endowments of mentality and activity more extensive and varied than that of normal humanity. The author concedes technical achievement sometimes to some of the sculptures. "But (and here we pass from the falsification of fact to that which, in the predilections of the falsifier, motivates the falsification) the subjects, the Brahma and Vishnu and Shivas and their endless cousins, uncles, brothers and sisters seem only very little more attractive than the nasty-minded holy monkeys and the half-starved holy cows which infest the premises." It is not easy to face in measured terms the turpitude disclosed in so flagrant a breach of ordinary decency in references to the personages of another's faith. Missionaries of Christianity in India have passed beyond such boorishness. But this author not only places the Hindu plastic conceptions of the powers of the universe "only

very little" above monkeys and cows, but gravitates a stage lower in referring to the temples as "gilded towers covered from top to bottom with statues of their myriad gods . . . , and the whole nauseating collection of sacred animals and the not-quite-so-sacred deities and their very unappetising female relatives". The untruth of the foregoing sentence, and the baseness disclosed in the last three words of it, makes any contradiction of mere fact an anti-climax. One inclusive rectification will serve. "Those vast temples" with which the author crowds the terrain of his references to Hindu India are a small percentage of the total number of Hindu shrines. There are vast numbers of small shrines in which a single worshipper renders homage to the Supreme Being through a single representation. Even in one of "those vast temples" of South India, the climax of its cycle of worship through various forms is homage to the formless One Who includes the many. But matters such as these have no value for professional prevarication.

With an air of complete knowledge and final judgment, the author informs us that "all this changes the moment we come in contact with Buddhistic art". And without a glimmer of cerebration he adds: "I have been told by reliable authorities (being myself grossly ignorant upon the subject) . . . ", a confession which pulverises his ability to make any distinction between Hindu and "Buddhistic" art or even to gauge the reliability of his "authorities". What he retails at fourth hand is the stale stuff of the Grecian origin of Indian sculpture; and on an edifice of ignorance he sets the finial: "And, indeed, Buddhistic sculpture did not begin to flourish until

several hundred years after the death of the Buddha himself, when Asoka, his devout disciple, was ruling over the Punjab." The facts deduced by scholarship show that from the seventh century before Christ, Hindu sculpture possessed a native strength that rendered it immune from the Grecian infection outside a small area in the remote north-west. Such foreign elements as entered into the art of Buddhism at the time of Asoka, not "several hundred" years but three hundred years, after the Buddha, were not Grecian but Iranian. And Asoka, far from being the ruler of the Punjab only, was both the temporal and spiritual head of a vast empire. On the matter of art, the author disposes of the "notion still held by a great many people that the art of India was something mysterious that went back thousands and thousands of years, being even older than the pyramids". This he, out of his confessed ignorance, characterises as "entirely erroneous"; and relevancy and reason go to the winds in the addendum: "We have a great deal of literature that was composed in the days of Homer, but the earliest Indian architecture goes back only to the days of Buddha in the sixth century B.C." Apart from the lesson between Homeric literature and Indian architecture, the sign of dead compilation instead of living creation, there is a literary tradition in India as old as that of Homer. But incongruous comparisons are not needed to establish the age of Indian architecture. The excavations in recent years in Sind and the Punjab have certified the history of admirable town-planning and building in India back to nearly 3,000 years before Christ, with the implications of centuries of preparation.

Curiously, or perhaps naturally, the change declared when we pass from the religious life and art of Hindu India (which is still in action) to "Buddhistic art" (which is a thing of the remote past) does not emerge in any comparison that would satisfy a reader of average intelligence. All that emerges is a complex so strong that even when the outer portion of the author's apparatus of consciousness is stretched as far as China, it goes back with a snap to its anti-Hindu fixation. Thus in setting out the forces that "greatly affected the Chinese mentality", he includes Buddhism which he summarises as "an attempt to make the human race conscious of its divine possibilities". But it was "as complete and disheartening a failure as Christianity afterwards.... Soon the Indian was once more slaughtering his goats, burning his incense to his ancient idols and doing all sorts of terrible things to himself to propitiate the evil spirits whom he feared much more than he loved the good ones". The change back to Hinduism indicated above, and the bringing of the narrative back to China, is thus amplified. "Buddha's ideals, however, were much too high-minded for the average Hindus, and after six hundred years they quietly went back to their familiar old gods. Buddha, who had done his best to reform their disgusting practices, was completely forgotten. But by this time his ideas had crossed the Himalayas and Tibet and in A.D. 67 during the Han dynasty, Buddhism was accepted as the official religion of China."

Untrue, because exaggerated, is the statement that, after the alleged failure of Buddhism, the Indian returned to the practices quoted above. Goat-slaughtering

has never been a universal Indian practice. The author did not see it in the "vast temples" to which he refers. Where it is practised it is condemned by other Hindus and has been dropped in some of the minority of places in which it was an occasional custom. But a nauseating thing about such references to animal sacrifice in India is that they are usually made by Westerners while they are digesting the remains of crucified animals; and those who condemn the practice by Hindus have no qualm of conscience and no sense of hypocrisy in participating in the vast Christmas orgy of slaughter and gormandising.

The same prevarication in over-statement is in the author's references to "ancient idols", "terrible things", and "evil spirits". (1) There is no special virtue in ancientness in Hindu deific images. When an image develops a flaw, it is rejected from its shrine. Images are made for certain festivals and destroyed when the festival is over. Hindus do not worship images as such. (2) Certain Indians, not the priests of temples, have asserted the will of the spirit over the flesh through practices in affinity with the flagellations of mediæval monasticism in Europe. But these are a very small proportion of the population; and (3) their *tapas* (discipline) is not in propitiation of spirits, evil or good but for personal psychological purposes. "Buddha's ideals" were no higher than the Upanishadic ideals" and the proportion of "average Hindus" interested in religious ideals was, perhaps, no smaller than the proportion of average Christians who are at the level of understanding and practising the Christ ideals. Buddha's ideals and his memory did not fade out in India "after six

hundred years", that is, by the author's calculation, in the first century A.D. The great era of the Buddhist frescoes, to which the author gives no heed, went on until the seventh century A.D. The Buddha has never been "completely forgotten" in India. One school of Hindu iconography gave him a place among the avatars. There are Buddhists in many parts of India. One of the loveliest shrines of the Buddha and his ideals is a room in a palace in India under the patronage of a Maharaja who is the hereditary head of the Hindu Church in his State. The same Hindu ruler, when passing through a Buddhist country, reverently scattered flowers at the feet of an image of the Lord of Illumination.

There are other errors of fact and interpretation in the masterpieces of prevarication under notice concerning the art and life of India; for when ignorance sets out on the peddling of caricatures of knowledge, and when a vicious and unfounded antipathy jostles both truth and decency off the kerb, the material for criticism by any one who knows and understands takes on the appearance of illimitability. But the foregoing will serve to indicate one of the forms of pathological infection to which the mind of America is liable through the artificial magnification of intellectual mediocrity to the detriment of America's own generous spirit and its reactions to international affairs. The ultimate anti-toxin against this infection is the bacillus of truth received by contagion from the actualities of life and culture. The measures now under consideration for the introduction of Oriental studies in the Universities of the United States of America will help towards

this desirable end. Every atom of help towards the projected establishment of an Indian section in the Oriental Institute of the University of Hawaii at Honolulu will be a contribution towards the cessation of professional and amateur vilification of India in America and elsewhere.

Punitive measures, or even action for national defamation in a court of international justice, which does not yet exist, would be repugnant to the spirit of India. Neither are they indicated in the original "Thou shalt not" against bearing false witness, probably because there is sufficient punishment in the mental, æsthetical, and spiritual deprivation involved in being such a bearer.

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Health and Unemployment Insurance for India

BY MR. V. G. RAMAKRISHNAN, M.A.

In a country like India where statistics are very defective, it is difficult to outline a scheme of health insurance without a careful enquiry into every aspect of the problem. But certain generalisations can be made on which, with the help of statistics that are collected, a scheme can be formulated. In order that a risk should be insurable, the minimum number of conditions which should be satisfied are:—

- (a) a clear statement of the nature of the risk;
- (b) the possibility of protecting a large number of people against such risk;
- (c) the ability to calculate with a certain degree of probability the incidence of the risk; and
- (d) the risk must be of a nature as to contribute a menace against which those who are subjected to it should desire to provide.

Apart from this question of having schemes of social insurance for workers in factories, the problem may be viewed from a larger angle and a scheme of social insurance may be formulated after a detailed study for any one who wishes to cover himself against the various contingencies which may happen to an average human being. Such contingencies may rise from:—

- (1) temporary incapacity of a person or his wife for work, or temporary loss of one's job under the following cases:—accident, disease, bad health, maternity;
- (2) permanent impairment of a person's capacity to work and earn, invalidity, old age;
- (3) death of the principal bread-winner involving financial loss—unprovided widowhood, unprovided orphanhood.

Briefly, social insurance aims at providing a certain amount of security against a group of contingencies. The difference between social insurance and life assurance would be, that in the former case the group of contingencies covered are in a sense more detailed and varied.

In the United Kingdom, the scope of national health insurance covers all manual and non-manual workers between the ages of 16 and 65 with incomes under £250 a year. The scheme is contributory and, as in Japan, the costs are divided between the employers, employees, and the State. The benefits include medical attendance, sickness benefit, disablement benefit, maternity benefit. Sickness benefit begins on the fourth day of incapacity and continues for a period not exceeding 26 weeks after which disablement benefit is payable.

The Government of Madras intend introducing a Bill for the introduction of unemployment insurance. The Honourable V. V. Giri, Minister for Labour and Industries has decided to introduce the scheme as an experimental measure on co-operative lines in the textile industry alone. This is because this industry is well organised in the Presidency and labour is perennial and not seasonal as in the sugar industry. Official statistics show that unemployment in the textile industry in the Madras Presidency ranges between 7 and 8 per cent. It is proposed to collect a quarter of an anna from each employee for each day he is working and an equal amount from the employer. An alternative proposal is to collect 1/6th of the wage earned by the employee and the same fraction of the wage bill of the employer. The benefit

proposed to be paid would be roughly a week's wage for each month of unemployment under the second scheme and a flat rate of Rs. 4-8-0 per month for single men and Rs. 7-0-0 for those with families if the first plan is adopted. The success of this pioneer venture in India in unemployment insurance will be eagerly expected by all well-wishers of labour in the country. It seems to be the opinion of the Government that so far as the settlement of labour disputes is concerned, the arrangement now obtaining has been beneficial both to employers and employed and that, therefore, no additional legislation is necessary for the purpose. The Madras Government are of the view that any additional legislation providing for compulsory arbitration should be taken up as an All-India measure in consultation with other Provinces. The feasibility of weekly payment of wages in all factories is stated to be favoured by the Government and has been approved by the Department of Industries. The problem of liquidating indebtedness among industrial workers is also being examined and legislation similar to Agriculturists' Debt Relief Act will soon be put on the legislative anvil.

In the light of experience of other countries, the following may be taken up as the means of dealing with unemployed assurance in India:-

(1) co-operative insurance against unemployment among workers in seasonal trades;

(2) poor relief in villages administered in the first instance by village authorities and coupled with schemes of local works guided by higher administrations;

(3) establishment of unemployment exchanges at least in the bigger industrial towns and in special industries; branches of these agencies in the principal recruiting areas;

(4) Subsidised Union Funds fed by contributions from members and employers;

(5) poor relief in urban areas and organised public charity administered by Municipal authority through a Poor Relief Board;

(6) extension of the Poor Relief Scheme to distress in rural areas caused by industrial factors.

The early introduction of these measures is both necessary and feasible.

GARDENING AS A COTTAGE INDUSTRY

BY MR. M. K. RAJAGOPAL

GARDENING is avowedly one of the costlier hobbies. But for the Indian villager it constitutes by far the most vital and profitable cottage industry.

Indian rural life is of necessity almost exclusively vegetarian, due to economic and not so much as to religious, social or cultural reasons. The normal every-day meal of an average Indian villager consists of *roti* (bread of wheat or of

any other cereal) or boiled rice and *bhaji* (cooked vegetables). It is but rarely, except in the United Provinces, that milk and the other dairy products or meat find a place in the villager's menu, excepting on occasions of festivity. Thus to the very poorest even, while dairy products and meat are more in the nature of luxuries, vegetables are a necessity. There is a constant and

unfailing demand for vegetables from the urban areas, too, which the villages have to meet. Thus vegetable gardening exists not as a potential cottage industry but is carried on, though not in a properly organized way; invariably one cannot find "gardens" as such, but vegetables are grown in old patches, and mostly irrigated and looked after in moments of leisure. If modern scientific methods are introduced, and an impetus given for affording an organized footing, vegetable gardening is bound to be of as much relief to the rural farmers as hand-weaving or hand-spinning itself.

Flower-gardening is another traditional occupation of some of the villages. Flowers are required not only for purposes of personal decoration but are a necessity in the Hindu temples and orthodox Hindu homes for purposes of *pujas*. Though restricted in scope, it is a potential source, and some of the villagers engaged in flower gardening are quite well-off having a good time of it, especially in the proper seasons as those of *melas* and *utsavas* and social functions.

Fruit-gardening is organized on a larger scale. Mangoes of Western India, plantains of the South and the grapes of Nasik may be cited as instances. "Orange" the luxury of the "high and exalted", grown in the hills, is naturally the most organized fruit industry. But whereas the potentialities of the cultivation of Indian fruits and their marketing and now of fruit-preservation, too, have come to be recognized and utilized, vegetable gardening has hardly been noted or considered at all.

There are more than hundred kinds and varieties of vegetables in use in all parts of India, while only a few of

them are universally popular; most of them are peculiar to provinces. Detailed study as to their nutritional value, productive value, proper modes of cultivation, modes of scientific intensive culture, scientific classification and collection of relevant data would ensure the placing on a firm footing of this vital cottage industry. Possibilities of desirable modes of preservation of vegetables, efficient marketing and adequate distribution of seeds are necessary developments that will follow in the wake of enterprise. Rehabilitation of the villages is fundamentally based on the physical betterment of millions of the *Daridra Narayans*, a restoration of their normal physical efficiency. It is a question of proper nutrition. Milk as a factor of nutrition has been recognized and there is activity in that direction. But vegetables, as has already been pointed out, form a necessary food of the villagers, and consumption of better vegetables in more adequate quantities will go a long way in relieving the rural distress. From the nutritional point of view, a study of vegetables of foreign countries, for instance, spinach which is said to be so good for health, and the desirability of their introduction and use in India would seem necessary. The value of Soya beans and of cabbages and cauliflower and tomatoes and potatoes has already been popularly recognized and their use is widely prevalent.

The fact that the total consumption of onions and potatoes in our cities and towns and even villages is met with by imports from Italy must serve as a significant eye-opener, not only as to the actual loss sustained by our villages due to lack of leadership, enlightenment, and enterprise, but also to the potentiality of vegetable-gardening as a cottage industry.

WOMEN AND WORK

BY SRIMATHI SAKUNTALA THAMPI

THE emancipation of the modern woman has been a classic incident in the history of human liberation; women



SRIMATHI THAMPI

are taking an equal share with their men-folk in efforts to improve general conditions; they are using their powers to serve the motherland; work has made them believe that they are not mere soulless beings but an integral part in that higher life which has a great deal to contribute in shaping the welfare and destiny of the nation.

I have never understood how it all comes about that for so long our grandma's were content to sit meekly behind the *purdah*, while animated grandpa's settled their destinies and made and muddled the world in which the old folks lived. It is a great wonder why people should think it extraordinary that intelligent women could be as efficient and capable of holding a position in the surgery, the newspaper office, in the administration of the land, or performing feats of skill and endurance.

But our political patriarchs will say: "give them complete emancipation and let us see what they will do with it". The answer is that women have taken their share in the work of the world once considered exclusively man's; it has made women happier, helped them to forget the exaggerated sex-consciousness and inferiority complex prevalent in the country; given them economic independence; satisfied their questing minds; enlarged their mental horizon and proved women's mental capacities.

It is unfair to say that women are inconsistent, lacking in concentration, courage and intellect. Any one who has heard the weighty and brilliant speeches of Dr. Besant, Mrs. Sarojini, and Kamala Devi Chattopadhyaya will have to alter that view; their beautiful prose style, depth of thought, professional attacks, the exquisite light and shade of their speeches will outclass many a veteran masculine speaker.

I am not writing as a feminist; a world solely dominated by women will be a sorry enough place. I cannot fail to add that from the moment our women learnt to read and write and speak, however illogically as men seem to believe, they have claimed and got equal rights with men and have achieved a great deal already.

No longer are women victims of the mere male, to be hustled, hurried, teased, nagged, flattered, fettered, cursed and openly defied. No longer will the atmosphere in the home be one of cramping limitations, or ambition and initiative of any

kind be crimes. The idea of independence is firmly gaining ground in this country, and nothing is more powerful in this world than this idea, and nothing can stop it, not armies, or bombs or battalions of husbands. Some of our women have been growing steadily vigorous; they have fought for their claims and eventually won the right to become bread-winners. In this incredibly mad new order of things, the man of the family is often the dependant and the woman the provider and economic mainstay. She fills the family purse, he adjusts himself meekly to the role of hearth-tender. There are pathetic instances of working wives and stay-at-home husbands; dozens of women are supporting whole families; full-time bread-winners because of the force of the inexorable economic law.

It is a curious fact that for untold ages, women's chief job has been looking after the house, but there are no outstanding Indian hotel managers to speak of. Cooking was decidedly woman's particular province. Yet all the famous Indian cooks are men; restaurants and cooking establishments run by men are far and away better; and in every-day life if you want to strike a balance of household capacity, you will surprisingly find that the man is quite handy with the stove and finds it great fun.

While on the contrary his wife can drive a car a little better than he can and supervise the building of a house.

Needlework which is woman's chief hobby, has been in the hands of men and there are many tailors both well known and unknown who are skilled with the needle.

The making of cakes, an exclusively feminine occupation, is now in the hands of men; bakers can be seen everywhere, so are embroiderers, confectioners and connoisseurs of perfume and jewellery.

Even as I write this, the times spiritedly call for a changed outlook with regard to the nursing profession; the incomparable Afghan, Mabaratta, Nair and Telugu stalwart will soon be seen in our numerous hospitals. Their benignant presence will be an influence for calmness and good comfort even amid the struggles of expiring nature. 'Ministering angels,' their agile forms shall glide quietly along the numerous bed-sides and will help to soften the poor pale faces of the patients with confidence at the sight of them!

Men are finding happiness and success in following occupations regarded as unmanly. What then is the general idea of woman's work being entirely in the home? What can be more satisfying, more conducive to human dignity? Certainly not the ability to get the husband earn and keep one in cushioned idleness and enforced inertia. Work is the only thing that can bring happiness to a human being and there is nothing more absorbing than sharing in the work of the world.

For my part, I think men will just find it easy in India to put back the hands of the clock. I do not believe either that they will see women trooping back to the hearth in large numbers.

Lastly, women work better because of education, independence and ambition; deprive them of these—and I won't answer for the consequences.

HINDU CULTURE IN THE WEST

BY

MR. S. S. SURYANARAYANA SASTRI, M.A., BAR AT LAW

— :o: —

"THE supreme task of our generation is to give a soul to the growing world consciousness, to develop ideals and institutions necessary for the creative expression of the world soul, to transmit these loyalties and impulses to future generations and train them into world citizens. To this great work of creating a new pattern of living, some of the fundamental insights of Eastern religions, especially Hinduism and Buddhism, seem to be particularly relevant." And the Spalding Professor of Eastern Religions and Ethics has in his latest book comprising nine chapters, addressed himself to the task of indicating these insights. It is appropriately published by the Clarendon Press and forms a noteworthy contribution to the liaison work that he had started even before elevation to the Oxford Chair and has so successfully continued since.

The first three chapters are reprints of lectures delivered on various occasions. The first on the *World's Unborn Soul* is the author's inaugural lecture wherein he shows the present need for an emphasis of Eastern religions, and the essentially rationalistic and humanistic character of the Hindu view of religion. Such rationalism is not, however, to be confounded with intellectualism which, as shown in the second chapter (*The Supreme Spiritual Ideal: The Hindu View*) is a phase of *avidya*. True religion is based on insight and is characterised by love (*ahimsa*) and freedom from fear (*abhaya*). The third chapter which is a reprint of Sir George Birdwood lecture, 1927, offers a detailed critique of Schweitzer's estimate of Indian mysticism as life and world-negating. Though such a view has some

foundation in current misconceptions, fostered even by some of our own publicists, it is far from the truth.

"Mysticism has its fanatics who look upon the real as spiritual freedom and contrast it with the actual in its bondage, declaring that birth is an error of the soul and our chance of liberation lies in shaking off these shackles. The theory of *maya* has been interpreted in this negative sense" (p. 99). Though such exaggerations are common even in the West, "Sankara has nothing in common with people who will not accept the visible world any more than with those who will accept nothing else... the eternal is not out of all relation to the world of history. Though caught in the finite, we aspire for the infinite" (p. 100). The insistence on the continuity between phenomenon and noumenon, and the exhibition of the due recognition of the body, as perfectible, not negligible*, constitute very distinctive and valuable features of this chapter. Ethical endeavour is not divorced from metaphysical realisation. The advaitin would have it that even the ordered scheme of *varna* and *ashrama* helps like a saddle horse to reach the goal quickly, though one may arrive there some time even without a horse. The persistent misunderstanding and misrepresentation of Hindu culture as mainly, if not wholly, negative, receive a sound and much needed corrective in this chapter.

The four succeeding chapters are concerned with the inter-relations between Hindu and Buddhist thought on the one side and the thought of Greece and Christendom on the other. The Greek

* The body becomes a transparency through which the spirit shines, a glass for its indwelling flame. (p. 98).

+ Surely it is Mandana who says this, not Sankara, but see p. 362.

spirit of finding the good in this world alone is contrasted with the mystic spirit of seeking the good beyond this world and in the spirit. The latter finds frequent expression in the Greek and Christian thinkers, but is foreign to the native current of their speculation; it seems naturally traceable to Eastern influence for which there is a perceptible historical background. The question of the affiliation of ideas is both difficult and unprofitable as the author himself realises.* And as he shows more than once, the validity of mysticism may be based in part on the universality of its forms wherever manifested. It will not, however, be wholly unprofitable to note the possible derivation of certain manifestations of spirit from the East in general and India in particular, especially when the influence is admitted by Occidental scholars of weight and repute. The wealth of scholarship and the balance of judgment displayed in these chapters are as striking as they are characteristic. Here are some representative conclusions: The Orphics held in common with the Hindus the beliefs "of rebirth, the immortality and God-like character of the soul, the bondage of the soul in the body and the possibility of release by purification. If we add to them metaphors like the wheel of birth and the world egg, the suggestion of natural coincidence "is somewhat unconvincing" (p. 188). "In His teaching of the Kingdom of God, life eternal, ascetic emphasis, and even future life, He (Jesus) breaks away from the Jewish tradition and approximates to Hindu and Buddhist thought" (p. 176). "The only Judaic elements [in Philo] are the insistence on monotheism, contempt for image worship, and the claim that the Jews had in the Mosaic revelation the highest religious knowledge. All the other elements of his system are those found in Hindu thought" (p. 197). "In Paul, we find two conceptions of the Supreme, God and Christ, two kinds of knowledge, the reality of mystic experience, the indwelling of God, indifference to ceremonial piety, conversion as

rebirth, the need for the crucifixion of the flesh, salvation of oneness with Christ to be transformed into oneness with God with the redemption of the cosmic process. These are all features associated with mystic [as contrasted with Messianic] religion" (p. 225).

The last two chapters on *The Meeting of Religions* and *the Individual and the Social Order in Hinduism* are in some ways the most noteworthy in the book since they present to us the scholar not in his study but in the concrete setting of life. In the first of these chapters, we have an interpretation and defence of the tolerance exercised by Hinduism—a tolerance due not to cynical indifference or political expediency but understanding and appreciation of other faiths. "The attitude of the Hindu and the Buddhist to other forms of worship is one of sympathy and respect and not criticism and contempt for their own sake" (p. 814). Such an attitude comes from the understanding that religion is a matter of personal realisation, and that in the pursuit and mode of achievement variations are inevitable in spite of the identity of the goal. "Creeds and dogmas, words and symbols have only an instrumental value. Their function is to aid the growth of spirit by supplying supports for a task that is strictly personal" (p. 817). Hence historical events and geographical conditions far from being irrelevant have a profound bearing on the faiths men profess. Christianity in its spread over the face of earth has repeatedly taken on local colour compromising with the religious systems that preceded it. An absolute change of religion amounting to the displacement of one nature by another is neither possible nor valuable. "Religion is like the string of a violin; if removed from its resonant body, it will give the wrong tone, if any" (p. 828). While this realisation has kept Hinduism alive, it has not kept off conception altogether with the result that, like the curate's egg, it is good only in parts. Catholicism has tended to be confused with complaisance; the danger is "that what is may be accepted because it is, and progress may be infinitely delayed" (p. 889).

* Ch. p. 149 ". . . it is indifferent whether similarities are due to borrowing or are the result of parallel intellectual evolution."

The last chapter seeks to exhibit the Hindu social order with its four-fold ends of life, four classes and four stages of life as devised in the interests of the full expansion of the individual and as working to that end except when it degenerated. The division into the four classes—the intellectual, the fighter, the trader and the general utility man with no special aptitude is truly democratic and designed to save the highest interests of society and the individual. It was by no means perfect as a system; and it became less perfect when it degenerated into a rigid caste distinction. It would, however, be rash to conclude that the claims of individuality were ignored in the Hindu scheme of life.

While the reader will undoubtedly be both exalted and profited by the study of the book, he may in the end find himself left with some questions not answered or not fully answered here. "The ideal," he is told, "is the Brahmanic one of non-resistance; for the means are as important as the end. In this imperfect world, however, the non-resisters are able to practise their convictions only because they owe their security to the maintenance by others of the principles which they repudiate" (p. 361). Is this cynicism or only an avowal of imperfection? If the latter, when and how is the imperfection to cease? So long as we seek to maintain the perfect (as ideal) by the imperfect (actual), is there any chance of the latter approximating to the former? Is it intelligible to maintain that non-resistance will triumph in the long run, only because resistance is our present duty? This may be the correct position, but the present reviewer has great difficulty in accepting it, and he may not be a solitary figure.

Again, it is good to be told that Hinduism neither condemns the world nor despises the body. It is good to know that "the body becomes a transparency through which the spirit shines, a glass for its indwelling flame" (p. 98). It is heartening to realise that the performance of the round of worldly duties (of course, in a spirit of detachment) will help and

not hinder spiritual realisation. But how is one to reconcile all this with the asceticism and other worldliness so often stressed as characteristic of Hinduism? The mystics would appear to have viewed the body as an encumbrance. The doctrine of "the fall into corporeality" is said to belong to a tradition "which Hellenic thought, untouched by alien speculation, was perhaps not very likely to have developed" (p. 149). The Upanishads too often seem to imply that final release requires physical disintegration, as when they speak of the enlightened man being again (finally) released at death. Which is the real Hindu tradition? Is it the perfection of body and mind together to be sublimated into spirit? Or is it the mortification of the flesh for the glorification of the spirit? There is no doubt on which side the author's sympathies lie.

We trust that ere long we shall have another volume when the positive implications of the present work are expanded and fully explained; for the moment we shall record our gratitude for the excellent fare now provided.

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THE INDIAN SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

BY REV. C. F. ANDREWS

I HAVE been waiting until the last moment before writing this article on the Indian situation in South Africa in



REV. C. F. ANDREWS

order to see whether there would be any development before the end of the month. Now the request has come from the editor and I must immediately send the statement about the situation which I have promised.

In order to understand what has happened so suddenly in South Africa, it is necessary to recapitulate very briefly the many incidents which have led up to this new crisis. First of all, the numbers of Indians in the whole of South Africa amount roughly to about 295,000. The great majority of these are in Natal and are the descendants of the indentured labourers who came to Natal from the Madras Presidency between the years 1860 and 1910. During those 50 years it is estimated that somewhat less than 200,000 labourers with their children must have gone out from South India, but since a return passage was a part of the contract, a very large number of those

who emigrated came back soon after their indenture was over. Only a comparatively small number stayed on, but these have multiplied and there are now nearly 200,000 Indians settled in Natal.

In the Transvaal there are also a large number from South India, but the majority of the Indian population came from Gujarat and most of them are traders. The Tamils, who were able to migrate into the Transvaal from Natal, are mainly market gardeners and hawkers. The whole number of Indians in the Transvaal is at the present time about 20,000.

In Orange Free State there are only a few Hotel waiters and the whole number of Indians is only about 200. The restrictions on entering this part of South Africa are very severe.

In the Cape Province, there are comparatively few Indians scattered over a vast area. I do not remember what the exact census figure was, but there are probably 10,000 in the whole of the Cape Province. These are mostly Muhammadan traders and a few Hindus from Tamil Nadu and Gujarat.

When the Gandhi-Smuts Agreement was made in 1914, it was supposed on all sides that the Indian problem had received a fair and honourable settlement. During the War, the treatment of Indians on the whole was in accordance with the Gandhi-Smuts Agreement, and no serious action was taken against them in any province. The trouble began again in 1919, when an effort was made to restrict still further the very meagre rights of the Transvaal Indians, to hold property and carry on their business. I was sent out by Mahatma Gandhi on that occasion, and paid two visits at different times in the next three years in order to deal with this very complicated problem. The truth was, that the old Gold Laws of 1885 were the basis of all later legislation, even after the

South African Union had been formed; and these Gold Laws were very oppressive. Every effort, therefore, was made by the Indian community, quite rightly, to obtain what they needed by various methods which did not actually infringe the letter of these very obnoxious laws. Since the laws themselves were acknowledged to be thoroughly bad, and yet it was impossible to get them rescinded, the only way which the Transvaal Indians had to obtain their elementary rights was the method of finding loopholes in the law itself.

Since that date, many new laws have been passed against these Transvaal Indians shutting up every possible loophole and thus making the Gold Laws more and more stringent. At the present time this struggle in the Transvaal is not yet over. The Union Government will not do the obviously right thing, which ought to be done, namely, to cancel the Gold Laws themselves and allow the Indians the same privileges which they allow to Syrians, who have been permitted to enter the Transvaal without the restrictions put upon them which the Indians have had from the very first. The Feetham Commission which has now sent in its Report, has taken a liberal view of the situation, but has been handicapped throughout by these obnoxious laws in the background.

The Indians in the Cape Province have never had much trouble hitherto, compared with those in Transvaal and Natal. The reason for this is simple. They have, what is called, "The Education Franchise". Thus their political rights have enabled them to stand up for their rights in other directions.

As early as 1924, the Union Government itself began to put forward certain measures for segregating Indians in special quarters of their own. Different measures have been brought forward for segregating Indians, not only in the matter of residence but also in business. The object of all these bills has been to make Indians live apart in special local areas and from the very first the people of India have resisted with all their might any such form of segregation. The first bill was not carried through into law, owing to the defeat of General Smuts' Cabinet on

other South African issues. General Hertzog and Dr. Malan came into power and they immediately brought a still more drastic measure for segregation; but this was abandoned by the Government on account of the holding of a Round Table Conference at Cape Town in 1927. Undoubtedly the Union Government hoped that through this Conference they might be able to obtain the voluntary repatriation of a large number of Indians in Natal, where the Indian problem was most acute.

The one substantial gain of this Cape Town Conference, and of the Conference which followed in 1928, was the appointment by the Indian Government of an Agent-General, who should be able to represent Indian rights in South Africa. Along with this there was also given a promise that where Indians in Natal were anxious to reach the Western standard of living in economic and social matters, the Union Government would do everything possible to help them to do so. This, which was called "The Uplift Clause", gave some satisfaction in India; and it was hoped that through such Agent-Generals as the Rt. Hon'ble Srinivasa Sastri and others, this uplift clause would be fully implemented by the Union Government. But, up to the present, there has been very little sign of this very important clause being put into force. Indeed, this part of the Agreement has been steadily neglected. The Union Government have recently complained that there has been very little help given by the Indian Government with regard to repatriation. It has been, however, pointed out that the Agreement, which was signed in Cape Town, only referred to *voluntary* repatriation; and even here there has been a considerable lessening of the numbers in Natal through this voluntary movement. Evidently, the Union Government thought that the numbers who would take the Government's offer of a free

"The uplift section of the Agreement runs thus: 'The Union Government firmly believe in and adhere to the principle that it is the duty of every civilised Government to devise ways and means and to take all possible steps for the uplift of every section of their permanent population to the full extent of their capacity and opportunities'." — [Ed. I.B.]

passage and bonus would be much greater than has actually been the case; but the fact that only a few have returned has in no sense been a breach of the Agreement; for it was made quite clear that its basis was entirely voluntary. At the second Round Table Conference a new clause was added that enquiry should be made as to whether any other country than India would be suitable for an emigration scheme on liberal lines from South Africa. But when the enquiry was made and it was discovered that no country except British North Borneo was anxious to encourage any such colonisation scheme, this part of the Agreement ended in complete failure.

During the last few years a very subtle form of segregation has been encouraged in Natal by means of what are called "Servitudes". This word implies that a special clause can be put in any document, with regard to the holding of property, which would prevent Indians from becoming property owners in that district. This has been going on privately for some time, but in order to make such a private arrangement public and legal, it is now proposed that in any district or area where 75 per cent. of the European population desire that no Indian shall be allowed to reside, this wish shall be made legal by means of these Servitudes. If such a law is passed it will put into the hands of groups of Europeans in different parts of the country a method whereby they may squeeze out Indians from one area after another and in this manner obtain the racial segregation which they have set their hearts upon. Even though a fair number of Europeans may not wish for such a drastic segregation measure to be passed in a district, they may be socially compelled to give their vote along with the majority in order not to suffer from social boycott. Thus this new proposal carries with it some of the worst forms of racism. Its effect will be to create race prejudice rather than to allay it.

Mr. Stittsford, the Minister of the Interior, has taken up an intransigent attitude and has declared that he does not wish for any further Round Table Conference on this matter, which the

Government of South Africa are determined to see carried into effect. I have already published in the papers that there is no method of retaliation open to us, but there might be great value from a strong European demand from the Europeans in India that such an insult should not be levelled against the Indians in South Africa. More than any other people in India, the voice of the European residents in this country would be likely to carry weight in South Africa. It would also be necessary for the Government of India, over which the Viceroy is head, to make known as plainly as possible that India will not submit to such a degrading treatment of its own nationals whereby they are racially segregated from other members of the community.

Mr. Kodanda Rao has suggested that the Christian Missionaries in India might themselves help in this matter by pointing out the un-Christian conduct which such racial segregation implies. This seems to me to be one of the best proposals that has yet been made and I am doing my utmost to find out if there is any way in which this form of approach to the South African Europeans can be made.

The situation is as dark as possible and though we have been able during the last 20 years to tide over one crisis after another, it would seem, humanly speaking, that this new crisis is too serious and alarming for any half step to be taken. It would probably mean the breaking off of all negotiations with South Africa if the final Segregation Bill is passed and the withdrawal of the Agent-General of India from that country.

C. F. ANDREWS' WORKS

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THE INDIAN PROBLEM. Contents: Indian Independence; India and the Empire; Non-Co-operation; Swadeshi Movement; National Education; Drink and Opium Evil. No. 1. Reduced to As. 8.

G. A. NATESAN & CO., ESPLANADE, G. T., MADRAS.

Russia—Before and after the Revolution

BY MR. A. G. VENKATACHARY

TO-DAY the attention of the entire world is riveted on the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Her grim determination to enforce respect for International Law has heartened Democracy and given the fright to Fascism. Britain and France who drove Russia into isolation by their Munich betrayal, feel to-day that there is no escape from an alliance with her if their own security, now pretentiously proclaimed as world peace, has to be safeguarded. This towering position of the U. S. S. R. has inevitably attracted considerable attention to her potentialities and incidentally her achievements. There is an eagerness perceptible everywhere to study the gigantic experiment going on over a sixth of the world's surface. Books on Russia usually stress particular viewpoints, or are merely historical and statistical narratives. In refreshing contrast to these comes Pat Sloan's "Russia without Illusions".* Well documented and born out of deep and close understanding it is almost unique. Pat Sloan, after taking a first in Economics at Cambridge got interested in Russia and in 1931 went to live and work there. He lived there for six years returning at intervals to make his study complete. He toiled among Russia's millions first as a school-master and then as a trade union organiser. His book is a dispassionate study in contrast of the conditions obtaining today with those of the pre-Revolution days. The approach is new and original. Mr. Sloan has cleverly chronicled his own experiences illustrated with brilliant and convincing details of Russia old and new.

Mr. Sloan records with an easy familiarity the essential role of the trade union movement in the building of a new social order. Trade unions in Russia may seem rather queer to some persons. The book tells them that trade unions there are responsible not only for the welfare

of the workers but for the efficient conduct of industry. They are, in effect, charged with the democratic control of Soviet life. The problem of unemployment has been solved. The right to live and the right to work have been assured. Rationalisation does not affect the workers adversely. Along with the introduction of innovations and the resultant increased output, the prices of goods are reduced to the consumer, so that a continuous rise in the standard of life is being maintained year after year. Thus the Soviet Union has accomplished what capitalism has never at any time been able to do, while maintaining the best working conditions in the world.

In the sphere of education the record of the Soviets can hardly be equalled. A more or less illiterate population in 1917 is now more or less literate. Education is uncrippled. Naturally enough the Marxist approach is emphasised. Students do not hesitate to criticise the administration and teachers and vice versa. Uninteresting teachers and those who have not the right to approach students are replaced on demand. This might, indeed, sound fantastic to many of our educationists lacking both in breadth of vision and psychology.

The family is an important institution in the Soviet Union. Perfect sexual equality has been guaranteed, while the Soviet marriage is a mutual contract and its dissolution is equally simple. Pat Sloan points out that this freedom is little abused compared with conditions in capitalist countries. Women are protected against exploitation by men for sexual purposes. No man can become too intimate with a woman if he is not ready to shoulder the possible responsibility. Full-bosomed working mothers with all conceivable facilities are found nowhere but in the U. S. S. R.

Russia's inability to co-ordinate her transport with the ever-growing needs has been pointedly emphasised. Very interesting information for the edification of nutrition experts is afforded.

* "Russia Without Illusions." With a Preface by Mrs. Beatrice Webb. Rs. 3. Kitabistan. To be had of G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.

Is there personal liberty in the Soviet Union? What about the Censor? What is the role of the Church today in a predominantly atheist country? Why does the Communist Party alone function in the Soviets? Is it Democracy? Is it conducive to the well-being of its citizens or the country's future? These and similar questions are most argumentatively answered by Mr. Sloan.

"Is it Socialism?" ask many critics. Sympathetic Communists who expected to see a Utopia and got 'disillusioned', and doubtful friends whose peculiar prejudices have found expression in biased books are sought to be answered by the author in great detail. Without trying to defend the U. S. S. R. through each and every criticism, Mr. Sloan answers Sir Walter Citrine, Andre Gide and other well-known publicists who not unoften regaled the world with the 'Truth' they saw. Mr. Sloan makes a powerful plea for avoiding historical outrages while estimating the achievements of the Soviet Union. He wants every one to bear in mind that in 1917 Russia was one of the most backward countries and that today Socialism is in its infancy and even now has been in full working order in town and country for a period of five years. But he makes it crystal clear that the system is just what was foreseen by Marx and Engels. Above all, it has been achieved with a whole world not only against but continuously threatening. Drawing the Soviet balance-sheet, Mr. Sloan emphasises that it will be a land of milk and honey only when the pistol aimed at her head by the capitalist world is laid once for all.

While victoriously forging ahead, the Soviets had to contend against danger both from within and without. Discredited politicians like Kamanev, Zinoviev, Trotsky and Bukharin, ex-war lords like Marshal Tukachevsky and ambitious but unscrupulous careerists like Yagoda could not adjust themselves to the needs of the Revolution. Their political opportunism, vividly portrays Mr. Sloan, got drawn into the network of conspiracy which centred on all those people who,

because of their lack of mass support, sought to achieve power through violent means. Old Bolsheviks, Nazis and Japanese agents formed a united front to disrupt, discredit and disorganise Soviet economy through sabotages and subterfuges. They established contact with Reichwehr generals and planned for an onslaught against their own state. These enemies of the people, thanks to the eternal vigilance of the toiling masses, failed miserably. This vexed tale of the recent purges and their reactions make interesting reading.

While Freedom and democracy are being trampled down everywhere, Stalin has confidently extended both. At the same time Russia's uncompromising stand for the 'indivisible Peace' has today secured universal respect and confidence. How this has been achieved is a moving story convincingly told.

Mrs. Beatrice Webb, that great authority on Russia, says: "I strongly recommend this book," and Jawaharlal Nehru hopes that it will have many readers in India. No greater tributes could be paid to its merits.

BOOKS ON RUSSIA

- SOVIET COMMUNISM. In 2 vols. By Sidney and Beatrice Webb. 1326 pages. Rs. 24-1.
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- COMMUNISM 1891-1927. By Harold J. Laski. Re. 1-11-6.
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THE EUROPEAN SITUATION.

By "POLITICUS"

THE European situation is daily, almost hourly deteriorating. The aftermath of Munich has been swift and sudden; the delusive confidence of the British and French Governments in the success of their methods has been destroyed at a stroke; and appeasement has given place to warnings and mutual aid against the aggressor. The basis for international negotiation having been undermined by a faithless Germany, the Powers are fast playing for position. A great line-up for an inevitable conflict is taking place.

The two most likely zones of conflict now are Poland and Rumania. For, the neutralisation of Poland and the oil and wheat of Rumania are the most essential things for Germany in her attempt to achieve hegemony in Central Europe. If her eastward drive is to be real, she must secure her flanks. She has absorbed Austria and reduced the fortress of Czechoslovakia; only Poland remains as an enormous salient on eastern borders. Moreover, Poland has invaluable deposits of iron ore in Silesia which Germany would like to acquire; Poland is also since last October the master of Teschen-Bohumin, the most important network of railways which commands the gateway to the Danubian basin. Finally, the recovery of the Polish corridor has been one of the main points in the Nazi programme, and Hitler will fulfil his promise sooner or later. Memel-land has been wrested from Lithuania; Danzig should now be got from Poland. So the propaganda about Polish atrocities has been in full swing in Germany. The familiar technique of aggression is being applied to the Polish case.

With respect to Rumania Nazi policy has been one of steady economic and diplomatic pressure. Anti-Semitism and anti-Russianism inside the country have been fully exploited. The anti-Nazi ministers have been jockeyed out of power; the Ironguard was formed into a spearhead of the Nazi machinery. Dr. Schacht and Dr. Funk proposed economic deals, while the Dresdner Bank permeated Rumanian finance with German capital. And when Czechoslovakia was

sized up, Germany succeeded in retaining an independent Ruthenian state under her vassalage, which opened the back-door into Rumania and made the Nazi menace in the Balkans ruthlessly real.

Thus, Munich has encouraged Nazi influence to grow from strength to strength. The Axis diplomacy has resulted in the entrenchment of Germany in the most strategic positions. Italy at the lower end of the Axis has become but the tool of the major partner. Afraid of the German presence on the Brenner and a German sweep to Trieste, her only function now is to distract democratic attention while Germany made another inroad on the independence of yet another Central European state. It is true that the Axis is by no means a perfect alliance. Mussolini would be happy to swim clear of the Nazi stranglehold; he would like to buttress Italian interests in the Balkans and stem the Nazi tide. But German help in Spain and German diplomatic support in general are indispensable. No longer can Mussolini hunt with the hounds and run with the hares. With the fall of Austria he went into the background and has been held in leading-strings by Hitler. The Axis was a diplomatic necessity for Italy. It is unpopular; it is humiliating. But the helplessness of Italy gave Germany the upper hand, which she is now exercising with consummate ease and skill.

But the moment appears to have arrived at last when the Nazis cannot hope to get away with their technique. Munich, if it brought nothing else, at least gave a breathing space to Britain and France and they have exploited it to great advantage. The understanding between the two democracies has now almost become an alliance. Moreover, their statesmen are no longer willing to be publicly fooled by Hitler. The British Government appear to have undergone a conversion and changed their tack. In France, the internal situation is rapidly improving. M. Reynaud has stabilised the financial position and the Radicals and Socialists hold similar views

on foreign affairs. And in both England and France, the idea of Russian collaboration is taking definite shape. In the event of aggression against Poland or Rumania, Russian military help is indispensable, and strategic factors will compel the democratic statesmen to overlook the ideological differences. Finally, President Roosevelt has spoken with unusual firmness and has warned Hitler of the might of America which would be ranged on the side of peace and liberty.

The diplomatic outcome of this stiffening up is seen in the British guarantees to Poland and Rumania and in the Anglo-Turkish alliance. The guarantee has made a great impression on the Continent; and the mutual assistance pact with Turkey has secured Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean against further Fascist aggression. In England itself conscription has been introduced and defence measures of considerable importance have been taken. And in France, the position is rapidly becoming one of war economy.

But it is realised that the British guarantee to Poland and Rumania would be valueless unless it is reinforced by an Anglo-Soviet alliance. If war broke out in Eastern Europe, Russia would have to be first in the field to prevent a German advance; Britain and France could attack Germany only in the rear. Poland and Rumania are, therefore, anxious for a quick and successful conclusion to the Anglo-Soviet negotiations. But no such conclusion appears to be yet in sight.* Britain desires to limit the commitment to the specific issues of Poland and Rumania; but Russia naturally wants her frontiers to be guaranteed also. Britain hopes to retain freedom of action; Russia to conclude beyond escape a pact of mutual assistance. Britain believes in bilateral pacts; Russia in a scheme of collective security. The resignation of M. Litvinoff may be said to have

modified the Soviet view in favour of bilateral pacts, but the gulf between the British and Russian attitudes still remains to be bridged. And on this depends the peace of Europe.

But even if an Anglo-Soviet alliance is concluded, the situation in Europe will not appreciably have improved. Alliances and understandings are the result of power-politics which end in war. If the present respite is to be turned to good account, the democracies should at once start a diplomatic drive to establish a stable system of collective security. An international conference should be summoned to discuss the economic position of Danubia and the legitimate claims of Germany, Britain and France should underline the appeal of Roosevelt and exploit every avenue to economic appeasement. For, unless this is done, the basis for conflict would remain and war would only be postponed instead of being prevented.

EUROPEAN POLITICS

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* As we go to press, the prospect of an Anglo-Soviet alliance seems brighter and the definite Anglo-French proposals for a triple alliance are awaiting Moscow's acceptance.—[Ed. I.R.]

INDIAN AFFAIRS

BY "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

Government and the Opposition

SO the Sales Tax Bill has passed through both the Houses of Legislature, in spite of vigorous opposition. The Prime Minister, of course, defended the measure with his wonted skill and persuasiveness. But the criticism never abated to the very end of the debate in either Houses. When argument failed, the Opposition took the butt end and charged the patient and overworked Premier with intolerance and discourtesy—accusations promptly refuted on the spot as at once baseless and unreasonable.

There may be genuine opposition to this particular tax, but to condemn the action of the Government as "undemocratic" or "autocratic" is a misuse of terms, which is becoming rather common in these hectic times. It is, in fact, no more nor less "undemocratic" or "autocratic" than the way the serried ranks of Mr. Chamberlain's majority carry their proposals in the teeth of the ineffective opposition of the Labour minority. And yet nobody has yet accused Mr. Chamberlain of playing the dictator. There is nothing "intolerant" or "unparliamentary" in a responsible ministry seeking to exercise its right. There will always be a minority in opposition to every measure and the utmost that they could expect is to be given an opportunity to have their say with a view to convert that minority in due course into a majority so as to be qualified for shouldering the responsibility of Government. Beyond this they cannot expect. Surely it would be thoroughly undemocratic and unparliamentary if a Prime Minister with an undoubtedly majority behind him should shirk his obvious duty and betray the confidence of the electorates on the plea of satisfying the minority!

Gandhi's Statement

Gandhiji has of late been speaking of a "new light" or a new technique in *satyagraha*. His dramatic renunciation of the advantages of the Gwyer award and his confession that he has been guilty of *himsa* or coercion against the Rajkot Prince and his advisers have apparently left the Thakore Sahab a free hand in the matter of the Reforms. The confession is so complete and the apology so unreserved that 99 persons out of 100 will view it as a palpable failure alike of Gandhiji and his methods. They may even question his political wisdom, or sanity in this self-abasement and retreat. But there is no limit to the surprises that may yet be in store for Gandhian methods. What looks so tactless as a political strategy may have in it the germs of success for the cause. And no one will be more happy than Gandhiji himself if the cause of the Rajkot people should triumph through his self-effacement. His previous light may be a will-o'-the-wisp, but if a solution is now reached through goodwill alone without the Gwyer award in the background, both Gandhiji and the Rajkot Darbar will have reason to congratulate themselves.

The lesson this Rajkot incident should teach is, says an esteemed Anglo-Indian contemporary,

that Gandhi, with all his qualities, remains essentially human. He has never claimed to be anything else. "I have been guilty of playing what may be called a double game." In this confession Mr. Gandhi reveals his greatness while acknowledging his frailty. Only a big man could so abandon the advantages his fast and the Gwyer award had given him, and only one of uncommon foresight could realize that through such sacrifice lay the path to success. For Mr. Gandhi has laid on the Thakore the onus of satisfying public opinion of his good intentions concerning the reform of the State constitution. . . . The responsibility has been transferred from the shoulders of the Boisar and his advisers.

The Forward Bloc

In resigning the presidentship of the Congress, Mr. Sathya Chandra Bose acted in the true interest of the country and with a fine sense of dignity. He used words of memorable wisdom:

"What does it matter," he said, "if I am not in the presidential chair? My services will be always at the disposal of the Congress and country for what they are worth. I claim to have sufficient patriotism and sufficient sense of discipline to be able to work as an ordinary soldier in this great fight for India's political and economic emancipation."

If the same spirit had continued to actuate him, we would be spared the unseemly debacle of recent months followed by a plethora of charges and countercharges. The crisis should have been tided over with the election of so good and patriotic a leader as Babu Rajendra Prasad whose task at the present juncture is as difficult as it is unenviable. Mr. Bose, if he had acted in the true spirit of his words, would have proved an invaluable asset to the Congress, as a liaison between different ideologists and an effective counterblast to any attempt at the defection of Bengal. But unfortunately he has been, so ill advised as to start a campaign of separatism. It is true, we are told, that his new bloc will function as an integral part of the Congress, accept the present Congress Constitution—its creed, policy and programme—and will cherish the highest respect and regard for Mahatma Gandhi's personality and complete faith in his political doctrine of non-violent non-co-operation.

But he has not ceased to harp upon an "internal crisis", mainly of his own creation. Why put off the evil day, he asks, we are fast approaching an internal crisis. It would be disastrous to have an internal crisis when the external crisis overtakes us. It would be much more desirable to face the internal crisis now, go through it and emerge out of it before the external crisis seizes us.

And in the name of Bengali patriotism he "calls upon Dr. B. C. Roy and Profulla Chandra Ghose to resign from the Congress Working Committee forthwith". With such warnings his idea of a platform without a party is strangely incomprehensible!

Sir Radhakrishnan's Message to S. Africa

Sir Radhakrishnan's brief stay in South Africa during the Easter holidays was crowded with public engagements so numerous and so important that the South African papers to hand are full of them. As an outstanding representative of modern Indian culture, he was welcomed by his countrymen everywhere with an enthusiasm seldom surpassed, and his brilliant speeches were listened to with due respect and attention.

His visit, says *Indian Opinion* with evident enthusiasm, was like a flash of light from heaven, while the dark and gloomy clouds of war with all its horrors are hovering over Europe which, if they burst, will have repercussions over the whole world. It was, as it were, a divine message to us all human beings to awake and be alert before it is too late.

Europeans and Indians alike flocked to hear him, and we have abundant evidence of the profound impression he created alike by the wisdom and eloquence of his utterances. Sir Radhakrishnan has the gift of reaffirming some great truths in impressive style. Speaking at Mauritius, the Indian philosopher pointed out how with all our marvellous progress in science we are yet living as on a volcano, desperately insecure, and he chastised a generation "that knows how to fly in the air, how to swim in the sea, but that does not know how to live as human beings". His broadcast speech at Durban was conceived in the same high moral tone and concluded with a characteristically lofty message to the South Africans. His words will bear repetition:

To make the different communities feel that they belong to South Africa, to stimulate in them a pride in the country, to enable them to rise to their full manhood under its laws and institutions should be the aim of far-sighted and liberal statesmanship. I have found leaders of such conviction who feel that moral principle, peace and tranquillity, safety and stability of the State alike demand a re-ordering on the principles of freedom and justice for all. It is my earnest hope and prayer that they may succeed in building up a just and prosperous South Africa; for prosperity without justice is like a house built on sand.

Anti-Asiatic Drive in S. Africa

There seems to be no end to our troubles in South Africa. In one form or another the anti-Asiatic drive is being fit-fed with a persistence that is as unscrupulous as it is amazing. No consideration of common gratitude or even imperial interest seems to weigh with the obstinate reactionaries of the Union Government. "The South African Government," declares Mr. Stuttaford, the Minister of the Interior,

will not deviate from its policy* of residential segregation for the Indians, whatever the Government of India may say. There is no question of intervention by the Indian Government as the majority of Indians in South Africa who would be affected by the proposed measures are born in South Africa and are, therefore, Union nationals.

One wonders if any good can be expected of negotiations approached in this temper. And yet we are asked to be thankful for small mercies. Moving the second reading of the Asiatic Lands Bill, the Minister of the Interior declared that the main legislation had been shelved in deference to the wishes of the Government of India.

In the meantime, the Union Government has sponsored an *interim* measure which, though it has not removed any Indian from the property which he already occupies, is directed against "further infiltration of Indians". Who can deny that the *interim* Bill is based on the same obnoxious principle on which the main legislation is based?

Segregation under the present Bill means in practice nothing less than compulsory repatriation without even the benefit of compensation. Apart from its obvious injustice and cruelty, the Bill violates the promises made on behalf of the Union Government to the Indians regarding the protection of their rights and interests. According to the Gandhi-Strauss agreement of 1914, no further anti-Asiatic legislative measure was to be passed by

the Union Government. The understanding at the time was that the legal position of Indians would be gradually improved and that the existing anti-Asiatic laws would in time be repealed. These laws have not been repealed. Instead the number has increased and is increasing.

Is it any wonder that the Indian community should refuse to submit to this wanton injustice and resolve in desperation to resort to passive resistance? Need it be said that the sympathy of this whole country, not to speak of its Government, will be entirely with the cause of our much enduring countrymen in South Africa?

The Walk-outs in our Legislatures

Walk-outs like lasts have become rather a tiresome feature of our public life. There was a time when they were rare and did create a certain amount of sensation. Now that they are becoming so common and staged for even frivolous reasons, they have lost alike their novelty and effectiveness. Congressmen, it must be confessed, set the fashion which has caught on, and it is now carried by the Opposition in their chagrin to ridiculous lengths. A dramatic gesture of protest may compel redress of a wrong when all other humdrum methods have failed. But there is little propriety or judgment in some recent walk-outs in our legislatures. Thus a contemporary draws attention to what distinguishes the Congress walk-outs in the days when it was in opposition:

The Congress Party never confounded executive propriety with the duty of tendering submission to demands capable of musterling but a minority of votes in their favour. Congress "walk-outs" were devised to invite the attention of a larger public than the Legislature to the bureaucratic machinations whereby the authentic voice of public opinion as reflected on the floor of the House was flouted and its recommendations defeated. When a majority of elected members find their way blocked by arbitrary executive ukases such as certification and the veto against the fulfilment of their objectives as representatives of the people, a walk-out will be redeemed from the taint of mere melodrama and acquire importance as a justifiable act of political strategy.

No wonder that recent walk-outs have been so farcical and have failed to impress.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

- May 1. A.I.C.O. meeting concludes at Calcutta. New Working Committee is appointed.
- May 2. The text of the Conscription Bill is published.
- May 3. Germany is negotiating for a "Neutrality Front" in Northern Europe.—Six British subjects are expelled from Germany as reprisals for the six Germans expelled from Britain.
- May 4. Sir N. N. Sircar vacates and Sir A. RamaSwami Mudaliar assumes office as member of the Governor-General's Council.
- M. Litvinov resigns and M. Molotov becomes Commissioner for Foreign affairs.
- May 5. Polish reply to German memorandum.
- May 6. Their Majesties the King and Queen leave for Canada.
- May 7. A political and Military alliance between Italy and Germany is agreed upon between Count Ciano and Herr Von Ribbentrop at Milan.
- May 8. The Asiatic Bill is read a second time in the Union Assembly.
- May 9. The House of Lords passes the third reading of the India Amendment Bill.
- May 10. Mr. Chamberlain explains Anglo-Soviet negotiations in a statement in the Commons.
- May 11. The Calcutta Municipal Amendment Bill is passed by the Bengal Assembly by 198 votes to 65.
- May 12. Mr. Chamberlain makes a statement in the Commons on Anglo-Turkish consultations.
- Mahatma Gandhi arrives at Rajkot.
- May 13. Terms of Italo-German Pact are published.
- May 14. Gandhi-Bose correspondence is released.
- May 15. Russia's note to Britain urges a pact of mutual assistance instead of an one-sided bargain.
- May 16. King Zog appeals to the League against Italian annexation of Albania.
- May 17. Their Majesties the King and Queen land in Quebec amidst tumultuous welcome.
- Gandhiji renounces the advantages of the Rajkot award and appeals to the Prince to concede people's wishes.
- May 18. Foreign affairs debate in the Commons. Mr. Chamberlain defines British policy.
- May 19. General Franco's official entry into Madrid.
- May 20. The Thakore Sahib of Rajkot announces appointment of a Committee to draft reforms for the State and cancels all orders against agitators.
- May 21. In a speech at Cawnpore, Pandit Nehru deprecates Mr. Bose's move to form the Forward Bloc.
- May 22. Mr. Cordell Hull replies to Hitler and defines American foreign policy.
- Tension in Danzig.
- Italo-German Pact is signed.
- May 23. Debate on Palestine Report in the Commons.
- May 24. Gandhiji issues a statement on the Segregation legislation in South Africa.
- May 25. Thakore Sahib entertains Gandhiji.
- May 26. Sir R. Venkateswaram Nayudu, former Vice-Chancellor of Madras University, is dead.
- May 27. Anglo-French proposals are handed to M. Molotov at Moscow.

The WORLD of BOOKS

RISE AND GROWTH OF INDIAN LIBERALISM.

By Dr. Maganlal A. Buch, M.A., Ph.D.,
Baroda Publication.

The book under review is the doctrinal thesis on the philosophy of Liberalism submitted to the London University. It is a masterly exposition of the different interesting aspects of liberalism. There is a scholarly documentation of the various political facts pertaining to liberalism. The author takes extreme care to present in a very objective manner the contribution of the philosophy of liberalism to Indian culture in general.

He discusses the entire philosophy of liberalism under three distinct heads, namely, religious liberalism; 2. social liberalism, and 3. political liberalism. The first current of Indian liberalism is religious in its aspect. It began with Ram Mohan Roy. All the religious and social institutions were examined in the light of reason. The rationalistic view of the liberals contributed a great deal in introducing a sort of mental hygiene in the interpretation of religious creeds. Liberalism stands for all that is rational and good in Hinduism and it believes in the progressive modification of the ideals to suit the need of the times. The Liberals have tried to reconcile the persistent claims of individuals with the needs of society. The great wave of social reform inaugurated and accomplished by the Liberals has indefinitely diminished though not totally abolished the corrosive influences such as untouchability, early marriage, burning of widows, and inequality

before the eye of law, which were eating the vitals of Hindu society.

The political achievement of the liberals is not without its significance. There is no denial that they wanted to revalue and judge and correct the standards of Indian civilization by their knowledge of the Western thought. They believed in the scientific view of life and industrialisation. They represent the radical realistic view of politics. They praised the ideal of the empire, and they thought that India should not sever its connections with it. They held that the national ideal of India was not contradictory to the Imperial ideal.

A CONCISE HISTORY OF THE INDIAN PEOPLE.

By H. G. Rawlinson. Oxford University Press.

Admirable attempts have of late been made by English and Indian Scholars to present the history of the Indian people in proper perspective. But Prof. Rawlinson's work combines in itself three distinctive features, which must add to its value to the reading public. In the first place it incorporates the latest archaeological discoveries; secondly, the book is brought up-to-date from the earliest times to the present day; and, thirdly, it is at once concise and comprehensive so as to give a connected story of the Indian people through the ages. Not the least of its attractions are the illustrations and maps which must prove helpful to the student and the lay reader, while the list of leading dates at the end of each chapter, the examination questions and the exhaustive index of names and places must afford useful guidance to the High School student for whom the book is specially designed.

THE GIRL BOY MYSTERY: A Waac Novel.
Werner Laurie Ltd. 7s. 6d.

It is a daring but uncompromising story of a strange case of sex metamorphosis. Chris Bathers, the sex problem, a boy till fourteen, escapes from his fold to evade a sex operation and falls in the company of Derek Manners of about the same age. With their names interchanged, they go to the flat of Bruno Manners, Derek's uncle, a wealthy young man of pronounced nudistic and aesthetic tastes. Bruno's flat, the last word in luxury and scientific ingenuity, forms the central stage for the whole plot. A complicated love affair between Bruno in love with clovely Mrs. Sheila Spate, Anette a pretty French maid in love with Bruno, and handsome Gustave, a clever surgeon cum chef, in love with Anette, culminates in the mysterious and gruesome murder of Bruno in his own artistic flat. The mystery of the murder is solved by an amateur, Jude Spencer, an experimentist, who clears the compromising presence of Derek, his devoted mother and Chris in the fatal flat. Chris, now a complete girl after a marvellously dexterous operation by Gustave, marries Derek and leads a normal life.

KUNDALINI OR UNIVERSAL LOVE REFOUND.
By T. S. Ramanujam. Published by All-India Tutorial College, Ranade Hall, Mylapore. Rs. 1.

This is an interesting drama describing the process of evolution. It is a very imaginative account of the process of evolution. The seven stages of evolution are described in detail. There is a dramatic account of the origin of pure love. The theme of human love is treated from a cosmic point of view. The Drama Kundalini is very pleasant reading.

CAUSALITY AND SCIENCE. By Malini Kantha Brahma. Published by George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London. Price 8 sh.

The volume under review is an able and critical study of the problem of causation central to all philosophic and scientific theories. The threefold theories of causation : (i) Arambavada, (ii) Parinamavada, and (iii) Vivartavada are discussed in some detail. There is constant comparison instituted between Eastern views and Western thought.

The Advaita point of view that cause and effect are not two entirely different things, as the Nyaya School conceives it, is brought forth with great force and lucidity by the learned Professor. The monograph under review is an excellent addition to the existing literature on Indian metaphysics.

INDIAN TALES. By Elizabeth Sharpe, F.R.G.S., K.H.M. Luzac & Co., London.

This is a collection of tales culled from legends, old manuscripts and the bards of ancient India, strung together in a form acceptable to European and Indian alike. The spirit of old India is still alive in these tales—the dreamy, tender, mystical India of legends and folk-lore.

The biography of the Jain Monk Hirasuri, with which the volume closes, is a literal translation of a four hundred year old manuscript. The English rendering has all the picturesque naivete of the original.

THE NORTHERN COUNTRIES IN WORLD ECONOMY. Published by the Delegation of Northern Countries to the League of Nations, Geneva.

This is an excellent survey of the economy of the Northern Countries, and of Scandinavia in particular, and of the part it plays in world economy.

BOOKS RECEIVED

- HARIDHARAKH TACOMA.** His Personality and Work. By Prof. V. Lemy. Translated by Guy McKeever Phillips. With a Foreword by C. F. Andrews, George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London.
- CHITAL ASIA.** Personal Narrative of General Jonah Harlan. Edited by Frank E. Ross, M.A. Luce & Co., London.
- ASTROLOGY SELF TAUGHT.** By "Astrophel". L. N. Fowler & Co. Ltd., London.
- INDIA'S NATIONAL INCOME, 1925-1929.** By V. K. R. V. Rao. George Allen & Unwin, London.
- HEART FRAGMENTS OR THE CALL OF MY SOUL.** By J. Yoganandam. Arthur H. Stockwell Ltd., London.
- SOME INFLUENCES THAT MADE THE BRITISH ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM IN INDIA.** By M. Rutherfordswamy, Luzso & Company, London.
- REPORT ON THE MARKETING OF TOBACCO IN INDIA AND BURMA.** Government of India Press, Delhi.
- FEDERATION VS FREEDOM.** By B. R. Ambedkar, BAR-AT-LAW. Shree Lakshmi Narayan Press, Bombay
- REPORTS OF THE INDIAN TARIF BOARD.** i. On the Sugar Industry. ii. Protection to Paper and Paper Pulp Industries. iii. Protection to Magnesium Chloride Industry. Manager of Publications, Delhi.
- THE NYAYA THEORY OF KNOWLEDGE.** By S. C. Chatterjee, M.A., Ph.D. University of Calcutta.
- REPORT ON THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE U. P., 1936-37.** Superintendent, Printing and Stationery, U. P., Allahabad.
- LETTERS TO A MILLIONAIRE.** By Upton Sinclair. T. Werner Laurie, London.
- ESSENTIALISM: THE NEW DYNAMIC PHILOSOPHY OF LIFE.** Pollen House, Cork Street, London.
- THE GREAT MYSTERY OF LIFE BEYOND DEATH.** As dictated by a Spirit to Diwan Bahadur Hirala L. Kaji. New Book Company, Bombay.
- SELECTIONS FROM THE SPEECHES OF SIR MEZZA ISMAIL.** With a Foreword by Rao Bahadur M. Shama Rao, M.A. Compiled by D. R. Ramaya, B.A., Secretariat, Bangalore.
- WORDS OF WISDOM.** Collected from the Speeches of H. H. The Maharaja of Mysore. By D. R. Ramaya, B.A., Secretariat, Bangalore.
- INDIAN COOKERY AND CONFECTIONERY.** By Mrs. I. R. Dey. The Royal Book Store, New Market, Calcutta. Rs. 2-8.
- HINDUSTANI:** A Politico-linguistic catchword. By Din Mohammad, Amritsar.
- SHIMAD BHAGAVATAM.** Translated into English by J. M. Saayat. In 5 Vols. Datta Bose & Co., Calcutta. Rs. 18 per set.
- THE CASE OF ARYA SAMAJ IN HYDERABAD STATE.** Published by International Aryan League, Delhi.
- VISIT SOUTH INDIA:** A guide for tourists and travellers visiting the important places of interest. Sponcer & Co., Madras.
- SOME ASPECTS OF INDIAN EDUCATION PAST AND PRESENT.** By Sir Philip Hartog. University of London Institute of Education. Published by Oxford University Press, London.
- THE BESANT SPirit.** Compiled from the works of Dr. Annie Besant. The Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras. 3 Vols.
- MEMOIRS OF THE GEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.** Vol. 73. Manager of Publications, Delhi.
- SOME ASPECTS OF INDIA'S MILITARY DEVELOPMENT.** By D. H. Limaye, M.A. New Book Company, Bombay. Rs. 2-8.
- KNOW THIS OF RACE.** By Cedric Dover. Secker & Warburg, 22, Essex St., London.
- THE MINIMUM WAGE:** An International Survey. International Labour Office, Geneva.
- VICTORY WITHOUT VIOLENCE.** Compiled by A. Ruth Fry. Thorpeness, Suffolk.
- CITY OF BIRMINGHAM HANDBOOK, 1939.** City of Birmingham Information Bureau, Birmingham.
- THE INTER-UNIVERSITY BOARD, INDIA: ANNUAL REPORT, 1938-39.**
- REPORT OF THE INTER-UNIVERSITY BOARD, 1934-35.** The Bangalore Press, Bangalore City.
- CRIME AND CRIMINAL JUSTICE.** By Abul Hassanat, J.P. Published by the Standard Library, Dacca, Bengal.
- STATISTICAL ABSTRACT FOR BRITISH INDIA.** From 1927-28 to 1936-37. Manager of Publications, Delhi.
- POETRY FROM THE SINHALA.** Put into English by George Keyt. The Colombo Apothecaries Co., Ltd., Colombo.
- HISTORY OF THE BRITISH RESIDENCY IN BURMA, 1826-1840.** By W. S. Desai, M.A. Published by the University of Rangoon.
- RUSSIA WITHOUT ILLUSIONS.** By Pat Sloan. Kitabistan, Allahabad.
- WHERE ARE WE?** By Jawaharlal Nehru. Kitabistan, Allahabad.
- BIOGRAPHIES OF A GRANDFATHER (THE HON'BLE C. V. RUNGANATHA SASTRI) AND HIS GRANDSON (SIR C. V. KUMARASWAMI SASTRI).** By Dewan Bahadur C. V. Visvanatha Sastri. The Huxley Press, Madras.
- A PLEA FOR RESEARCH FOR HEALTHY DEVELOPMENT OF INDIAN SUGAR INDUSTRY.** By Chandra Prakash Gupta. Association for the development of Swadeshi Industries, Chandni Chowk, Delhi.
- GLORY OF SANKRITAN.** By Swami Sivananda. Published by Sri T. Venkataswamy. The Divine Life Society Branch, Rangoon.
- REPORT ON THE MARKETING OF LINSEED IN INDIA.** Manager of Publications, Delhi.
- THE HOUSEKEEPER'S DAUGHTER.** By Donald Henderson Clarke. T. Werner Laurie, London.
- TESTAMENT OF INDIA.** By Ela Sen. George Allen & Unwin, London.
- HOGARTH SIX PENNY PAMPHLETS**
- i WHAT I BELIEVE. By E. M. Forster.
 - ii THE NEW REALISM. By Stephen Spender.
 - iii ANTIQUARIAN PREFERENCES. By John Betjeman. The Hogarth Press, Tavistock Sq., London, W.C.

INDIAN STATES

Rajkot

REFORMS FOR RAJKOT

As a sequel to Mahatma Gandhi's dramatic announcement renouncing the advantages of the Gwyer award and appealing to the Thakore Saheb "to appease the people of the State by fulfilling their expectations and dispelling their misgivings", a Committee consisting of Durbar Shri Virawala, Adviser to the Thakore Saheb of Rajkot as President, and nine members has been appointed by the Thakore Saheb to draft constitutional reforms for Rajkot. The Committee has been directed to submit its report within a month.

An announcement to this effect was made on May 20, at a Durbar held at Rajkot by the First Member of the State Council. Mr. Gandhi was among those present at the Durbar. The leaders of the Praja Parishad were not present at the function.

In response to Mr. Gandhi's appeal, the Thakore Saheb has issued a notification cancelling all orders passed in connexion with the agitation in the State since August 1, 1938, and restoring all fines and confiscated property in view of the restoration of normal conditions.

Hyderabad

HYDERABAD PERMISSIONS

H. E. H. the Nizam's Government in the Revenue Department have passed orders granting a number of concessions to the ryots consequent on the unsatisfactory outturn of the Rabi crop this year. These concessions include suspension of Rabi kist, Taccavi grants, relief works and various others of a miscellaneous nature. The total amount of suspensions allowed now in the Rabi kist, together with those granted in Kharif kist announced in December, 1938, comes to approximately Rs. 273 lakhs.

BURAL UPLIFT IN HYDERABAD

The first report on rural reconstruction since the inception of the movement in Hyderabad by the Nizam's Government describes the progress achieved so far and says that the movement is conditioned by a right spirit among the workers. Councils were set up in 16 districts and 75 talukas; the number of selected villages was 90, and rural reconstruction societies were registered in 86 of these villages. Fifty selected villages had credit societies, some of which attained a fairly high standard.

Baroda

AMENDMENT TO MARRIAGE ACT

The Government of Baroda have sanctioned an amendment to the Act relating to the Registration of Marriages and divorce by which a certificate of marriage or divorce would be now evidence of such marriage or divorce until the contrary was proved.

RADIO STATION FOR BARODA

His Highness the Maharsja of Baroda laid the foundation-stone of the Broadcasting Station of the Baroda Government to be erected on the Padra Samiyala Road some miles away from the City. Mr. Motiram H. Bhatta, the Electric Engineer, requesting His Highness to perform the function, said: When this station was ready, it would give a great impetus to the activities in the State in the cause of rural uplift.

BARODA CO-OPERATIVE BANK

The Government of Baroda have sanctioned a proposal to give a total cash credit of Rs. 3,00,000 at 4 per cent. interest for 10 years to the Baroda Central Co-operative Bank to extend its scope for advancing loans to co-operative societies of agriculturists in the Baroda district.

Mysore

THE VIDURASWATHA EXHIBITION

Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Congress Leader, opening the Khaddar, Swadeshi and Village Industries Exhibition organised by the Mysore State Congress at Viduraswatha on April 12, said:

The age of the machine is fast disappearing. It has held an empire for 150 years and enabled man to conquer the world and at the same time to lose his soul. The countries of the world have been brought nearer together by it, but the hearts of the people have gone farther away from one another. The glories of the machine age are to be recounted in the arts of death, in the birth of selfishness, and the death of fellowship and corporate spirit.

In a striking tribute to the Mysore Government, Dr. Sitaramayya said:

Mysore stands foremost in the sustained patronage it has extended to the khaddar industry. Channapatna toys, Mysore silk, sandalwood and soap industries have all prospered at the hands of the State. Let me, therefore, take this opportunity of expressing my appreciation as an outsider of the achievements of the Government of Mysore.

LAND REVENUE REMISSION

Government have granted remission of 50 per cent. of the assessment on rain-fed wet lands in 22 villages in Kumsi sub-taluq of Shimoga district for 1938-39. They have also granted a similar remission of assessment on rain-fed wet lands in 70 villages in Sorab taluq. Remission of assessment has also been granted to 180 villages in Madhgiri taluq.

Travancore

REMISSION OF LAND REVENUE

The Travancore Government have sanctioned a general remission of 20 per cent. in land revenue for five years on all wet lands in the Shencottah, Tovala and Agasteesvaram taluks except Neendakarad A and B divisions.

This concession will come into operation from the second half of the current Malabar year.

ELECTORAL CHANGES

The Government of Travancore have issued a Press Communiqué changing the electoral system for the Legislature. The single non-transferable system of voting in multi-member constituencies with reservation of seats has been altered and every elector becomes entitled to as many votes as there are reserved seats in addition to one vote for the general seat.

A special concession has been granted to minority communities of Muslims and Latin Catholics, whereby any candidate who secures more than 60 per cent. or more of the votes polled from his community will be declared elected.

Gwalior

THE MAHARAJA'S WARNING

H. H. the Maharaja Scindia, inaugurating the Ministers' Conference at Gwalior on April 18, declared.

Our ideal of constitutional development in the States should be the progressive association of our people with the administration of the State in keeping with their economic and political development so that ultimately by a healthy process of organic and natural growth, they will be able to attain full political status under the benevolent rule of their Rulers.

Dealing with the present critical situation in India and the international field, the Maharaja said the time had come when all the Princes should have to adjust themselves to the changing conditions and urged the Ministers assembled in conference to tender the right advice to the Princes without consideration of fear or favour and with the fullest courage of their convictions.

The Maharaja emphasised that the cultivator had become the real crux of Indian politics and said that no solution could survive which did not take note of the economically depressed cultivator.

Bhopal

HOUSING SCHEME IN BHOPAL

The Bhopal Government have sanctioned a housing scheme, which will beautify the city and will provide better houses for the people, thereby removing many of the existing structures which are either unhealthy or ugly. Four classes of houses costing respectively Rs. 15,000, Rs. 10,000, Rs. 5,000 and Rs. 2,500 will be erected. When those who wish to erect houses submit plans for the buildings, together with one quarter of the cost of the particular class chosen, Government will advance the balance at 4 per cent. interest per annum, the only condition being that pending the final settlement of the loan, the property will be considered State property. The sites for such buildings have been already marked out.

Indore

TEMPLE ENTRY IN INDORE

For the first time in the history of Indore, Harijans including Chamars, Mahars, Bhairavas and Sweepers led by Mr. P. N. Rajbhoj, Depressed Class leader, proceeded right up to the altar of Gopal Mandir, the chief State temple, where they offered flowers and received *prasad*. Till now they were allowed entry up to the platform only. The new rules under the Harijan Temple-Entry Proclamation have removed all restrictions.

A Harijan meeting, Mr. Rajbhoj presiding, passed a resolution thanking H. H. the Holkar of Indore for going farther than Travancore and granting Harijans both civic and religious liberties.

Kashmir

KASHMIR REFORMS

Under the orders of His Highness the Maharaja, Pandit Hira Nand Rama, Secretary of the Jammu and Kashmir State Assembly, has been entrusted with the work of drafting the New Constitution Regulation giving effect therein to the changes in the constitution mentioned in His Highness' Proclamation, dated February 11, 1939. The Electoral Regulation would also be revised.

Sanction has also been accorded to the appointment of Pandit Loknath Sharma, Advocate and State Councillor, as collaborator with Pandit Hiranand Rama in this work.

It is understood that the work would be carried out under the immediate supervision of the Hon. the Law and Revenue Minister within a period of three months.

Bhavnagar

THE SARDAR'S APPEAL

Sardar Vallabhai Patel, presiding over the 5th Session of the Bhavnagar Praja Parishad on May 14, appealed to the princes to recognise the march of the times and to associate their subjects with the administration of their states.

Whatever attempts the princes might make to set up a dummy constitution, the people will be never satisfied so long as real power is not transferred to their representatives.

Despite this fact, futile attempts are being made to push back in all conceivable manner possible the progress of the people towards their goal. The princes possibly are not aware that however much they might try and whatever means they might adopt to suppress the people, the day was bound to come when they would have to give up their present attitude towards their people and transfer real power to them.

INDIANS OVERSEAS

South Africa

THE ASIATICS BILL

Under the Asiatics (Transvaal) Land and Trading Bill, the grant of certificates for issue of new licences to Indians in the Transvaal would be prohibited till May 1, 1941, unless it be with the permission of the Minister of the Interior. Similarly the letting to or occupation by Indians of land in the Transvaal not occupied by coloured persons on April 30 last is prohibited till May 1, 1941, except with the Minister's permission. The provisions of the Bill are, however, stated not to apply to any area which, under the terms of the Transvaal Law of 1885, is assigned to Indians or is set apart for occupation by Indians under the Transvaal Municipal Ordinance, 1905.

The South African Government have claimed for this Bill that it tends to maintain the *status quo* in the Transvaal, and that it is temporary in its duration, viz., two years. Moreover it is provided that the Minister of the Interior will have power to grant exemptions. Finally, it is claimed to be radically different from the original proposals of Mr. R. Stuttaford which are more stringent than those of the present Bill, and which would have applied to all the Provinces of the Union and not only the Transvaal, to which the present Bill is limited.

SEGREGATION LEGISLATION

That the trend of the segregation legislation sponsored by the Government of the Union of South Africa is directly opposed to current Indian conditions and sentiment is stressed by Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas, Chairman of the Imperial

Indian Citizenship Association in a cablegram to Mr. R. Stuttaford, Minister for the Interior, South Africa. The cable reads:

With reference to your statement about the origin and social status of South African Indians in this country, these cannot be compared to the Depressed Classes as known in India.

They are the descendants of early emigrants, drawn from our cultivator class, who are, and have always been, good caste Hindus.

As for those known as the Depressed Classes, civil and social disabilities have been abolished by legislation and special provision has been made throughout the country for their education, uplift and election to the legislature.

The trend of your segregation legislation is directly opposed to current Indian conditions and sentiment. May I request you to take an early opportunity of removing the misconception among members of the Union Parliament and the South African public on this score?

SOUTH AFRICA'S PROSPERITY

In the course of an interview with the *Natal Daily News*, Professor Sir S. Radhakrishnan said:

You in South Africa are building a wonderful structure of prosperity and progress, but this structure is built on an unsound foundation.

At present nothing was being done to instil into the Native, Coloured and the Indian peoples the feeling that South Africa was a country of which they might be proud and which they could live for. There was a feeling among these peoples that they worked only for the benefit of the European class.

It is these feelings that will ultimately cause the destruction of this country; for it is impossible for a country that believes in subduing the ideas and feelings of one section of the people by force to last in the long run.

The European people say they must have security. Well, I say to them that the only way to have complete and lasting security in this country is to evolve a policy that will be for the well-being of every member in it, irrespective of class, race or creed.

The policy that is being pursued is extremely short-sighted and unsound; in the end it must fail. We need only look back into history to see that.

Kenya

RESOLUTION ON KENYA HIGHLANDS

The following is the text of the Congress resolution on Kenya highlands moved by Dr. Rajendra Prasad from the chair at the last meeting of the A. I. C. C. at Calcutta:—

The All-India Congress Committee notes with grave concern the promulgation of an Order-in-Council regarding reservation of the Highlands in Kenya for Europeans which is a violation of all announcements and assurances by the Secretary of State for Colonies and the Government of India, and perpetuates the policy of racial discrimination and is an insult to India. The All-India Congress Committee also places on record its opinion that the Government of India have failed to do their duty to Indians in Kenya. The All-India Congress Committee is further of opinion that situation in Kenya cannot be met by any efforts on the part of the Government of India and requests the Working Committee to take necessary steps in this behalf.

The resolution was passed.

East Africa

DEFENCE OF EAST AFRICA

Indians are likely soon to participate in the arrangements for the defence and policing of some parts of East Africa, according to messages from Mombasa and Uganda.

It is stated that efforts are being made by the Municipal Council of Mombasa to raise a special Indian Constabulary, while a territorial battalion is about to be formed in Uganda to which Indians are eligible for admission.

Ceylon

SACKING NON-CEYLONSE

The Government of India, it is learned here, have been officially informed by the Ceylon Government of its intention to discontinue for the present all daily paid non-Ceylonese who have been in Government service for less than five years.

Central Africa

INDIANS IN CONGO

An *Associated Press* message says that Mr. G. C. Ishmael, BAR-AT-LAW, Uganda, has been in Simla for the past few days representing the grievances of certain Indian subjects in the Belgian Congo. He interviewed the Secretary for External Affairs on their behalf and explained as their legal representative the difficulties which they have been and are meeting with on account of the prosecutions launched against them. It is understood that the Government of India, who have already made representations in respect of the matter to His Majesty's Government, will make further efforts.

West Indies

MR. TYSON'S MEMORANDUM

It is learnt that Mr. J. D. Tyson, I.C.S., submitted a comprehensive memorandum to the Royal Commission on the West Indies. The memorandum is divided into three parts dealing with Jamaica, Trinidad and British Guiana. It gives *inter alia* details of the conditions of Indians in those three colonies and gives the number of those employed in trade and labour. The memorandum also sets out the grievances of Indian settlers in the three colonies.

Malaya

CENSUS IN MALAYA

At the end of 1937, the Indian population in Malaya was 754,849 showing an increase of 180,840 over the enumerated population of the 1931 census. South Indians form nine-tenths of the total population. Seventy per cent. of the South Indians are engaged as wage-earners in some form of manual labour.

TOPICS From PERIODICALS

JEWISH IMMIGRATION IN INDIA

Dr. Suddhendra Bose in an article to the current issue of the *Modern Review* vehemently protests against the immigration of the Jews in India. He says:

As if Indians had not troubles enough already, newspapers now report an uproar over admitting droves of European Jews in India. What a terrible amount of moral eloquence is being delivered on fictitious international philanthropy! I am completely amazed.

The people of India are a kindly and amiable people whose hearts are all too quickly touched by the sufferings of others. Perhaps the moral fervor of the Indians is aroused more easily by wrongs to foreigners in distant lands than to their own disinherited and persecuted millions in their midst. Isn't it a kind of perverted emotionalism? It seems to me that unless we can hold fast to reason, we shall fall into the absurd error of thinking that we can offer security to the persecuted of the world at large when we have not won it ourselves. We have to meet this fact squarely.

Proceeding, the writer points out that India has not been thriving cheerfully with the refugees and outcastes of other lands. The ghastly problem of communalism is deep-rooted and eats into the vitals of national life. Dr. Suddhendra Bose asks pertinently, why then now prate about importing some more of these alien hordes and create another communal problem? As for the Jews, the writer observes that they will never consent to assimilate with the Indians and help to build the Indian Nation.

With their racial and religious prejudices, they will always remain apart and demand special privileges and special concessions. They regard themselves as the representatives of righteousness upon earth, the "chosen race". The myth of race superiority is almost as strong in the Jews as it is in the Nazis. The Jew, with a deep-rooted notion in his superiority as the chosen vessel of Jehovah, will continue to be an unassimilable and aggressive element. Shrewd, practical, always alive to the main chance, anxious to rise in the world and keenly alive to money grubbing above anything else, the Jew would

have no sympathy for the political, economic or spiritual aspirations of the Indians. Indeed as far as it lies in his power, he would push the "native" Indian back into "his place".

In fine, the writer points out that there is already distress in India of the most appalling sort. Business is poor. Money scarce. Thousands of college graduates are without jobs and without hopes of getting any. Indians are the suppressed and persecuted people of the world—one-fifth of the human race.

They are already experiencing vicious attempts to pit community against community, language against language, religion against religion, and keep them divided. They cannot afford any more a sanctuary to Jews, or any other peoples of foreign races. To be more specific, they must let the "elect of heaven" alone. Their first obligation is to save the lives, provide the livelihood of their own people and build their own nation. There is plenty of moral heroism in that.

Self-interest is the guiding principle of every nation in America and Europe. The leader of Indian nation, too, must have a sense of political and economic realities and lay off international altruism for a while. The fundamental Indian policy must never be diluted by any vapid and mushy sentimental impulse. It must be founded on the practical sense and proper self-interest of the Indian nation. Leave high-flown international idealism, however eloquently urged, severely alone. Stop chasing moonbeams.

TURKEY'S EXAMPLE

Paying a tribute to the hallowed memory of Kemal Ataturk, Sjt. Subhas Bose says in *New Asia*:

I believe that his life and achievements will be an inspiration not merely for the people of his own country, but for the whole humanity. He was one of the most romantic figures which the Great War threw up. He was great not merely as a general and a strategist; he was great not merely as a diplomat and statesman but he was also great as a builder, and the new Turkey that he has left behind him will be an object-lesson to the whole humanity. I think those who are steeped in communism in the country will do well to pay a visit to modern Turkey.

BICAMERALISM IN INDIA

In India, the bicameral principle was for the first time introduced in the Government of India Act of 1919. Mr. Chelapati, writing in the *Triveni* for April, draws attention to the fact that the Councils Acts of 1861 or of 1892 or the Government of India Act of 1909 contained no provisions with regard to the formation of bicameral legislatures. In the Government of India Act of 1919 for the first time it was provided that the Central Legislature was to consist of two Houses, the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly.

The idea in creating the Council of State was to concentrate in that Chamber men of wisdom and sobriety. The Council of State was not a mere traditional House of Elders possessing much pomp and little power. It had the power to initiate Bills though the Bills for revenue and appropriation were to be made exclusively in the Lower House. A Joint Session was provided for in case of differences but as a matter of fact no occasion arose when the provision was reported to.

The argument that the Second Chamber would operate as a check upon the Lower Chamber so as to establish an equilibrium of power is unrelated to reality.

For every Constitution in varying measures has seen to it that the Upper Chamber in ultimate resort has the worse of the argument. The House of Lords tried to assert its ancient privilege and the Parliament Act of 1911 was the result. Besides, the need for efficient check on democratic excesses may be real when interest in politics was confined only to the upper classes and government was to the many a sealed book. But in the present day, when through the Press, the Radio and the platform there is so much of community-thinking and expression, a Second Chamber is not necessary to correct the vagaries of the Lower. It is the public opinion, strong and articulate, that can control legislative power.

The danger of the Lower House having a tendency to seize upon a sudden

impulse and initiating vast legislation is more imaginary than real.

Arguing from the extraordinary delay in important measures being passed into law, such as the Irish Home Rule, the Education Act, the recognition of the Trade Unions, etc., Prof. Leadh has said that every Act takes at least 30 years to reach the Statute Book. The criticism that is generally levelled against modern democracy is not that it is over-hasty but that it is too slow. Not haste but the want of it is the distinct feature of modern democratic rule.

The case for unicameralism has gained in strength with a clearer perception of the nature and scope of Cabinet government.

A strong co-ordinate Second Chamber is held to be inconsistent with the principle of ministerial responsibility. In England, the Cabinet government is considered the success that it is, because in effect the House of Lords is merely a consultative body and England functions practically on unicameral principles. It is significant that one of the chief recommendations of the Bryce Committee, which went into the question of the House of Lords Reforms, was that the Upper House should not make ministries.

It is true that a large body of important States still retain bicameral legislatures. But it is equally important to notice that in a number of States there are only unicameral legislatures.

I need instance only Bulgaria, Turkey, Finland, Itonia, Jugoslavia, Costa Rica and some of the Canadian Provinces, Queensland and many of the States of the old German and Austrian federations. There is no warrant for the assumption that in these States legislation is not as good as in States with bicameral legislatures.

Philosophically, bicameralism has been challenged by several thinkers. Nurtured in the strictest dogmas of the General Will of Rousseau, the Encyclopedists were against the Second Chambers as being in the nature of unwarranted inhibitions to the expression of the popular will.

Abbe Sieyes reflected this repugnance in a phrase that has struck to the mind of men. "If the Second Chamber agrees with the lower it is superfluous. If it differs it is obnoxious." Much to the same effect, Benjamin Franklin with his experience of the unicameral Pennsylvanian State compared a democratic State with two Chambers to a carriage drawn by two horses one in the front and another in the rear. But it is idle to make this discussion resolve itself into a point and counter-point of metaphysical argument. A pragmatic approach is the only proper approach to this question.

UNITY OF LIFE AND TYPE IN INDIA

Prabuddha Bharata for May contains an unpublished article from the pen of Sister Nivedita in which she tells how behind and within the unity of humanity, there is a stratification of man, which is as interesting as the tale of the formation of the sedimentary rocks.

Race over race, civilization over civilization, epoch upon epoch, the molten tides of immigration have flowed, tended to commingle and finally superposed themselves. And systems of thought and manners have grown by the accreting of the burdens of one wave to those of another and their blending into a whole under the action of the genius of place.

Writing about the fundamental laws of nation birth, Sister Nivedita observes:

Any country which is geographically distinct, has power to become the cradle of a nationality. National unity is dependent upon place. The rank of a nation in humanity is determined by the complexity and potentiality of its component parts. What any one of its elements has achieved in the past, the nation may expect to attain, as a whole, in the future. Complexity of elements, when duly subordinated to the nationalising influence of place, is a source of strength and not weakness to a nation.

But is there any unity of life and type perceptible amongst the Indian people, which might sooner or later serve as the foundation for a realised Indian nationality?

It is perhaps true that the Bengali is the Irishman of India, the Mahratta the Scot, the Punjabi the Welshman or Highlander, as we choose to name him; but is there anything common to all these, and to others, that relates them to one another, as the central fact of Briton-hood relates their western counterparts? On the existence or non-existence of such community of life and type must depend the ultimate reasonableness of Indian national aspirations.

In conclusion, the writer's characterisation of the various communities that populate India will be read with interest.

She says truly:

I find an overwhelming aspect of Indian unity in the fact that no single member or province repeats the function of any other. Against the great common background of highly developed feeling, the Bengali stands out, with his gravity and humour; the Mahratta exhibits his grimness and tenacity. The one may glory in his imagination, the other in his strength of will. The Punjabi has the faultless courage and the something of the child-like-nas of a military race. The Madrasi has the gravity and decorum of one whose dwelling is in the shadow of a church. The Mohammedan, wherever we meet him, stands unmatched for his courtesy and grandeur of bearing. And every one of these, we must remember responds to the same main elemental motives. With all alike, love of home, pride of race, idealism of woman, is a passion. With every one, devotion to India as India finds characteristic expression. To the Hindu of all provinces, his Motherland is the seat of holiness, the chosen home of righteousness, the land of seven sacred rivers, "the place to which sooner or later must come all souls in the quest of God". To the son of Islam, her earth is the dust of his saints. She is the seal upon his greatest memories. Her villages are his home. In her future lies his hope.

FORTY YEARS AGO

In a centenary tribute in the *Manchester Guardian*, Mr. Francis Hirst recalls a statement that John Morley made some 40 years ago. The war clouds were then gathering in Europe and a race in armaments was beginning. Morley said:—

It is time that something should be done to strengthen the hands of our Government in resolute and zealous co-operation with other rulers and statesmen in the ever-blessed cause of peace. Never was the moment more opportune for rousing the judgment and feelings of civilised men against these competitive and ever-swelling armaments, which load the taxpayer, dislocate industry, waste capital, and in Continental Europe scourge the family and the home. Economic policy commands reduction; for militarism impoverishes states. Social order commands it; for militarism, in swallowing up resources that ought to go to the elevation and contentment of the people, engenders the whole dark progress of Continental anarchism. Humanity commands it.

These things are well known to all the rulers and nations of the world. They stand numb'd. What is wanted is, will to act upon the knowledge and statesmanship to find a better way.

"Had Morley been alive to-day," comments Mr. Hirst, "he might have written the same words for a similar occasion."

BUDDHA'S INFLUENCE ON WOMEN

Dr. B. L. Law in an article to the *Maha Bodhi Vaishakha* number, on the above subject says that Gautama Buddha exercised a great influence on women. The influence of his Dhamma had a splendid effect on the character of women. This is illustrated in the following instance :—

Khujuttara, a maid servant of Savarati, queen of Udena, King of Kosambi, had to buy flowers daily for 8 kabeparas for the queen, but daily she used to steal 4 kabeparas. When she heard Buddha's Sermon, she obtained fruition of the first stage of sanctification. Since then she discontinued stealing.

It is interesting to note how Buddha succeeded in making beautiful women realize the worthlessness of their beauty and inducing them to lead a virtuous life so that they might attain arhatship.

The Buddha's doctrine produced a marvellous effect on many women, rich or poor, married or unmarried. They were moved by the attractive power of the Buddha's Dhamma and they gave up the household life to lead a virtuous life in the expectation of a happy rebirth or to annihilate rebirth altogether. Besides, the courtesans already referred to, ladies of the Sakya family were naturally the earliest women to come under the influence of the new creed.

Buddha's benign influence on household women was very great.

Mahaprajapati Gautami and 500 Sakya ladies were the first to cut themselves off from the bondage of the world and to institute the Order of Nuns. The Buddha had to give permission reluctantly to women to enter the Order. But his prediction on the effect of admittance of women into the Order was fulfilled when many troubles arose on account of the frequent meetings held between the bhikkhus and bhikkhunis and the bhikkhunis and lay people as we find in the case of Thullianands and Dabba, the Madien and also Abhirupananda and Salho, grandmother of Migara, a Savethian banker.

Women who were not a negligible factor in the ancient Buddhist community of India were very much influenced by the Buddha's dhamma.

THE CALL OF THE VILLAGE

Writing on the above subject in the *Rural India* for May, Mr. R. N. Muttco points out that the hard lot of an ever-increasing number of educated unemployed is a dark cloud on the country's horizon, but it is not without its silver lining and adds that it is the duty of every young man to take up to rural work. Cottage industries and village life point the way out.

If a large number of educated and patriotic young men decide to live in this India, life in the country would soon become richer in every way. The many educated young men scattered in the villages of India will form valuable links in a chain which will cement young India—the India of our dreams.

Village life has various advantages which will be differently valued by different temperaments. Their appeal cannot be the same for all. It is, however, well to remember that life in the villages is not such an unmitigated evil as some try to make it out to be. Life in the village has its own compensations and now, with the advent of the radio, even its monotony has been broken into. Village is the place where even the poor can live without having to be confined to the soul-destroying atmosphere of the city slums.

The fight against poverty, ignorance and apathy of the villager is the noblest fight in India today.

Will not the educated classes, especially the so-called "educated unemployed", enlist as soldiers in this the noblest of all fights in history, asks the writer.

Our civilization is on test. We must remember that we have been able to obtain a higher standard of education through the help of various educational institutions created and nurtured by our countrymen. The sweat of the brow of the villager has provided the revenue which has kept our many colleges and universities going. Do we not owe a duty to these countrymen of ours who have made it possible for us to obtain an education which they themselves could not afford?

The village needs you today. What is your answer?

THE ART OF PUBLIC SPEAKING

To realise how comprehensive the art of public speaking is, we have to consider the numerous objects the speaker may be striving to attain. Writing in the *Hindustan Review*, Mr. P. C. Manuk points out:

He may, for instance, be out to convince and persuade or to instruct and enlighten, or again to stimulate or provoke interest on any matter connected with the public weal; or merely to amuse and entertain as in the case of after-dinner speeches.

Mr. Manuk examines some concrete instances of great orators and notes the background behind their success, i.e., their educational career, their physical and mental qualities, which have won for them the success they have achieved as orators or public speakers. Of Lenin who effected the greatest revolution in history, he writes:

Lenin was more a thinker than a scholar with a background of long and persistent intrigue for the overthrow of Tsardom. Steeped in the teachings and political philosophy of Marx, with him Marxism became a religion and a panacea for all the people's ills. Sprung himself from humble origin and having tasted the full bitterness of Tsarist oppression, he became a great speaker rather than a great orator, swaying the populace more by his personal contact with their minds than by well-turned phrases and eloquence of speech. His biographers generally concede him the right to be called a great public speaker, but I apprehend he was hardly a Demosthenes or a Burke despite his astonishing achievements.

Next in the line comes Mussolini, the Italian, of whom it is said that he wrote himself to power.

Such of his speeches as have been reported in the European Press convey an impression of bombast and hysteria, assets which, with any but an emotional Latin race, would have got him nowhere at all. Now Italy has a great history behind her of a once powerful Roman Empire and Mussolini's slogan has, therefore, been "a Roman Empire", to be rebuilt by conquest and force of arms. I have no doubt that he looks upon himself as a reincarnation of "Imperious Caesar dead and turned to clay". His background was of the humblest; but enormous energy and industry have enabled him to acquire more knowledge than the average man would acquire with a liberal education at College and University.

More interesting still is the case of Hitler, because speechifying is probably

the chief external explanation of his success. We are told he literally talked himself to power.

Yet the strange thing is that Hitler is a bad speaker; he screeches, his mannerisms are awkward, his voice breaks with every utterance. I have heard his speeches myself over the wireless. Another criticism is that he never knows when to stop, which is what a public speaker should know. Those in a position to judge say that his magnetism across a table is almost nil, and yet by a strange anomaly even his critics admit that he can arouse a big audience to frenzy. Like Mussolini, however, he knows all the tricks, and Mussolini's slogan of "a Roman Empire" has its counterpart in Hitler's: "We Germans had or did not have, or wanted to do and could not do, this that and the other as a result of the Versailles Peace Treaty." This constant reiteration of the word *wir* (we), Hitler drove into his audience with rhythmic savagery in his early days, and then he would pause dramatically and add something like this: "That is the whole trouble in Germany; the word *wir* has no meaning now, the country is disunited—there is "no we". Thus did Hitler unite a people to whom he himself did not even belong; for Hitler is an Austrian, born and bred. His origin, too, I should add, was of the humblest, and unlike Mussolini, he has not educated himself up to the standards of a liberal education.

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INDIAN MYTHS

Prof. Heinrich Timmer, in the course of an article in the *Vedanta Kesari*, observes that Indian myths are very obscure. They seem to have had a past, no longer known, from which they have derived their meaning. But though they have apparently no perceptible past and seem to have led to any future, they remain as relics of unchanged meanings.

Thus, the myths of the Brahmanas of the Vedas in the beginning of Indian tradition, serve to explain nature and humanity. Imaginative and rationalistic at the same time, they trace the existence of things to their particular origin. The priestly omniscience of the time asserting that offerings and prayers can conjure, constrain, curse, bewitch, heal and rule over all living beings, powers, creatures and things with a similar living personality has its basis in myths. The result of the magic rites confirms their practical value: the myths explain the coherence and the characteristics; they form the theoretic element. The myth gives a sense of assurance to the traditional practice of the customs and explains their origin; it gives them certainty through knowledge or appearance of knowledge of the secrets of the powers which are at play. It confirms the magical technique as our science attests the rational.

It is manifestly the poets, the true poets alone, as those of old hymns, not ritual teachers or piece-writers, who can give a glorious life to changing myths—bird-free as they are with all the past spiritual heritage.

Their world-feeling or sense of nature, their function to be the mouth-piece of the vicissitudes of man can enliven with the stamp of new meaning the motive-web that lies always ready. They tear the secrets from the dim and dark forms in which they are hidden. Their experiences reveal the soul of the time. Then the myth grows up and the fate of man along with it to formful lives—then comes the myth out of half light and stupor to clear light and shine—as bearer of a high meaning, and the formless feeling of the poets finds in it the matter to incarnate.

In conclusion, the writer says that the Myth has become a miracle story from which we can scarcely understand the inner meaning.

THE MAHARATTAS

Shivaji established a Hindu Raj in Maharashtra; was it his aim to eradicate the Muslim element? Mr. G. R. Gokhale, discussing this point in the *Indian World*, observes:

"The Maharattas claimed only full religious liberty and tolerance from Muslim rulers and they did not care who ruled at Delhi. Shivaji himself remained contented with gaining independence for his home land. His famous letter to Aurangzeb clearly sets forth his ideals, which later the Peshwas tried to translate into practice. They had not a few opportunities to instal a Hindu monarch at Delhi; in 1754 and 1759 they could easily have carried this out if they had so willed.

The Maharattas had no correct notions either of religion or of politics and failed to realise that religion cannot be dissociated from politics as we find even today in our present efforts to bring about Hindu-Moslem union of national interests.

Innumerable letters have been printed, addressed by the Peshwas during nearly a hundred years of their regime to their Sardars in the north, urging the latter not to interfere with Moslem rule but only have the holy places released from Moslem to Hindu control.

Shivaji respected the Quoran as much as his own scriptures. One of his own spiritual Guru was Baba Yakut of Kelashi.

The Great Akbar and a number of saints and politicians, such as Kabir, Nanak, Abul Fazul and Faizi were fully imbued with this spirit of mutual help and respect. Thus did the two races mould the history of the past and thus will the two once more enact the history of future if only they evince the same spirit of tolerance and helpfulness."

GERMANY'S COLONIES

Germany's claim to her old colonies is based upon her plea that other great Powers have colonies and that the Entente deprived her of them unlawfully in 1919. On the first count, says the *Christian Democrat*:

It need only be said that international law knows no right to colonies any more than civil law recognizes John Smith's right to have the same number of dress suits as Tom Brown. As for 1919, the transfer of territory at the end of a war is permissible if it is designed to increase the security of nations which have been attacked. Great Britain and France could have made out a good case along these lines (and indeed Point V of Wilson's Fourteen Points contained such a provision). Unfortunately they chose to base the transfer upon Germany's alleged unworthiness to control defenceless native peoples (the 'colonial guilt lie'), a boomerang charge which applied equally to themselves. This aspect of the 1919 settlement gave Germany a strong moral case against the Allies.

Germany stands on more doubtful ground when we examine what she intends to do with the colonies once they are returned. Every thing which has been said or written in Germany in the last three years points to one conclusion:

Germany is determined to exploit her colonies ruthlessly in the interests of the German community. All calculations of output are based upon an exclusive German control of the colonial market (thus 'the Open Door' is to be resolutely slammed). Production to be raised by 50 to 100 per cent. in a decade (the welfare of the natives drops out of the picture), and the colonial domain is added as a permanent adjunct to the German economy (the 'ape-headed creatures' to whom Hitler refers in *Mein Kampf* are thus not destined for self-government). In other words, Germany's colonial programme is in direct contradiction to the principles of colonial ethics laid down by the Church.

The opportunity offered in 1926 of restoring the German colonies to Germany in the form of a Mandate was—disastrously as we see now—allowed to pass. To-day Germany wants no Mandates. She wants the right of exclusive exploitation in perpetuity. Nor can it be said of the 'Have' powers that their own record is

altogether clean. For, as the writer shrewdly points out:

They have been careful not to extend the Mandate principles to their own colonies. Ottawa laid the basis for exclusive inter-imperial trade; native trusteeship in South Africa, Kenya, or the West Indies is a farce. We cannot afford to be more moral with Germany than we are with ourselves. That was the mistake of 1919 which has landed us in our present dilemma. We are quite right when we point out that Germany's views on colonies are entirely retrograde. But are our own any better? We must put our own house in order before we talk of a just and progressive colonial system; for at present we are denying Germany access to colonies, because she means to put into practice a policy of exclusive exploitation of which we are among the finest living exponents.

THE CRISIS IN THE WEST

"Dictatorships and Democracies are creating different traditions of international manners," observes the *New Review* for May: dictators act without warning, democracies warn without acting, dictators have made ready for action, democracies have not. There is a two years' lag between the two regimes, as Mr. (now Lord) Baldwin confessed in 1935. What is much worse is the state of public opinion. Men's nerves are set on edge and the public mind is getting jumpy. The Old Lady of Threadneedle is not ruling London any more, she has given way to Lady Rumour, the huge and horrid monster covered with many feathers which Virgil has depicted. Statesmen do not escape: even the Foreign Offices of England and France can hardly make out the bearing of every report they receive from their agents abroad; the gentlemen who play the markets may find it convenient and profitable, but the man in the street has become panicky.

Rumour and the art with which it is fabricated have outrun the ordinary means of checking simultaneous preparations at different points and in different directions; a report reaches the Foreign Offices from every corner, action is expected anywhere and everywhere, but means are lacking to offer all-round counter-maneuvres.

The defensive, they say, has many advantages in modern warfare; but short of an armed conflict, initiative keeps the handicap it had in the old days of the corsairs,

SRI RAMANUJA AND THE HARIJANS

"Sri Ramanuja had the compassion of Buddha, the love and patience of Jesus, the rapturous devotion of Namadeva, the sincere surrender of the Alwars and the apostolic zeal of St. John," writes Sri Satyendra in *Kalyana Kalpataru* on the remarkable orientation given by the Saint to Vaishnavism.

Sri Ramanuja, he continues, was initiated in the *Ashthakshara mantra* by Saint Nambi of Tirukottiyur. Saint Nambi had advised him to keep the *mantra* a secret. But Ramanuja collected a large multitude of men of all castes and preached the blessed *mantra* to them from the top of a tower. "Hell shall be the reward of your impudence!" cried Nambi. "I shall gladly go to hell, my master, if the multitude can escape hell by pronouncing the *mantra* of mantras," said Ramanuja meekly.

The master, convinced of his large-mindedness, hugged him to his bosom and blessed him. But Ramanuja had to meet terrible enemies who attempted his life time out of number. One day poisoned food was served in his begging bowl. A woman hinted him about it and Ramanuja threw it away and lived long.

In the year 1099, he discovered a temple at Namamalai. It is the famous temple of Tirunarayananapuram that flourishes even-to-day. The image of Sri Rama was in the possession of the Badshah of Delhi. Ramanuja, by a miracle, won the heart of Badshah's daughter and got back the idol. On his way to Tirunarayananapuram, he was attacked by some robbers, but was protected by a set of Harijan devotees. For this help, the large-minded Ramanuja allowed the Harijans to enter the temple and worship God. It was he that named the depressed classes as *Tirumalaiyattar* (Harijans).

RACE WAR IN GERMANY

The refusal of membership by some British Flying Clubs to Mr. Bilgrami of Hyderabad, forms the subject of a note in *The Time and Tide* of London:

"Compared with the bloody blackness that envelopes the tribes of Central Europe," it says, "the worst that happens over here must seem but pale gray, but that we also belong to the authentic race of European barbarians must be obvious to any one who knows how to read his morning paper. Take, for instance, the fact that Mr. Bilgrami is barred from the Redhill Flying Club and from the bar and restaurant of the London Aeroplane Club, shall point but quite in the best Nazi Aryan Traditions."

INDIA IN PERIODICALS.

A RECENT VISIT TO INDIA AND BURMA By Lt.-Col. A. J. Murhead, M.A. [The Asiatic Review, April 1939]

RISE OF THE MARATHA POWER By R. N. Nagar. [The Twentieth Century, May 1939]

STUDY OF ANGLO-INDIAN LITERATURE IN INDIA By Prof. Amarendra Nath Gupta, M.A. [The Calcutta Review, May 1939]

THE SECURITY OF INDIA By Prof. Hermann Oncken. [Research and Progress, May-June 1939.]

INDIANS IN BRITISH COLONIES. By Nirmal Bhattacharyya. [Current Thought, June 1939.]

THE FUTURE OF GRAMCO-BUDDHIST ART IN INDIA. By Philip Wright. [The Maha-Shodhi, April 1939.]

INDIA'S IDEAL WOMAN (Saradamba Devi: the Holy Mother). By Gayatri Devi. [Message of the East, Vol. 28, No. 1.]

INSCRIPTIONS OF KATRIKAWAD. By D. B. Desikakar. [New Indian Antiquity, April 1939.]

PREAMBLE TO AN INDIAN STATE CONSTITUTION By Prof. M. Rathnaswamy. [The New Review, May 1939.]

SOME THOUGHTS ON HINDU RELIGION. By Dr. J. H. Cousins, D.Litt. [Prabuddha Bharata, May 1939.]

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS + DEPARTMENTAL + NOTES

Questions of Importance

THE CONFLICT IN THE CONGRESS

Mr. Rajendra Prasad, the Congress President, has issued a statement regarding recent developments in the Congress, in the course of which he observes :

In all parliamentary institutions it is a common and ordinary procedure that, in case of difference, the strength of parties is tested by a vote of no-confidence. There is nothing personal in such a procedure and it does not show any want of respect or any kind of bitterness either towards or on behalf of the personalities concerned. When we found after the election that a majority of the delegates had gone against our advice, it was but the proper course for us to resign and when we did so, the only intention was to give Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose an absolutely free hand so that he might not feel embarrassed by our presence on the Working Committee either in framing a programme or giving effect to it.

When the Congress met at Tripuri, it was with a view to testing the feeling of the delegates that Pandit Pant's resolution was moved and to find out whether they still adhered to the policy and programme represented by Mahatma Gandhi, or wanted a reorientation of the same. When the delegates adopted that resolution, it followed that even apart from the instruction contained in it, the Working Committee should consist of persons who agreed with his views. When Mahatmaji refused to nominate a committee as it would amount to an imposition on Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose in view of the differences, Mr. Bose was left absolutely free to appoint a Working Committee according to his wishes and this freedom we further emphasised by our assurances not to obstruct.

We were put in a very tight corner. The President would not form a Cabinet of his own in spite of our assurance; he would not appoint a compact Cabinet as suggested by us after some accommodation in the matter of time necessitated by reason of the absence of some members of the Working Committee; and he would not consent to accepting a Working Committee which the A. I. C. C. would give him except on his own terms. All this when he was aware that the majority of the A. I. C. C. was not with him. We were prepared not to use that majority against him if he formed his own Cabinet. We were prepared to join his Cabinet if he gave the accommodation mentioned above or if the A. I. C. C. passed Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru's resolution and Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose withdrew his resignation; but he refused to do so. In these circumstances, it was not without much regret and under a sheer sense of duty that some one had to be pitchforked into the Presidentship.

THE A. I. C. C. RESOLUTIONS

The three-day session of the All-India Congress Committee concluded on May 1, after President Rajendra Prasad had announced the personnel of the Working Committee. Resolutions against war, on purification of the Congress organisation, position of Indians in South Africa and release of political prisoners in Bengal and the Punjab were adopted without much discussion.

CONGRESS AND THE WAR DANGER

The following is the text of the resolution on Congress and the War Danger adopted by the A. I. C. C. Meeting at Calcutta :—

In view of the imminent danger of an international war, the A. I. C. C. reminds the country and all others concerned of the national policy in regard to war which the Congress has often proclaimed. This policy will be strictly adhered to and the Congress is determined to oppose all attempts to impose a war on India and use Indian resources in a war without the consent of the Indian people.

The Committee has noted with disapproval the despatch of a small body of Indian troops towards Aden, as this can only mean their employment for British imperialist purposes.

The Committee in particular records its complete disapproval of the attempt being made by the British Government to amend the Government of India Act with a view to concentrating all power in the event of a war emergency in the hands of the Central Government, which functions completely as an agent of British Imperialism. While the Congress is not interested as a rule in amendments to the India Act and has worked for the whole Act to be ended, it cannot tolerate an amendment which strikes at the very basis of provincial autonomy and renders it a farce in case of war; and which, in effect, creates a "war" dictatorship of the Central Government in India and which makes the Provincial Governments helpless agents of Imperialism. Any attempt to impose such an amendment on India must and will be resisted in every way open to the Congress. The Provincial Governments are warned to be ready to carry out the policy in this respect as may be determined by the A. I. C. C. or the Working Committee as the case may be.

Utterances of the Day

THE SARDAR'S CALL FOR UNITY

Sardar Patel, addressing the concluding meeting of the general session of the Gandhi Seva Sangh at Brindaban, explained his position *vis-a-vis* the recent events in the Congress and replied to the various criticisms levelled at him.

People call me a Hitler. I may tell you Gandhiji is the greatest Hitler I have seen. But the influence he exerts is born out of his inexhaustible love and patience. This is the essential difference between him and the Hitler of Germany. The difference between Mahatma Gandhi and other people is so vast that he stands alone as the one and only leader of the people. I do not know whether we are fit to work with him, but we seem to have won his confidence. And whatever he has to suffer in the shape of malicious criticism is due really to our own shortcomings. There is no one in the country, however eminent, who dare to do without him. Even the tallest among them wants his co-operation.

Reverting to criticisms made against certain Congress leaders, the Sardar said:

Pernicious propaganda is being carried on against me in two or three provinces and now particularly in some of the States. I am free to confess that I have my own shortcomings and these may be responsible to a certain extent for the criticisms levelled against us. But this is not to say that criticisms are either justified or true. The fact of the matter is that certain vested interests have started propaganda due to the sheer instinct of self-preservation. The purity of our means do not render us immune from such malicious attacks. That is why even Gandhiji has been compelled to issue, what I cannot help characterizing, as a tragic statement. For, what can be more tragic than for him to say that he is feeling old and despondent and that he no longer feels young?

These vested interests all over the country have now begun to fear that their day is nearing its end. They have enjoyed almost unrestricted power for centuries and naturally they do not want to part with it without resistance. Their fear, however, is not unfounded; because though we may have to suffer a lot and the people in the States may have to suffer imprisonment, lathi beatings and even receive bullets, victory is certain, provided we do our work in the proper spirit and the right manner. Much depends on us who are now working in the political field in British India. One thing essential is that the organisation that will fight the combined forces of Government, Princes and other anti-national interests, must be of one mind.

Dishord and disarray will be our undoing. That is why Mahatma Gandhi has been saying that the Working Committee of the Congress, which is the only organisation which can fight the Government, must be homogeneous both in spirit and action.

MR. LLOYD GEORGE'S WARNING

Mr. Lloyd George initiated the Foreign Affairs debate in the House of Commons on May 18, when he declared that he wanted to find out exactly where they were.

We have reached a point where the decision taken in the course of what might be the next few hours, certainly the next few days, by Britain, France and Russia will be more fateful than any decision of those countries taken since 1914.

Mr. Lloyd George referred to the general nervousness in the world, which reminded him very much of the feelings that prevailed in Spring of 1918 when he knew that a great attack was coming from Germany but none knew quite where the blow would fall. He added:

Let us make peace inevitable instead of war. There are two ways of doing this. One is preparing our military forces for an emergency and the other to secure the co-operation of as many nations as possible in order to resist aggression.

LORD BALDWIN'S DECLARATION

Lord Baldwin, speaking at Worcester, declared that he was in most perfect agreement with Government's policy.

This country is prepared to reason with any one who is reasonable. She is equally prepared to resist any one who bullies his neighbour.

Apart from what is called a devotee of Fascist and Nazi ideologies, nobody in the world wants war. If the leaders of Fascism and Nazism decide to apply force, they will be met with the disapprobation of every other country in the world.

That is a weight which no one can stand up against.

Napoleon himself could not do it; and, where Napoleon failed, no one is going to succeed. For a man of remarkable ability like Herr Hitler to make a political blunder of that kind seems almost incredible.

Lord Baldwin said he felt far more confident than ever that, in the long run, perhaps a short run, the ordinary people of the world, not excluding those of Italy and Germany, would win.

Political

THE CONGRESS WORKING COMMITTEE

In announcing the names of Members of the New Working Committee, Babu Rajendra Prasad said at the meeting of the A. I. C. C. at Calcutta:

I requested and implored him (Mr. Bose) to form a Working Committee of his own liking, consisting of people who shared his views. He could not, however, see eye to eye with me. I am really sorry for that . . . I see that some friends are displeased with my election and I have no quarrel with them. I have been called to this onerous office by the Members of the A. I. C. C.

The following are the Members:-

Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad (Bengal)
Mrs. Sarojini Nayudu (Bombay).
Sardar Vallabhai Patel (Bombay)
Seth Jamnalal Bajaj (C. P.)
Mr. Jairamdas Daulatram (Sind)
Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan (N. W. F.)
Acharya J. B. Kripalani (U. P.)
Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya (Andhra)
Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai (Bombay)
Mr. Harekrishna Mahatab (Orissa)
Mr. Shankar Rao Deo (C. P.)
Dr. Bidan Chandra Roy (Bengal), and
Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghose (Bengal)

All Members belong to the Right Wing of the Congress.

Pt. NEHRU ON THE FORWARD BLOC

Speaking at a meeting held in observance of the All-India Political Prisoners' Day at Cawnpore, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru deprecated the formation of the Forward Bloc. He said that he did not attach much importance to it. Although he allowed latitude to people with different views to form their organisation, he considered it improper to weaken the great organisation like the Congress by forming separate groups. In any active organisation difference of opinion must prevail, but this difference must not be confused with personalities which were harmful to the interests of the country.

INDIA AND WAR

It would be dishonest of and unfair to India if she refused to participate in any war in which Britain might participate, said Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, Premier of the Punjab, recently. India, he declared, would feel compelled to participate in such a war for her own sake.

Referring to the Congress resolution relating to non-participation in war, he said that he had no doubt that the Congress would soon modify it when the time came.

CUMULATIVE VOTING

A change in the present cumulative system of voting in elections to Provincial Legislative Assemblies is made in the Government of India Order which prescribes that—

"At a poll in any general or Muhammadan constituency when more than one seat is to be filled, a voter, while having as many votes as there are seats to be filled, shall not give more than one vote to any one candidate."

PARLIAMENTARY SUB-COMMITTEE

Pending the meeting of the Congress Working Committee, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Congress President, has appointed the old Parliamentary Sub-Committee of the Working Committee of the Congress to function till the Working Committee meets and takes such decision as it considers necessary.

GOLDEN MACE FOR COUNCIL

With full ceremony, the Council of State, on April 8, accepted from the Maharajadhiraja of Darbhanga the golden mace, which will lie in the centre of the Chamber. The mace is a copy of that which lies in the House of Lords in London.

PRIMARY EDUCATION FOR PRISONERS

The Punjab Government has decided to introduce a system of primary education for prisoners in their jails. Three central and seven district jails have been selected for the purpose. The primary education scheme, which was introduced on a tentative basis some years ago, has proved encouraging and has prompted the Government to extend it to 10 other jails. In the initial stage, each jail will be provided with a teacher of the senior vernacular cadre, who will teach the usual primary educational subjects and will also organise and supervise extra classes taught by literate convicts.

MODEL SCHOOLS IN PUNJAB

"Model schools" in 28 different parts of the Punjab will shortly come into existence with the following among their equipments:—

Radio sets, a school band, implements and tools for agricultural farms and gardens, a milk bar for the supply of milk to necessitous children, provision for proper medical inspection, some science apparatus, maps and educational devices, the equipment for the teaching of rural science, monetary assistance to schools to run their own magazines, and improvement in school libraries.

GIFT TO CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

A fine collection of rare art curios has been presented to the Calcutta University by Mr. Bijay Singh Nahar.

The collection is valued at Rs. 40,000. It consists of 250 rare paintings, 200 stone sculptures, a similar number of bronze statues and about 500 pieces of ancient Jain scrolls, manuscripts, ivory figures, coins, etc.

SYDNEY UNIVERSITY

To promote cordial relation between India and Australia, the University of Sydney proposes to grant exemption from fees to students intending to pursue post-graduate studies in the Departments of Agriculture, Economics, Veterinary Science, Tropical Medicine, Zoology and Physics. The selected students will have to pay their passage to and from Australia and their living expenses is about £8 a week for the period of their stay. The academic year in Australia begins in March and the normal period of study for a post-graduate degree or diploma is two years.

Candidates may address their inquiries to Captain M. Abdul Hamid, Secretary, Madras University Students' Information Bureau, giving particulars of their educational qualifications and proposed subject of research.

THE VALUE OF EDUCATION

His Excellency the Governor of Madras, laying the foundation-stone of Pachaiyappa's Residential College at Madras on March 22, observed:

"Let those of us whose idealism can transcend the immediate present, remember our duty to posterity. We shall have failed in that duty unless we do the utmost in our power to see that our children have the best opportunity possible of becoming good men and good citizens.

Proper education is the chief means to that end. I am not among those who would decry extended higher education merely on a consideration of the statistics of educated unemployed. We are too often apt to disregard education as an end in a too nice calculation of its value as a means."

SIR DOUGLAS YOUNG

The speeches and judgments collected in this volume* bear testimony to the public spirit, sense of justice and zeal for law reform for which Sir Douglas Young has become famous in this country. After serving a notable term as a puisne Judge of the Allahabad High Court, Sir Douglas was selected to succeed Sir Shadi Lal as Chief Justice of the Punjab. From the very start, Sir Douglas set himself to the task of discovering and removing the abuses of the legal system. Corruption in Courts, law's delays, perjury of witnesses and, above all, that sense of fatalism which made people endure evils without resisting and overcoming them were the factors against which the Chief Justice had to contend. He investigated the causes and ramifications of these long standing evils with infinite patience and combated them with sincere resoluteness. More than these, he created the necessary atmosphere of sympathy with his objective and efforts and the enthusiasm for speedy and unerring justice which he infused among the members of the Bar, the judiciary and the ministerial staffs of Courts earned for him the unstinted admiration of the community. We refer our readers in particular to the note circulated by him in which he analysed the causes and suggested the remedies for meeting the situation which is printed at page 28 of this volume. His judgments are characterised by lucidity and learning.

In public life, Sir Douglas Young displayed the same keenness and sense of fairness. He realised the value of

training the youth of the country along right lines, of dissolving communal antipathies in a common patriotism and of absorbing the energies of the youth in the service of the country. He found the Boy Scout Movement an extremely potent means of elevating the tone and temper of the young and the adolescent. The sentiments to which he gave eloquent and felicitous expression in these pages are unexceptionable. To love this country and to serve her people without distinction of caste or class, to shed the lethargy of ages and to be vigorous in a purposeful life, to fight corruption and to be brave was his great message.

India owes much to selfless and intrepid Englishmen like Sir Douglas Young, who hold up such high ideals before the youth of the country and enforce them by such exemplary personal life. We are sure that this book will enjoy a wide circulation and that Sir Douglas Young will receive the recognition that is due to one who served this country with such single-minded devotion.

HINDU CONCEPTION OF LAW

"The Hindu conception of the divine origin of kings was very different from the mediæval theory of the Divine Right of Kings prevalent in Western countries," writes Justice Sir S. Varadachariar in *Immortal Message* and proceeds:

"The Hindu concept never placed the king above law in the sense in which the Divine Right theory did. It was never the Hindu theory that the king could change the law as he pleased. He was merely expected to enforce law. This accounted for the great difficulty that lawyers felt in changing Hindu law."

* *FOR NECESSARY ACTION : Speeches and Judgments of Sir Douglas. Edited by Shri Ram and Kulkarni. Published by the Indian Cases Ltd., Lahore.*

INSURANCE AS A CAREER IN INDIA

The growth of Insurance in India during recent years has been remarkable and the time has now come to absorb the young enterprising youths in this profession and relieve unemployment. There is a vast field still unexplored, namely, villages, says a writer in the Anglo-Gujarati Bulletin *Mass Uplift* published by B. K. Kapasi of Baroda.

Though the total life assurances in force in India at the end of 1936 are estimated at about Rs. 235 crores, still there is enough scope for its expansion in the field of Life Insurance, Fire, marine, motor, etc., are other branches where pioneers of Indian Insurance should direct their activities with double vigour to nationalise all kinds of insurances.

India is in a state of economic and political transition and the uplift of the masses is the main activity of every political party. The time has come, therefore, to acquaint the villagers and the poor labouring class of the urban areas with the benefits of Life Insurance. Life assurance is a vital necessity in the modern world and the villagers ought to be acquainted with it by introducing cheap insurance schemes. To explain this, every insurance concern would require a batch of good and sincere workers to talk and walk with the village folks.

Accident insurance business is in its infancy in India. The factory workers in the urban areas are in dire need of such insurance but there must be people to approach and explain. Service plays an important part in insurance business and thus opens many avenues for the youth of the country to earn their livelihood; but it does require the spirit of confidence to stick to it. To-day the tide has turned and may sweep on to national prosperity during the coming years.

As business advances, companies will be in need of more men and hence the youth must make up its mind to take to insurance as a permanent vocation instead of hovering round here and there to be a burden to the family and the nation.

NEW LIFE BUSINESS IN 1938

The insurance companies of old Germany, organised in the German Labour Front Association, wrote a total gross new life insurance business of Rm. 485.6 millions in 1938 as compared with Rm. 441.6 millions in 1937.

INSURANCE BUSINESS IN INDIA

The large expansion of the business during the last one decade is shown by the fact that the total business remaining in force with Indian Life Offices at the end of the year 1927 was Rs. 60,00,00,000 and at the end of 1936, it was Rs. 1,75,00,00,000. The total new sums assured by the offices in 1936 amounted to nearly Rs. 88,00,00,000, the largest of any of the previous 10 years. Again, the total life assurance income of Indian companies was Rs. 4,29,00,000 in the year 1927, and Rs. 11,85,00,000 in 1936 exceeding the preceding year's income by over two crores.

The total number of Indian Life Offices which are subject to the Indian Life Assurance Companies Act is 218 of them, 178 being proprietary and 85 mutual.

NEW INSURANCE ACT

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the Federation of Indian Insurance Companies was held recently at Cawnpore, to consider what attitude the Federation should adopt regarding the revised rules under the new Insurance Companies Act. It was decided that the Federation should make further representations to the Government of India with regard to the rules as well as on several other points affecting the interests of Indian Insurance Companies.

THE INSURANCE WORLD

We regret, by an inadvertence, the note—Is Gandhiji's life insurable—appearing in the last issue was acknowledged to the *Insurance Herald* instead of *Insurance World*, an Illustrated Monthly Journal on Insurance edited by Mr. S. C. Ray and published in Calcutta.

THE SALES TAX BILL

The General Sales Tax Bill passed its 3rd reading in the Madras Legislative Assembly on May 18.

Mr. G. H. Hodgson opposed the Bill on the ground that there was no justification for the tax at present.

After question time the members of the Opposition, excluding the European members of the House, walked out.

A similar walk out was staged in the Legislative Council also when members of the Justice Party and the Democratic Group marched out of the Chamber. All amendments to the Bill were either withdrawn or rejected and the measure, as passed by the Legislative Assembly, was adopted.

Sir K. V. Reddi Nayudu, Leader of the Democratic Group, said :

From the attitude taken by the Premier on the amendments proposed by the Opposition Groups and the replies given by him, we find that not only is the mind of the Premier made up to reject every amendment, but even ordinary courtesies commonly observed in parliamentary debates are not shown to us.

The Hon. Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar, Premier, replied :

I am at a loss to understand what discourtesies have been referred to in this matter. I myself am not conscious of any single act of discourtesy.

The Premier claimed that the Sales Tax Bill would broaden the basis of taxation and that there was general agreement on the main purpose of the Bill.

After the walk out, the Premier complained that the members who had left the House should have had the courtesy to point out where was the discourtesy. The President agreed with the Premier.

Sir Mohammed Usman supporting the Premier's motion that the Sales Tax Bill be passed expressed appreciation of the Premier's urbanity and courtesy throughout.

Sir Frank Birley (European Group) also spoke appreciating the Premier's courtesy. The Bill was passed and the House adjourned sine die.

INDIA'S FOREIGN TRADE

Revealing figures of India's diminishing trade with Germany, Italy, France and Japan were given by Mr. Jamshed N. R. Mehta when, in his presidential address at the annual meeting in Delhi of the Federation of Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industry, he said that the only way by which India could make her payments abroad was by developing her export trade to the United States, the United Kingdom and the countries of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

Trade with Germany gave India a favourable balance of Rs. 17 crores in 1927-28. This had changed by 1937-38 to an unfavourable balance of Rs. 57 crores.

The favourable balance of Rs. 6 crores in Indo-Italian trade in 1927-28 decreased to Rs. 28 crores in 1937-38.

Since Japan joined the ranks of the totalitarian countries and adopted measures of exchange control, the favourable trade balance of Rs. 11 crores has turned into a deficit of Rs. 4 crores.

Having urged the negotiation of separate trade agreements with countries like Germany, Italy, the United States and Japan, Mr. Mehta added that India should also try to find new outlets for her products in Afghanistan, Iran, Burma, Ceylon, East Africa and the Federated Malay States.

CUSTOMS REVENUE

India has earned during the year 1937-38 a gross revenue of about Rs. 47½ crores in its Customs receipts against an expenditure of about one crore according to the review of the Customs Administration in India for that year.

EDUCATION FOR WOMEN

Writing on the ideal of education for Indian women, *Prabuddha Bharata* says:

Any attempt to encourage the sickening exhibition of feminine graces and parts in undesirable places and atmosphere and thereby to allow our mothers and sisters to imbibe ideas that are likely to weaken the moral foundation of our social life is to be nipped in the bud with a strong hand. The country is already too much steeped in such namby-pamby ideas.

What is needed is the worship of the ideal wherein heroism and nobleness, purity and strength, love and piety are blended in beautiful harmony. An evolution of such a balanced character will not only make every household a playground of peace and joy but would help as well the achievement of a nobler destiny in the collective life of the nation. It is then alone that children who receive their moulding of character from mothers would develop into eminent personalities.

MISS GARROD OF CAMBRIDGE

For the first time in Cambridge University history, a woman has been appointed to a professorship. She is Miss Dorothy Annie Garrod.

She has been appointed to succeed Professor Minns in the Disney Professorship of Archaeology, one of Cambridge's oldest professorships.

Miss Garrod has made resounding archaeological discoveries, the most important of which was in the Balkans in September last year when she found fifty thousand year old ovens which yielded data for linking the savagery of the Balkans with Palestine and the East.

FAIR PLAY FOR WOMEN.

Mrs. Tate, M.P., in the A.R.P. debate in the Commons, said:

"I disapprove of the unequal rates of pay between men and women in the Civil Service.

"It is impossible to pretend that a woman driving an ambulance from morning till night will be doing less work than a man who is giving exactly the same service. She certainly will not need less food. She will not find the driving of that ambulance less of a strain, and she certainly will have to pay quite as much for lodgings.

"The country knows that whether you treat women justly or not, they will give their service freely and unstintingly in time of war when the nation calls for it, and that they will think not of themselves or of their sex but only of their country; but it does not do the country or the Government credit that there should be this wholly indefensible difference in the allowances paid to men and women."

WOMEN AND DICTATORS

"A world governed by force brutality and fraud will find no place for women save as breeders of men and forced labourers," said Mrs. Corbett Ashby in her presidential address to the Conference of Women's Freedom League, London.

"Three vast empires are rapidly extending their sway on a doctrine of brutal force of incredibly ingenuous cruelty and of complete contempt for contract and pledged word. Wherever this doctrine prevails, the women's movement has disappeared."

LITERARY

VENKATESWARA ORIENTAL INSTITUTE

The Tirumalai Tirupati Devasthanams Committee at its last meeting passed a resolution sanctioning the establishment of an Oriental Institute for the study and advancement of ancient Indian culture. The Institute, it is hoped, would develop at an early date with suitable financial backing into a great Oriental University, which will become a place of pilgrimage for all those interested in the cultural heritage of India and Greater India at Tirupati, under the designation of the Sri Venkateswara Oriental Institute, to become in due course the Sri Venkateswara Oriental University.

The scope of the Institute according to the resolution should not merely be the teaching and study of Sanskrit but that it should embrace the languages of South India, the work in the latter being confined for the time being to Tamil and Telugu culture and literature. The function of the Institute should be to translate and publish authoritative works or articles in modern European languages or in the languages of the East bearing on Indology; to translate from Sanskrit into Tamil or Telugu important works; and to publish original works; and translate important works in the three languages into English.

THE STYLE OF GANDHIJI

"It is frequently remarked that no Indian can ever hope to write impeccable prose in the English language for the reason that no man can best express his thoughts in a tongue to which he is not native. Those who argue along these lines," says the *Good Books*, "appear to overlook the fact that Mr. Gandhi himself in his inspired moments writes prose which in its clarity, dignity and feeling has the quality of Abraham Lincoln's."

THE LARGEST LIBRARY IN THE WORLD

America now claims to have the largest library in the world—the Library of the Congress in Washington. It contains 9,841,491 items. The British Museum Library has over 4,460,000 items and the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris over 4,500,000.

PERSONAL

A PORTRAIT OF DADABHAI

A graceful tribute has been paid to the memory of Dr. Dadabhai Naoroji, India's Grand Old Man, by the decision of the Speaker of the House of Commons to hang his portrait in the precincts of the House. Dr. Naoroji was the first Indian to be elected to Parliament being returned by Finsbury about the end of the last century. The portrait is the work of Mr. V. R. Rao of the Royal Academy, London, who has painted the portraits of a number of other well-known Indian personalities.

INDIAN DELEGATION TO GENEVA

The Indian delegation to the 18th Session of the International Labour Conference, which opens at Geneva on June 8, will be composed as follows:

Government Delegates.—Sir Firoz Khan Noon and Sir Frank Noyce.

Government Advisers.—Messrs. A. Hughes and M. Ikramullah.

Employers' Delegate.—Mr. K. L. Dahanukar with Mr. K. Basu as Adviser.

Workers' Delegate.—Mr. R. S. Nimkar with Mr. Aftab Ali as Adviser.

Mr. M. Ikramullah will be Secretary to the Delegation.

THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S COUNCIL

Sir Nripendra Nath Sircar, Member of the Governor-General's Executive Council, vacated his office and Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar assumed office in Sir Nripendra's place on May 4. Sir Jagdish Praad is appointed Vice-President of the Governor-General's Executive Council.

MR. A. K. SINHA

Mr. Alakh Kumar Sinha, Deputy Inspector-General of Police, C. I. D., has been appointed Inspector-General of Police, Bihar, and will be the first Indian to hold that post. Mr. Sinha rose from the rank of Deputy Superintendent.

SIR A. H. GHASSENAVI

Sir Abdul Hafiz Ghassenavi, Member of the Central Assembly, has severed his connection with the All-India Muslim League.

NEW CURE FOR DENTAL DECAY

Decaying tooth can be cured and replanted in the mouth—that is the claim made by Dr. C. W. Messinger of Michigan before the Chicago Dental Society.

He first extracts the decaying tooth, scrapes out all the pulp in the root canal, sterilizes it and fills it with gutta-percha. It is again sterilized and replaced in the tooth socket. A gold frame is then clamped on the tooth to hold it in place till the gum and tissue have grown round it.

The dentist claimed that he had performed 65 such operations and that each replaced tooth has given good service for at least five years.

NATURE'S CURE FOR TUBERCULOSIS

After 25 years of research, a South American doctor claims to have found a simple yet effective treatment for tuberculosis which has resulted in a number of speedy cures.

Nature, according to this doctor, has provided her own defence against tuberculosis in the form of small deposits in the lung and joints. From these deposits serum is distributed about the body, which is thus armed to resist disease germs. Ill-health, argues the doctor, often has the effect of sealing up these deposits.

The doctor's remedy is to puncture one of the deposits in the lung so as to release the natural flow of disease-resisting serum previously held in check. Having performed the operation, which is painless and takes but a few minutes, he leaves Nature to do the rest.

CURE FOR CANCER

Dr. Douglas Quick gave the following startling advice recently at the New York Dental Society:—

Pull wisdom teeth to prevent cancer. The tissue in back of the wisdom tooth is one of the most frequent places for cancer to develop. This is because the position of the tooth makes it difficult to clean and the membranes near by become swollen and inflamed. It is believed constant irritation leads to cancer.

THE WELL-BALANCED DIET

In an address to the annual conference of the Andhra section of the Christian Medical Association, Dr. Aykroyd said that the ill-balanced diet common in South India cost about Rs. 5 a month and a well-balanced diet would cost Rs. 11 to Rs. 12. Dr. Gurupatham said that the diet of a Brahmin 20 years ago was fairly well-balanced. Although the ideal diet may be relatively costly, inferior diets may be greatly improved by minor additions. The principal problem then appears to be this: To encourage and cheapen the production and distribution of such valuable additions to the diet as milk and to foster their consumption by propaganda concentrating on these few selected products.

ALTERNATIVE TO INOCULATION

A novel method of immunising people from inoculation against many diseases has been discovered by Professor Alexandre Besredka of Paris. Addressing the Academy of Medicine, he stated:

"The method is simple. All one has to do is to scratch the skin just a very little and then apply a bandage with the serum for the particular disease. This way there is no danger of the patient becoming ill and no reaction."

The Professor claimed that the treatment is 100 per cent. safe, because the serum is allowed to act very slowly into the body through the skin. The body thus has time to absorb the serum in safety.

HOW TO DRINK MILK

Should milk be sipped, perhaps through a straw, to facilitate digestion? Most children at some time or another are told not to gulp down their milk. Is it scientifically correct?

The matter has been investigated by a group of German dieticians. After a series of clinical tests, they conclude that the advice to drink milk slowly was all wrong. They recommended the exact opposite. When milk was drunk slowly, they contended, there was more curdling in the stomach and consequently more likelihood of digestive troubles arising than when it was drunk quickly.

NEW INDIA LOAN

It is understood that the Government of India are likely to float a loan this year to convert the 5 per cent. 1989-44 Loan. The Government have the option to repay this loan on or after July 15. Notice of redemption of the Loan has already been given.

Referring to the question of the repayment of this Loan, Sir James Grigg spoke as follows in his Budget speech: "Next year we shall have the option of redeeming the remainder of the Government of India 1989-44 Loan, the outstanding balance of which is a little over Rs. 20 crores. The time and manner of redemption will, of course, depend on market conditions and our ways and means position."

The object of the present conversion operations of the Government, as in the previous conversions by Sir James Grigg, is believed to be the gradual repatriation of the Sterling Debt of India.

Market conditions may be said to be very much in favour of a conversion operation. The money market continues quiet and all indications point to a surplus of funds seeking profitable investment. In such circumstances there can be little doubt that the conversion loan will be a success.

BENGAL MONEY-LENDERS' BILL

By 116 to 68 votes, the Bengal Legislative Assembly accepted recently the Amendment moved by Hon'ble Mr. H. S. Subhrawardy on behalf of Government, excluding scheduled and notified banks from the purview of the Bengal Money-Lenders' Bill.

The Select Committee had included scheduled banks within the scope of the Bill. The amendment which the House accepted on the motion of Hon'ble Mr. Subhrawardy by 116 to 68 votes excluded from the purview of the Bill a loan advanced before or after the commencement of this Act, by a bank which was a scheduled bank on the 1st of January 1989, or by a bank which has been declared to be a notified bank under Section 2 (A), whether or not such bank was a scheduled bank or was so declared to be a notified bank, as the case may be, at the time the loan was advanced.

BOMBAY-SIND RAILWAY

The Railway Board are now examining the estimates of the cost of construction of the Bombay-Sind connecting railway which have been submitted by the Karachi Indian Merchants' Association and the Buyers and Shippers' Chamber.

It will be recalled that the scheme for constructing this railway has been under the consideration of the Railway Board for some time. The difficulty felt by the Railway Board was that on their estimates, the project could not yield a sufficient return on the capital outlay. The Association and the Chamber, however, insisted that it was possible to have an estimate in which the return would be adequate and undertook to obtain estimates by their own men.

It is understood that the estimates show a return of about 8 per cent. on the capital outlay which is not regarded by the Railway Board as a sufficient justification for a new line as the policy that is now being followed is that a return of at least 4½ per cent. is necessary on the basis of estimated net revenue in the sixth year of working.

THE INDIAN RAILWAYS

"Indian railways set good example to the world". So runs a head-line over an article by the City Editor of the *Evening Standard*. He writes: "British investors hear very little about the British-owned Indian railways. The reason doubtless is that they are well conducted concerns doing a valuable service to the Indian community and providing their shareholders with a reasonable return on the capital invested. Their present prosperity is quite contrary to the experience of almost all other railways the world over. This is because the directors believe in a large volume of traffic at low prices rather than attempting to hold the community up to ransom at high prices."

AIR CONDITIONED COACHES

The Railway Board is reported to be considering a proposal for the introduction of air-conditioned coaches between Lahore and Karachi, and between Delhi and Peshawar. The new service is expected to start in February next year.

AN IMPROVED STAGE IN NEW STUDIO

Mr. R. Vastava of Lucknow has invented an improved stage in the New Studio for taking cinematographic pictures and for theatres. The invention has been accepted and sealed by the Government of India. This invention relates to a device which makes it possible for a film company to carry on the whole of the indoor and most of the outdoor setting at one stretch before shooting takes place. If desired, even the main play or any other play having a bearing on the setting can be staged and played several times.

The industry of theatre has been dying fast and at present it has almost become insignificant except in a few theatrical companies. Old and out-of-date methods are still in use in most theatres. In the theatre the play was not continuous and at the same time *natural scenes* such as running of a motor car, fall of rain, a tonga with a horse, a river, a motor accident and so on could not be brought over a stage for show in the play. The cinema took its place and removed these deficiencies. So the most important object of this invention is to revive the dying industry of theatre once more and this has been done by removing the deficiencies present before. Now by this method natural things such as a running horse, a motor car and some accidents can be shown on the stage. In short, every thing can be shown on the stage what is shown on the cinema screen. Thus by means of this invention a play can be staged without a screen and more real and animating scenes can be set in it.

PHOTO COMPETITION

Young people in every conceivable pose and activity, ranging from a boy patrolman in the U. S. to Japanese children praying before a family altar and a half-naked faher-boy of India are represented in the 90 Prize Winners and Honourable Mentions in the Y. M. C. A. International Photo Contest. Prizes for entries from 16 different countries were announced on April 1.

First among the prize winners in the division "Youth at Work" was N. K. Pathan, Bangalore, South India.

TRAVELLING FOOTBALLER EVIL IN INDIA

The much-discussed Rule 88 of the All-India Football Federation, which provided that no player could belong to any two clubs during one year was amended recently at a meeting of the Committee of the Federation at New Delhi.

As amended, the Rule lays down that a player cannot belong to two clubs at one and the same time, but permission to transfer may be given by the Provincial Association. It is further provided that a player may not belong to two Provincial Associations in one year.

The Rule, as it originally stood, prohibited a player, who may have played only once for a club, from joining any other club during that year.

WORLD'S HOCKEY CHAMPIONSHIP

Failing to persuade the Organising Committee of the Helsinki Games to include hockey in the Olympic Programme, the Federation Internationale de Hockey has decided to hold a World's Hockey Championship at Amsterdam in 1940.

The Championship will take place from May 2 to May 18. There will also be a Women's Hockey Championship from May 8 to May 18.

The Federation has also sent a strong representation to the International Olympic Committee to remove hockey from the optional section of its programme and to put it in the compulsory section.

BRITISH RYDER CUP TEAM

Henry Cotton has been appointed Captain of the British Ryder Cup Golf Team against the United States. The matches will be played on the Ponte Vedra course in Florida on November 18 and 19.

NEW WORLD'S SWIMMING RECORD

Miss Regnild Hveger, the Danish girl swimmer, established a new 220 yards free style world's record on April 22, her time being 2 minutes 21.6 seconds. This beats her own previous record of 2 minutes 25.8 seconds.

NEW TRANSMITTER AT TRICHY

Before a large gathering including the Agent of the South Indian Railway, Mr. Lionel Fielden, Controller of Broadcasting, Mr. Goyder, Chief Engineer, All-India Radio, and local officials and non-officials, the Hon. Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar, the Premier, inaugurated on May 16 the Trichinopoly Centre of All-India Radio with a Tamil speech relayed by telephone from Madras. The Premier put in a strong plea for bringing joy into the life in villages through the radio.

His Excellency the Governor's message on the occasion was likewise relayed from Government House, Ootacamund. "The ultimate aim of a radio service is 'a listener in every home,'" declared His Excellency who made a special appeal to the philanthropic people whose means permit to step in and help to promote community listening in villages, as the financial capacity to purchase a private set was less general in rural areas than in the urban.

Mr. Lionel Fielden, in the course of a talk on "The Thirteenth Transmitter", made a fervent appeal for the constructive co-operation and tolerance of the listeners in India with the All-India Radio.

ELECTRICITY FROM SAND

Sir Ambrose Fleming, 89-year-old inventor of the valve, which made broadcasting possible, has now discovered a new way of making electricity. He has found that if powdered silica falls through a tube on to a perforated zinc plate positive electricity is formed. Simple as it looks, it is a complicated process and requires a cumbersome apparatus. It is stated, however, that the discovery has no commercial application.

BY-PRODUCTS OF COAL

At the Fuel Research Station (England), a process is being studied of producing motor spirit by heating the gasses produced by passing steam over red-hot coal. In the course of this synthesis, a wax is produced from which soap has been made. Water softening materials have also been prepared from coal and the possibilities of using fine coal dust instead of oil in Diesel engines is being investigated.

THE BEST TEN OF THE YEAR

Hollywood Academy, "dictator of taste in the motion picture world", has announced its choice of the ten best film performers of 1938. The men are:

Charles Boyer in *Algiers*.

James Cagney in *Angels With Dirty Faces*.

Robert Donat in *The Citadel*.

Leslie Howard in *Pygmalion*.

Spencer Tracy in *Boys Town*.

The best women are:

Fay Bainter in *White Banners*.

Bette Davis in *Jezzabel*.

Wendy Hiller in *Pygmalion*.

Norma Shearer in *Marie Antoinette*.

Margaret Sullivan in *Three Comrades*.

From these nominations final awards to the best man and best woman will be announced at the Academy's banquet later.

FILM INDUSTRY IN INDIA

The view that the film industry could survive in its grim struggle with foreign competition only if it could develop effective organised strength was expressed by the Hon. Mr. K. M. Munshi, Home Minister, Bombay, inaugurating the First Indian Motion Picture Congress at Bombay on May 7.

Mr. S. Satyamurti, M.L.A., Deputy Leader of the Congress Party in the Central Assembly, presided over the Conference.

Exhibitors, producers, artists and others interested in the film industry from all over India attended the Congress.

TELEVISION FOR CINEMAS

Following the success of reception in cinemas of the Boon-Danahar fight in a television broadcast, the officials of Gaumont, British and Baird Television have decided to proceed with the production of television apparatus to be installed in 850 British cinemas.

It is stated that British officials in New York are negotiating with famous artistes and sporting personalities to visit England, and appear in future in television broadcasts.

MOTORING TEN YEARS AGO AND NOW

In a statement by the Chairman of General Motors Corporation, he outlined the astonishing progress that has been made in the design, construction and total all-round value of the motor car during the last 10 years.

Mr. Sloan pointed out that increased technical efficiency over the ten-year period has resulted in the consumer receiving an outstandingly greater value today than he received 10 years back.

Conclusive proof is found in this direct comparison between the 1928 Chevrolet Sedan and the Chevrolet Sedan of today.

The 1928 Sedan was a four-cylinder car—today's Sedan is a valve-in-head six.

The 1928 Sedan delivered 86 horsepower—today's Sedan delivers 85 horsepower.

The 1928 Sedan had an overall length of 141 inches—today's Sedan has an overall length of 190 inches.

Despite this increase in the number of cylinders, in horsepower and in overall length, today's Chevrolet six cylinder gives 21·4 miles a gallon of petrol at forty miles an hour as compared with 16·68 miles a gallon at the same engine speed for the four-cylinder car of 1928. This means 26 per cent. greater economy than the outmoded four of 10 years ago.

PETROL TAX IN BOMBAY

The Government of Bombay have decided that the Sales Tax on motor spirit should be recovered with effect from 1st May 1938, at the rate of one anna per gallon or 6½ per cent. of the selling price, whichever is less. As the price of petrol is not less than a rupee anywhere in the province, this means that the effective rate will be one anna per gallon.

MOTOR SPIRIT TAX

The Punjab Motor Spirit (taxation of sales) Act came into force with effect from the 19th April. Under the Act a tax at the rate of one anna three pice for each imperial gallon is levied on all retail sales of motor spirit on and after that date.

A Press communiqué draws the attention of retail dealers to this fact and stresses the need of dealers taking out licences.

AVIATION INSURANCE

Aviation is comparatively a modern art but it is making great strides to-day. Few life offices issue policies covering risk due to aviation and that also at heavy rates of premium.

America has made greater progress in Aviation Insurance than England has in other branches of insurance. In 1912, the first Aviation policy was issued by a well known firm of Aviation Insurance brokers in New York and this firm practically holds the monopoly of this kind of business in that country. In England, development of this branch has been slow but with the formation of British Aviation Insurance Group in June 1931, prospects have brightened considerably.

The principal factors which underwriters have to consider in accepting the proposal for this class are:-

- (1) Type and air-worthiness of the air-craft.
- (2) Pilot's character, experience and trustworthiness.
- (3) Uses to which air-craft is put.
- (4) Whether air-craft is flown only over scheduled routes or at night. Night flying is excluded by most policies.
- (5) Area over which the air-craft is flown.
- (6) The airdromes usually used and types of hangars.
- (7) The moral hazard—information required being concerned with financial standing and general reputation of the proposer.

EMPIRE AIR SERVICES

The colossal growth of the Empire Air Mail Services, which culminated in 100,000,000 letters being carried by British aeroplanes in 1938, is expected to be further accelerated this year. The day when ordinary travellers can cross the Atlantic through the air instead of on the water draws nearer. The arrival of America's great flying boat "Yankee Clipper" on Southampton Waters at the end of her Atlantic survey flight marks an important stage in the progress of transoceanic air travel.

INDUSTRY.

COTTON MILL INDUSTRY IN BENGAL.

In a brief but scholarly survey of the cotton mill industry in Bengal, Mukul Gupta, M.A., Personal Assistant to the Director of Industries, (Bulletin No. 75, Government of Bengal, Department of Industries, Price: Indian Anna 6, English 8d.) proves convincingly with the aid of facts and figures that "the circumstances are definitely in favour of Bengal and if conducted on sound and business-like lines, her cotton mill industry has a very bright future before it". The Province possesses almost extraordinary advantages in respect of labour and power. The average Bengalee labourer is more intelligent than his compeers in most other provinces of India. Bengal can command power very easily and cheaply having a large coal field near at hand and the province is fortunate in possessing a climate conducive to the development of the cotton industry. The only disadvantage is that Bengal is far removed from the cotton growing districts. But the excess freight paid on raw cotton will be largely compensated by saving in freight on finished goods. Mr. Gupta, therefore, contends that Bengal can very well aim at self-sufficiency in regard to her requirements of cotton textiles.

VOCATIONAL TRAINING

"If there are industries either existing at the moment or likely to exist, they would require the services of well-educated Indians," said Mr. John Sargent, Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, when interviewed in Calcutta as to his opinion of whether facilities for vocational training in India were adequate to meet the growing demands of the country or not. He added that these educated men should be given such preliminary training as would create in them a taste for commercial and industrial occupations.

Mr. Sargent is connected with two technical colleges in England where subjects like mechanical and civil engineering, commercial and arts subjects are taught. The object of the colleges, he said, is to impart vocational training with cultural training.

AGRICULTURE.

MILCH CATTLE IN BOMBAY.

The Government of Bombay are evolving an elaborate scheme to improve the breed of milch cattle in the Presidency. With the Director of Agriculture as Chairman, a Committee has been constituted to draw up detailed proposals in this behalf. The idea is to start five centres in the province and work them as far as possible on co-operative lines. The Centre in Konkan will be of special interest to Bombay City, as the supply of milk for the city would come from Konkan.

IRRIGATION IN SIND

A scheme costing Rs. 8 lakh to construct a canal for irrigating 40,000 acres of land in Eastern Sind Circle is being investigated by the Sind P. W. D.

Mr. Nichaldas Vazirani, who has returned to Karachi after a tour in that Circle, stated that the adoption of the scheme would result in land sales amounting to Rs. 20 lakhs. Besides this, the Government would get Rs. 50,000 every year by way of land revenue. A detailed survey was now in progress in the Circle and the Minister said that he would ask for a supplementary demand for grant for this purpose during the next session of the Sind Assembly.

TRAINING IN AGRICULTURE

The Government of Mysore have sanctioned certain recommendations of the Director of Agriculture for the establishment of an Agricultural School to train students in agriculture by giving practical training in dry, wet and garden cultivation, market gardening and poultry farming. The scheme involves a non-recurring expenditure of Rs. 14,750 and a recurring expenditure of Rs. 8,150. The existing Vokkaliga hostel at Somanshahalli will be converted into an agricultural High School.

A COURSE IN BEE-KEEPING

A fortnight's course in bee-keeping was inaugurated on May 22 for the benefit of 26 elementary school teachers in the Vellore range by the District Educational Officer.

The Senior Deputy Inspector of Schools, requesting the District Educational Officer to open the course, pointed out the necessity for teachers in rural areas to be acquainted with subjects like bee-keeping.

TRADE DISPUTES & CONCILIATION BOARDS

Resolutions urging the appointment of a Conciliation Board for the settlement of disputes, condemning the proposed constitution of the Railway Federal Authority and opining that the railways must be under popular control were adopted by the Annual Convention of the All-India Railwaysmen's Federation held at Perambur recently.

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta presided.

The Convention was opened by the Hon. Mr. V. V. Giri, after which Mr. Mehta delivered the presidential address.

Mr. N. M. Joshi then addressed the delegates. He said that he endorsed what the President had said about the working of the Convention separately from the meetings at Delhi and Simla with the Railway Board. If they met separately and discussed a few problems seriously and if they also decided to take serious action on them, he had no doubt that the meetings would begin to be taken seriously and would be better attended. First, they must strengthen their organisation. A campaign should be launched by the Federation and a week should be fixed during which all Unions should make a great effort to enlist members. Increased membership would add to the importance of the Federation.

Dealing with the grievances of railwaymen, Mr. Joshi suggested that as an experiment they should tackle one problem first. They must discuss proposals, get them approved not only by the Federation but also by the various branches, and then start an agitation seriously. It was quite possible by this method to get redress more effectively. If the authorities found that the railwaymen were agitating on one problem, creating public opinion and, only amongst railwaymen but even among the public, it was possible they might be taken seriously. He would like to call today up first the problem of leave as such which required very much

GANDHI SEVA SANGH

Addressing the fifth session of the Gandhi Seva Sangh at Champaran, Mahatma Gandhi said:

"Why should there be so much corruption in the Congress? How can we with all that corruption deserve the name 'Congressmen'? Some of you are known as 'Gandhi-ites'. 'Gandhi-ite' is no name worth having. Rather than that, why not Ahimsa-ites? For Gandhi is a mixture of good and evil, weakness and strength, violence and non-violence, but ahimsa has no adulteration. Now as Ahimsa-ites, can you say that you practise genuine ahimsa? Can you say that you receive the arrows of the opponent on your bare breasts, without returning them? Can you say that you are not angry, that you are not perturbed by his criticism? I am afraid many cannot say any such thing."

According to the Mahatma, 'the function of *himsa* is to devour all it comes across, the function of *ahimsa* is to rush into the mouth of *himsa*'.

A NEW PAGE IN RAJKOT HISTORY

Mahatma Gandhi, addressing a large gathering on May 28, at Arya Chowk, which was his first public speech in Rajkot, declared:

"I believe that I have opened a new page in the history of Rajkot by my repentance and by the frank admission of my failure. In this, I require your help. I cannot go on single-handed. If the ruler and ruled both join hands and do their duty, this apparent failure would turn into a victory. This necessitates unity among the people."

PROHIBITION IN BOMBAY

Inaugurating the anti-drink campaign in Bombay, the Premier Hon. Mr. B. G. Kher said that the Government would rather go begging than depend upon revenues derived from drink. Mr. Kher was addressing an all-party meeting and appealed to all sections of the population to see to it that Prohibition in Bombay was a success.

